BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF
SUFIS
SOUTH ASIA

N. HANIF

This work "Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis (South Asia)" highlights on the biographical outline of the prominent Sufis of South Asia in alphabetical order. The Sufis maintain that the intellect gives information concerning the phenomenal world, it does not revealed the nature of infinite God and his attributes. According to the Sufis it is the mystical experience which leads to the knowledge of God (marifa). In his communion with God, the Sufi becomes one with Him and the Divinities disclosed. God head is directly experienced by Him. Moreover, rational or intellectual knowledge is indirect. The rational proceeds with that which is different from the truth : the Gnostic begins his mystical quest for God after leaving everything which is other than God. The Sufi doctrine of Unification of God is not similar to the Quranic concept of the Unity of God. The follower of Islam believes in one God, however the sufi believes in the unity of God and releases his identity with God.

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Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis
(South Asia)

Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis (South Asia)

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Preface

The "Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis," a comprehensive biographical analysis of the prominent Sufis of South Asia, has been compiled in alphabetical order. The mystical philosophy of Sufis is based on three cardinal doctrines— *muhabhat* or the love of God, *marifa,* or the knowledge of God, and *tawhid* or the Unification of god. Love is the sole means of Sufis unification with God and therefore he disassociates himself from everything save God. Love of God results in the attainment of the knowledge of Divine Essence. Love illuminates the heart, leading to the revelation of God head. "The Gnostic" says Muinddin Chishti, "always abide in the state of passionate love of God" and is amazed at the creation of God's universe. Another famous Sufis Nizamuddin Auliya remarks that love of God Consists in living a life a devotion and self-sacrifice. The mission of the true lover of God is nothing but to recollect the names of the beloved and to remember him unceasingly. God is the Ultimate cause of all things and he cannot be contemplated through anything which is created by Him.

Sufi's spiritual experience can neither be explained in language nor interpreted logically. The science of logic is concerned with the mental states and its relation with one another. Its range is limited to the subjects consciousness alone and it fails to provide any account of the extra-mental facts. The *Sufi* mystic experience is directly concerned with the Divinity of God which is transcendental reality and hence it lies beyond the reach of a psychologist. Even his mystical experiences in relation to the fear of God the love of God are objective, i.e. unrelated to his empirical self and they awareness of his Pure-Self is not an ordinary mental state like that of a feeling or an emotion.

This is trans-subjective experience which lies beyond the study of psychology. There are certain other high spiritual states like those of the soul's contemplation of the Attributes of God, its communication with the Beloved and the revelation of gnosis through Divine illumination which lose their sanctity when the psychologist interprets them from an empirical stand point. Again, the mystical symbols manifested in the spiritual state of a Sufi's ecstasy can not be discovered through the law of causation. In other words, the transcendent side of a *Sufi's* spiritual world remains completely out of reach for the psychologist. Moreover, the science of psychology does not offer any fixed and universally accepted standard for the assessment of mystical states.

According to certain *Sufis,* the most important quality of the lover of God is his complete detachment from sensual desires. Hence, the Sufis believe that a Sufi" is absent from himself and present with God." The Sufi's absence from his " Self means that he attains total detachment from human qualities, so that he may experience the divine presence in his heart. Hujwiri defines the lover of God, "the lover is he dead *(fani)* in his own attributed and living *(baqi)* in the attributed of his Beloved."

A Sufi experiences the state of perfect union with God and eternal subsistence of his soul in Him when he is completely devoted to God. Abu Bakral-Kattani lays much stress on this aspect of a Sufi's relationship with God." The Sufi is he that regards his devotion as a crime for which it beloves him to ask pardon of god." Another feature of the servant of God is that he prefers to live a life of patience and welcomes afflictions coming from God with pleasure, treating them as gifts from his Beloved. Shaikh 'Abdullah Khafif describes the true attitude of the devotee of God, *Tasawwuf* is patience under the events of destiny, acceptance from the hand of the almighty God and traveling over desert and highland." The seeker of God develops the ideal attitude of prefect patience at the stage of his consecration. "Tasawwuf is to be patient under commandment and prohibition", says Abu' Amr Najaud.

The Sufi enjoys his nearness to God when his soul comes in direct communion with Him. Shaikh Abu Sa'id b. Muhammad al-Mayhani defines Sufism in these words, "Sufism is the subsistence of the heart with God without any mediation." God purifies the heart of His devotee so that love is established in it. "The Sufi is made pure by his Lord and is filled with splendours and in the quintessence of delight from praise of God." At this stage the seeker entirely leaves himself on the mercy of his Beloved since he passes away from himself. Abu Muhammad al-Rasibif observes, "The Sufi is not a Sufi until no earth supports him and no heaven shadows him; until he finds no favour with mankind and until his resort in all circumstances is to the most high God."

The devotee of God becomes God intoxicated when his self is completely consumed in the first of love. It means that the idea of God dominates the hear of the seeker and he develops and everlasting consciousness of his Beloved. Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abu'l-Khayr explains this quality of Sufi's unceasing concentration of God in these words, "That is the true man of God who sits in the midst of his fellowmen, and rises up and eats and sleeps and buys and sells and gives and takes in the bazaars amongst other folk, and yet is never for one moment forgetful of God." Such a mystical quest for god, leading to a state of subsistence of Him has been recognised as the most significant mark of the spiritual perfection by Muslim saints of all the sects. Mansur al-Hallaj says, "the Sufi is he who aims, from the first, at reaching God, the Creative Truth. Until he has found what he seeks, he takes no rest, nor does he give heed to any person. For thy sake I has over Land and water, over the plane I pass and the mountain I cleave and from everything, I meet, i turn my face, until the time when I reach that place where I am alone with Thee."

Such a concept of complete identification between a Sufi and his Beloved is probably based on the Quranic teaching of the Unity of God (tawhid). Most of the Sufis regard the theory of "One God alone' as the substratum of their mystical philosophy. Abu Baker al-Shibli defines Sufism thus: "Sufism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'other', and other does not exist." This definition of Sufism implies that the idea of any existent thing other than God cannot be accepted along with the idea of any existent thing other than God cannot be accepted along with the idea of there is no God but God.' A Sufi, who is a true seeker after the Ultimate Truth, discovers only one Truth. It refers to the mystical stage when the lover of God dwells in the unitive state.

Ghazali, an orthodox Sufi, concluded that God alone should be the object of love and worship for the mystics. For him, the essential qualities of a Sufi are: "His (sufi's) heart is free from defilement and from distraction, because of his love for his Lord, and he looks towards Him in his inmost self, committing all thing to Him and having fellowship with Him. He doest not rely upon anything, most does he have fellowship with any, save Him whom he worships, preferring God to all else." The early Islamic

mystics had seriously followed such a monotheistic doctrine. Abu' Amar' al-Dimashqi regards one god as the else." The early Islamic mystics had seriously followed such a monotheistic doctrine. Abu; Amar' al-Dimashqi regards one God as the Most Perfect Being and hence preaches the detachment from that which is imperfect. He says. "Tasawwuf is to behold the imprecation of the phenomenal world, nay to close the eye to everything imperfect in contemplation of Him who us remote from all imperfection."

The spiritual state of annihilation of human qualities is the most significant landmark on the Sufi's way to his unification with God. Each Sufi Describes this mystical attitude according to his own state and mystical experience. In fact, such a personal experience cannot be adequately expressed in any form because the soul of the mystic passes beyond all symbols and categories related to human understanding. "The saint is annihilated in his own state and subsists in the contemplation of Truth: he cannot tell anything concerning himself, nor can he rest with anyone except God," says Shaikh Abu Ali Juzajani. A Sufi is completely lost in his inner world and becomes separated from the phenomenal world. Abu'l-Hasan al-Husri thus speaks about this spiritual state: "The Sufi is He who having once become dead to (worldly) taints, does not go back there, and having once turned his face God-ward, does not relapse there from and passing events do not affect him."

The Sufi recommend self-mortification for the training of the soul. "Tasawwuf is, to let one's self be led to the Truth, "says Abu'l-Hasan al-Muzayyin. It implies that the Truth is attained when the aspirant abandons his lower self and develops his pure self. Junayd also believes that since the Sufi's mission is to experience Godly qualities, he should guard himself against his association with human attributes.

A Sufi seeks self-mortification so that he may realise perfect state of resignation from empirical self. Abul Muhammad Ruwaym explains the real features of 'Tasawwuf: "Tasawwuf is based on three qualities: a tenacious attachment to poverty and indigene; a profound sense of sacrifice and renunciation; and absence of self-observation and personal volition." The effacement of all human desires and individual qualities takes place and the veil of the unreal self is lifted. Abu Yazid Bayazid, says, "I stood before the Presence and cried, "Lord God', I desire not but These. If I possess Thee, i possess all...when God recognised my sincerity, the first grace that he accorded me was that He removed chaff of the self before me". It is at this stage that the seeker attains gnosis and gains the knowledge of the Essence of God in his pure and illuminated heart.

After realisation of the state of annihilation of all human attributes, a Sufi's soul experiences the state of Godhead. Now, the Sufi realises that he is other than the rest of the creation and that God had detached him from the world from His revelation. The real devotees of God abstain from all kinds of formal ceremonies and rituals. Abu'l-Hasan al-Khorqani says: "The Sufi is not a Sufi in virtue of patched cloak and prayer-carpet, the Sufi is not a Sufi by rules and customs; the true Sufi is he that is nothing." As he is in-himself, he is nothing' or nonexistent' for the rest of the creation. The being of the Sufi is veiled for those who have their being in the visible world. In other words, a Sufi's existence transcends the existence of everything and hence his existence speaks for itself." A Sufi is a day that needs no sun, a night that needs no moon or star and a non-being that needs no being," says Abu'l-Hasan al-Khuraqni.

From the aforesaid, it is evident that the Sufis interpret their mystical system from the ethical, psychological and philosophical aspects. From the ethical standpoint, the Sufis regard the moral attitude of the devotee of God as the foremost condition moral attitude of the devotee of God as the foremost condition for attaining spiritual perfection. The wayfarer firmly believes that he can reach his goal, i.e. the union with God when he lives a virtuous and pious life. The moral development of the soul

means the purification of soul which is necessary for the realisation of Divine Attributes. The orthodox mystics linked moral consciousness with religious belief and recognised 'sharia '(the Law of Religion) as a means of reaching ethical perfection and the attainment of Divine knowledge (*ma'rifa*).

In their logical approach to saintliness, the Sufis think that the saint moves towards God when he experiences the mortification (*mujahad*) of 'self. He has to pass through various psychic states, particularly at the initial stages of the Journey to God, and he has to attain purity of heart in order to reach higher spirituals states. The self-mortification of the psychological assessment of 'self' leads to the spiritual perfection of a mystic. Philosophically, the Sufi concentrates on his ego and differentiates between its outward qualities and inward manifestations, experiences a true relationship between himself and God, looks forward for the annihilation of his human qualities and thus becomes conscious of Godly attributes and his subsistence in the Creative Truth.

I am thankfull to all those scholars whose works have been utilised either directly or indirectly in this compiled and edited works. I am also thankful to the publisher, who has given me opportunity to edit this comprehensive works.

Editor

Contents

A

Abdu'l Ghani, Shaikh (d. 1578/79 A.D) 1

Ali Haidar (A.D. 1690—1785) 1

Abda'l Haqq, Shaikh Ahmad (d.1434 A.D.) 5

Abul Karim, Shah (d. 1623) 7

Abdul Latif, Shah (1689A.D. — 1752A.D.) 14

Abdul Qadir Sani (d. 1533 A.D.) 21

Abdu'l-Wahhab (d. 1606/07 A. D.) 22

Adam Barnuri Shaikh (d. 1661 AD.) 26

Ashraf, Muhammad (16th Century) 27

Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Saiyid (1285A.D. — 1405A.D.) 28

Abu Yusuf Yahya, Shaikh Muhi'u'd-Din (1602A.D.—1689A.D.) 32

Amanu'llah, Shaikh (d. 1550 A.D.) 33

Akhi Siraj (14th Century A.D.) 35

Al-Din A'la, Amin (d. 1597) 36

Abdu'l-Haqq (1551A.D.—1663A.D.) 41

Abd Al-Karim, Kutb Al-Din B. Ibrahim al-Djili (1365A.D. — 1428A.D.) 50

B

Bamu'd-Din (d. 1420 A.D.) 53

Baqar Shah (d. 1946 AD.) 53

Batakzai Chishti, Shaikh Bayazid (17th Century) 54

Bayabani, Shaikh Jamal (16th Century) 54

Bayabani, Shaikh Raja (14th Century) 54

Bazrud-Din, Pir (15th Century) 54

Bazaruddin, Pir (1493 A.D. — 1579 A.D.) 55

Beg, Maulana Mirza Abdur Rahman 55

Bhita'i, Shah 'Abd al-Latif (1689A.D. — 1752A.D.) 56

Bullhe Shah (1680A.D. — 1757A.D.) 57

C

Cha'in Laddah, Shaikh (d. 1590 A.D.) 75

Chand Khan (14th Century) 75

Chandan, Shaikh (16th century) 76

D

Danishmand, Shah Muazzam (1519A.D. — 1532A.D.) 77

Dawud, Shaikh (16th Century A.D.) 77

Dawud, Shaikh Muhammad (1683/84 A.D.) 79

E

Farid, Baba Shaikh 86

Farid Chachran, Ghulam (1841A.D. — 1901A.D.) 102

Farid Sani (1450A.D. — 1554A.D.) 102

Faridud-Din Shakarganj, Baba (1177A.D. — 1265A.D.) 108

Fathe Ali Waisi, Hazrat Sufi (1825 A.D. — 1886 A.D.) 108

Fazal Shah (18th Century) 109

Fazil, Shah Muhammad (d. 1705A.D)109

G

Gada, Shah (1455A.D. — 1505A.D.) 111

Gagan Shuryani, Shaikh Hajji (17th Century) 111

Gesudaraz, Syed Muhamad Husayni (1321A.D. — 1422A.D) 112

Ghaus Bala Pir, Saiyid (d. 1551/52A.D.) 117

Ghazi, Shah Ismail (1459A.D. — 1474A.D.) 117

Ghazi, Shah Ismail (d.1474A.D.) 118

Ghulam Rashid, Shaikh Abul Faiyaz Qamarul (1685A.D.—1753A.D.) 118

Ghulam Rasul (1813A.D. — 1874A.D.) 119

H

Hadait-Ullah (19th Century A.D.) 121

Hajji Uwais, Shaikh (d 1608 A.D.) 121

Hamid Husur, Shaikh Zahur Hazi (1431A.D. — 1523A.D.) 121

Hasan Muhammad Chishti, Shaikh (d. 1522A.D — 1575A.D.) 122

Hasan, Shaikh Muhammad (d. 1537A.D.) 123

Hashim Shah (1753A.D. —1823A.D.) 124

Hilal, Saiyid (d. 1457A.D.) 131

Husain, Madho Lal (1539A.D. — 1593/4A.D.) 131

Husamud-Din Manik Puri, Shaikh (d.1477 A.D.) 136

Husamu'd-Din, Maulana (14th Century) 138

Husamu'd-Din, Shaikh (d. 1449/50A.D.) 139

Hussain, Shah (1538A.D. — 1599A.D.) 140

I

Ibrahim b. Adham (d.777/78 A.D) 152

Ibrahim Farid Sani, Shaikh (1450A.D. — 1575A.D.) 155

Ibrahim Iraji, Mir Saiyid (d.1546/47A.D.) 159

Ibrahim Mulick Beya, Hazrat Syed (d.1352A.D.) 160

Ibrahim Ruhi, Mulla (d.1616/17 A.D.) 160

Ibrahim, Shaikh (15th Century A.D.) 161

Inat, Shah (1623A.D. — 1712A.D.) 162

Isa Taj, Hazarat (16th Century A.D.) 164

Ishaq, Shaikh (d. 1581A.D.) 164

Ismail Shami (16th CenturyA.D.) 164

J

Jalal, Shaikh (d.1357A.D.) 165

Jalalud-Din Tabriz, Shaikh (d. 1225A.D.) 167

Jalal Mujarrad, Shah (d. 1189 A.D.) 171

Jalal Thaneswari, Shaikh (1469A.D. — 1582 A.D.) 172

Jalalu'd-Din Kasi, Shaikh (d.1604/05 A.D) 175

Jalalu'd-Din, Maulana (15th Century A.D.) 176

Jamalu'd-Din Makki, Shaikh Abul-Fath bin (d.1546A.D.) 177

Jilani, Abdul Qadir (1077A.D. — 1166A.D.) 178

Jilani Rohtaki, Ghulam (1749A.D. — 1819A.D.) 178

Junaid, Shaikh 179

Kadar Yar (1803A.D. — 1892A.D.) 181

K

Kalim Allah (17th Century A.D.) 182

Karam Ali, Saiyid (18th Century) 184

Karamat Ali Jaunpuri (1800A.D. — 1873A.D.) 189

Karim Bakhsh (18th Century) 190

Kelianvala, Gulam Hussain (19th Century) 192

Khalil, Shaikh (16th Century A.D.) 193

Khan Jahan (d. 1459 A.D.) 193

Khandakar Pir, Hazrat (19th Century) 194

Khidr, Khawaja (18th Century) 194

Khurasani Naqshbandi, Hazrat Abdul Qasim (d. 1896A.D.) 195

Kirmani Bengali, Shah Abdullah (13th Century A.D.) 195

L

Langar, Shah (16th Century) 197

Lankapati, Shah Ibrahim Shah Chaitan 197

Latifu'd-Din 197

M

Mahmud, Shah (15th CenturyA.D.) 199

Makhdum Shah Daula (d. 1293A.D.) 199

Makhdum Shah Rajshahi (d.1592A.D.) 200

Maneri, Sharafuddin Ahmad (1262A.D. — 1380A.D.) 200

Meher Ali (1808A.D. — 1868A.D.) 201

Mir Muhammad (1372A.D. — 1489A.D.) 201

Mir Nazuk (d.1614 A.D.) 204

Mir-ul Arefeen (17th Century) 204

Mirza Jandjanan, Mazhar (1700A.D — 1781A.D.) 205

Miyan Mir, Miyadi (1550A.D — 1586A.D) 205

Miyan-Mir (1531A.D. — 1609A.D.) 206

Miyan-Natth (16th Century A.D.) 209

Mohamad Baksh (18th Century) 210

Muhammad Baqi (1564A.D. — 1103A.D.) 210

Moinuddin Chishti, Khwaja (12th Century) 217

Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja Khawand (d.1674 A.D.) 218

Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja (1139A.D. — 1236A.D.) 219

Muhammad Ali, Maulana Syed (16th Century A.D.) 224

Muhammad Din (17th Century A.D.) 225

Muhammad Rukn Al-Din, Shaikh (1271A.D. — 1380A.D.) 226

Muhammad, Shah (1784A.D. — 1862A.D.) 233

Muhammad, Shaikh (1500A.D. — 1563A.D.) 234

Muhibbu'llah Mubariz Ilahabadi, Shaikh (d. 1648A.D.) 235

Muhsin Auliya, Shah (d. 1397 A.D.) 237

Mujaddid Barkati, Hazrat Barkat Ali (d. 1926A.D.) 237

Mujaddidi Naqshbandi, Muhsin Ali (d. 1954/55A.D.) 238

Mujarrad, Shaikh Jalalud Din (13th Century A.D) 238

Mukbil, Jangnama 239

Mukbil Shah Jahan (18th Century) 239

Multani, Shaikh Ibrahim (d. 1463A.D.) 240

Munawwar, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din 243

Murad, Shah (18th Century A.D.) 245

Musa Suhag (1415 A.D. — 1475A.D.) 246

Musharraf Ali Qudumi, Syed Shah (d. 1967 A.D.) 246

Mustafa, Hajji (d. 1629 A.D.) 246

Mustafa Maghmum, Ghulam (19th Century) 247

Muttaqi, Shaikh Ali (1480A.D. —1567A.D.) 248

Muzaffar, Shaikh (d. 1400/01A.D.) 252

Muzaffar Shams Balkhi (1320A.D. — 1400A.D.) 254

N

Nabi Pir (13th Century A.D.) 257

Najabat (18th Century) 257

Nakshband, Baha'al-Din (1318A.D. — 1389A.D.) 258

Nakhshabi, Khwaja Ziyal (d. 1350/51A.D.) 261

Nakhshabi, Shaykh Diya'al Din (d. 1350A.D.) 262

Naqshbandi Mujaddid, Hazrat Amjad Ali (d. 1946/47A.D.) 264

Nasru'd-Din (d. 1451A.D.) 264

Nasirud-Din Baghdadi Qadiri, Hazrat Syed (d. 1936 A.D.) 266

Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi, Shaikh 267

Nasirud-Din Nek Mardan, Shah (14th Century A.D) 283

Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh (1276A.D. — 1356A.D) 285

Natawan, Shah 288

Niamutullah, Syed Shah (d. 1664A.D.) 289

Ni'matullah Shah Kirmani, Amir Nur al-Haq Wa'd-Din (1330A.D. — 1430A.D.) 289

Ni'matu'llah, Shah (d. 1655/56A.D.) 292

Ni'matu'llah Shah Qadiri, Saiyid (d.1582A.D.) 292

Niyaz Ahmad, Shah (1759A.D. — 1834A.D.) 293

Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh (d.1571/72 A.D.) 294

Nizamuddin Auliya, Shaikh (1236A.D. — 1325A.D.) 295

Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari, Shaikh (d. 1562A.D.) 297

Nur Qutb-i Alam, Shaikh (d.1440 A.D.) 299

Nuru'd-Din (1378A.D — 1439A.D.) 300

P

Pak Naushahi, Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman (d. 1740/41) 309

Phugi Afghan (d.1658/59 A.D.) 309

Pir Muhammad, Shaikh (d. 1769/70A.D) 309

Phul, Shaikh (16th Century) 310

Piloo, Bhagat 311

Q

Qadiri, Shaikh Ahmad (d.1613 A.D.) 313

Qadiri, Tufail Ali 314

Qalandar, Shaikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali (14th Century) 314

Qazi Qadan (1463A.D. — 1551A.D.) 315

Qiyamu'd Din (15th Century A.D.) 318

Quli Halbi, Hazrat Shah Anwar (14th Century) 319

Qutb Alam, Shaikh Nur (d 1415 A.D.) 319

Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khwaja (d. 1235A.D.) 321

R

Rahmat Shuryani, Shaikh (d. 1616/17 A.D) 325

Rami, Shah Sultan (11th Century A.D.) 325

Raniri (d. 1658A.D.) 325

Ratan al-Batrandi, Ratan b. Kirbal b. (13th Century) 326

Raushan Ara (d. 1342 A.D.) 328

S

Sad al-Din al-Hammui (d. 1276 A.D.) 331

Sadru'd-Din Hakim, Shaikh 332

Sadru'd-Din Zakir, Shaikh Muhammad (d. 1588/89A.D.) 333

Safiud-Din Shahid, Shah (d. 1290 or 1295) 334

Safiuddin, Shah (14th Century) 335

Sahrawardi, Shaikh Sihabu'd-Din (d 1234/35 A.D.) 335

Saifu'd-Din, Shaikh (1514A.D. — 1582A.D.) 336

Saiyid Ali Hamadani (1314A.D. — 1385A.D.) 338

Saleh Pir, Hazrat 346

Salim Chisti, Shaikh (1480A.D. — 1572A.D.) 346

Sama'u'd-Din, Shaikh (d.1496A.D.) 348

Saqqah, Haji Bahram (d. 1562A.D.) 349

Sarmast, Sachal (1739A.D. — 1827A.D.) 350

Sarmast, Shaikh Abul Fath 354

Sawal Pir, Hazrat (19th Century) 354
Sayyah, Shaikh Usman (d.1337/38 A.D.) 355
Shahbaz Bhagalpuri (1628A.D. — 1658A.D.) 356
Shahid, Baba Adam (14th Century) 356
Shahid, Hazrat Syed Ahmad (d.1831A.D.) 356
Sharaf, Shah (1640A.D — 1724 A.D.) 357
Sharafud-Din Manayri, Makhdum Jahan Shaikh (1262A.D.—1380A.D.) 358
Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi, Qazi (d. 1444/45 A.D.) 362
Shitalang Shah 363
Sikandar Ali, Saiyid (1813A.D. — 1880A.D.) 364
Sikandar, Shah (13th Century) 365
Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad (1564A.D. — 1624A.D.) 365
Sulaiman, Shah (d. 1654/55A.D.) 366
Sultan Bahu (1631A.D. — 1691A.D.) 367
Sundha, Shaikh (d.1716/17 A.D.) 375

T

Tabrizi, Jalalud-Din (d. 1225A.D.) 377
Tabrizi, Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din 380
Taj, Shaikh (14th century) 382
Taju'd-Din, Shaikh (d. 1642A.D.) 382
Talib Hussain (19th Century) 383
Tamizud-Din, Hazrat Khawaja Shaikh (d. 1899A.D.) 383
Tawwama, Maulana Ashrafuddin 384

V

Varis Shah (1735 A.D.) 387

W

Wahid-Al Din, Maulana Ata (14th Century) 391
Wajid 391
Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad, Shaikh (1496A.D. — 1589A.D.) 392

y

Yaqub Badarpuri, Shah Muhammad, (d. 1958A.D.) 393

Z

Zahiruddin, Makhdum Saiyid Shah 395
Zahirud-Din Birbhum, Makhdum Shah (16th Century) 395
Zakariyya, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din (1182A.D. — 1262A.D.) 395
Zaki-ud-Din, Makhdum (14th Century) 398
Zainu'd-Din (15th Century A.D.) 399
Zinda Pir, Shaikh Usman 401
Zulqad Ali, Sufi Shaheb Hazrad (d. 1891A.D.) 401

A

Abdu'l Ghani, Shaikh (d. 1578/79 A.D)

Abdu'l Ghani of Bada'un was a leading sufi. Even as a young student when hearing mystical songs, he became ecstatic, which induced in him a state of anxiety as he was unable to explain these occurrences. While still a young man he migrated to Delhi where he was given a minor position by the governor, Tatar Khan (d. 986/1578-79).

Afterwards he decided to become a sufi under Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz, and then spent several years teaching. Later he completely renounced the world and became an ascetic, living in one of Delhi mosque.

In 1003/1594-95 Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i Khanan visited his *khanqah* and the Shaikh, on the Khan -i-Khanan's request for counsel urged him to follow strictly the laws of the *Shari'a*. He seems to have died some years later.

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Ali Haidar (A.D. 1690—1785)

Ali Haidar, the Sufi poet, was born at Kazia in the Multan district, in the year A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1690). He passed, says the tradition, the greater part of his life in the village of his birth, where he died in A.H. 1199 or the year 1785 of the Christian era, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.

A few years ago, Haidar was practically unknown to the general public as a poet . Wandering *faqirs* sometimes sang fragments of his mystical verse in the streets, but no attention was paid to it, as people are not accustomed to pay heed to what the *faqirs* sing or recite.

In 1898, Malik Fazal Din of Lahore was so greatly impressed on hearing a poem of 'Ali Haidar had written and publish it for the benefit of the public. He acted on his decision, and with much labour succeeded in collecting most of the poems from the *kavvalis*, and also from a descendant of the poet named Hazrat Faqir Ghulam Mira of Kazia who furnished him with a copy of the original manuscript. This collection the

Malik named *Mukammal Majmu'a Abyat 'Ali Haidar*, and published it soon after it was ready.

The descendants of Ali Haidar could not furnish much information on the life and literary career of the poet. Perhaps they themselves did not know more about their illustrious ancestor. In the absence of his life-history, we should have turned to his poetry for information, but unfortunately that too has proved of little help. Incidentally Ali Haidar says that he was not a saiyid, which his descendants proclaim him to be, and also gives the name of his *pir* or *murshid*. Haidar states:

> *Mim: mai kuttà ban àl rasùl najib dà pàhru hã ghar bàr utte uppar aggò oh andheri mai hondiã ais darbàr utte nàm tarik dà bhi khàdham sahibã di puсckàr utte par aihle ulùm di izat rakhan vàzib hai sansàr utte.*

Had Ali Haidar been a saiyid? He would not have called himself a dog of the saiyids' door, but would have claimed a place of equal honour. The above, therefore, removes all doubt and establishes the fact that Haidar was an Indian and not one of the foreign saiyids.' Door, but would have claimed a place of equal honour. The above, therefore, removes all doubt and establishes the fact that Haidar was an Indian and not one of the foreign saiyids.

From the above quotation we can also conclude that he was troubled by the saiyids for his attentions to the learned. Who could these learned people be except some liberal mystics of whom the saiyids often disapproved? Haidar seems to have been afraid of the saiyids, and that is why he lowered himself before them; but at the same time he maintained in an apologetic manner his own conviction that to respect the learned befitted a man. Our poet was a confessed *Sùfi* and a faithful follower of Shàh Mohiy-ud-din, as:

> *Qàf kyà gam khauf asã nù je Shàh muhaiuddin asàdarà ai shàh abdul qàh jila dà je lutf àmin asàdarã ai.*
> (*Qàf*: what sorrow and fear have we, if Shah Muhiy-ud-din is ours and if Shah Abdul Qadir of Jilan is guardian of our pleasure?)

And again:

> *Ali Haidar kyà paravàh kise di je Shàh Muhaiuddin asàdrà ai.*
> (Ali Haidar, what do we care for any other if Shah Muhiy-ud-din is ours?)

Muhiy-ud-din or Abdul Qadir Jilani, who as we know, was born in Jilan in the year A.H. 471 (A.D. 1078) was famous for his learning. He was the founder of the Qadiri order of Sufis and has always had innumerable followers all over the Punjab. Haidar, as is clear from the above, was a Qadiri, but who his *pir* was we do not know.

The style of 'Ali Haidar is very ornamental. No mystic Punjabi poet, with the exception of Bullhe Shah and Hashim, has surpassed Haidar in poetic flow and fecundity of vocabulary. His verse, being ornate, abounds in *alankaras*, notably in *vrityanuprasa*, as:

> *Shin sharàb de mast raihan, ki nain taide matt vàlare ni surkh sufaid siyàh do banàlare bàj kajjal aivè kalare ni.*

Here *shin, sharab, surkh, safaid,* and *ni* at the end of each line form a graceful *vrityanuprasa*.

Haidar has shown his command of *samak* in his *Qissa Hir va Rajha*. Each short poem is full of foreign phrases and words, but they are so well welded into his poetry that they do not give the reader the impression of being foreign. Here is an example :

> *Jàn bacà ke bàjhõ càke, rakhi kyù kar hoi mã Yã rag màsiva al màhbùb rehà gair na koi mã dil viçe àkhhe vekkh tamàshà hai je utthe dhoi mã man ho maqnatis haidar, use di khicc rakhioi ma.*

In the above poem *Yà rag masiva al màhbùb* and *man ho maqnàtis*, two Arabic sayings, are put in as if they were in Punjabi.

Speaking of the style of Haidar, a living poet in both Urdu and Punjabi once said ; 'His style resembles that of Habib Qaani so far as the arrangement of words and beauty of language is concerned, but for his description and expressions he resembles Hafiz.'

Ali Haidar's style no doubt charms his

reader by its grace and beauty. He also excelled in subtle poetic conceit. We give below a specimen in which, desirous of showing the superiority of his own religion over the faith of the Hindus, he very tactfully makes Hir speak for himself:

Alif eh bàman bhaire bhattah paye kùra ràh batãunde ne so phitte mùh ohnà kafara dà sabh kùro kur kamàude ne cùcak de ghar kheriã de aih nitt vicàre aude ne 'netarsunetarnetar' sunni de gin gin gandhi pàũde ne mai gun màre ohnà de sir màlà turt puãũde ne nàl dumbal channi la phuare mãpyo calaude ne kih sharm haya ohna kafara nù jo khair duare mannaude ne narak di bhah maidi nahi ahi eh apane hattahi laude ne akkhi dekh tijjan nahi eh kafar aini hãũde ne je murde nù dukkh sukkh nahi kyu haddia ganga paude ne eh janju gal ne janj kheria di mai haidar mul na bhaude ne .

(*Alif* : these bad Brahmans are in the oven (i.e. fire) for they tell the false path (i.e. Hinduism), therefore shame on those heathens who all follow the false. Into the house of *cucak* and the *kheras* these wretches (Brahmans) always come. Saying *netarsunetarnetar* and calculating, they tie the knot. When I marred their qualities (i.e. when I refused to obey them by loving Rajha) then they ordered the garland (i.e. of marriage with Saida) to be put on my head. Putting a cup to the abscess, the parents start the stream (i.e. obeying the order of the Brahmans parents bleed my heart by giving me in marriage to Saida. Allusion to the Punjabi village treatment of an abscess. A cup is put next to it and the barber then applies the knife. Blood gushes out and falls into the cup. Here the sore heart of *Hir* or of the *Moman* is the abscess : the barber stands for her father and mother, i.e. the Hindu community, the knives for the order of the Brahmans, and the gushing blood or fountain for the reproaches or Hir or of *Moman* for their falsehood or Hindu faith. What modesty and shame have these heathens, who in the temple beg for safety ? This is not the fire of my hell (Muhammadan hell), they have lit it themselves. Seeing this (fire) they are not convinced but keep on boasting (i.e. they still praise their religion). If a corpse experiences no pain or pleasure then why do they put the bones into the Ganges ? This sacred thread round the neck is like the marriage procession of the kheras; Haidar, I do not like it at all.)

Haidar paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions which we have to leave after death. He calls them false and states that the only true possession is God with his prophet and his friends.

Kùrà ghorà kùrà Kùrù shau asvàr
kùre bàshe kùre shikare kùre mir shikàr
kùre hathi kùre lashkar kùre fauj katar
kùre suhe kùre salu, kùre sohne yàr
kùre jore kùre bere kùre har shangar
kùre kotthe kùre manmit kùr eh sansar
haidar akkhe sabh kujh kùrà sacca hikk kartàr
duja nabí muhammad saccà sacce us de yàr.

(False is the horse, false is the costume and false is the king rider; false are the hawks, false the falcon and false is the leader of the hunt ; false the elephants, false the battalions and false are the armies with swords; false the red, and false the *salus* and false the beautiful friends; false these uniforms, false the pleasures and false is this world. Haidar says all is false, *kartar* alone is true; the second true one is the Prophet Muhammad, and true are his friends.)

Haidar's faith in God is well described in this:

Alif etthe otthe asa as taidi ate asàra taidàre zor dai mahi sabha havalre taidare ne asà khauf na khandare cor dai tui jan saval javab sabho sanu haul na aukhari gor dai ali haidar nu sikk taidari ai taidai bajh na sayal hor dai,

(*Alif* : both here and there you are my hope and your power is my support : all buffaloes are in your charge, so I am not afraid of any wretched thief; you know all prayers and their answers (so) I have no fear of the difficult grave; Ali Haidar feels your want, save you he does not seek another.)

It will be interesting to give here one of the few poems in which Haidar reproaches his countrymen, the king and the foreign element, then so prominent at the Jmperial Court of Delhi, for having allowed the Persians to come into they country and for submitting to their lust for riches:

Be bhi zaihar nahi jo kha maran kujh sharam na hindustania nu kya haya ehna rajia nu kujh lajj nahi turania nu bhaire bhar bhar devan khajane farsia khurasania nu vice chaunia de vice pant takk badhoje lahu na vedea pania nu.

(Be : there is no poison which they (Indians) should eat and (consequently) die, the Indians have no shame; what shame have these kings, what shame have these Turanis? The wretches fill up and give treasuries to the Persians and the Khurasanis; in the cantonments they (i.e. the Persians) have reserved water for themselves, the only water we (Indians) see is blood.)

It is evident from this and other such poems that to Haidar his country's distress was unbearable, and he cursed freely the rulers and those in power.

Haidar alone of the Punjabi Sufi poets played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and often the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love, and he therefore laid great stress on the use of words which naturally imparted a sort of brilliancy to his language. Here is a specimen to illustrate his mastery over words:

Shin shakar ranji yar di mainu talkh kita sabh shir shakar ganj shakar di shakar vanda je kare rabb shir shakar rajha khir te hir shakar rabb pher kare jhabb shir shakar jo labbiai lab lab te hazir piyo payala shir shakar haidar gussa pive ta akkhe piau mittha lab shir shakar.

(Shin : the anger of my friend is bitter to me; it has made our friendship bitter. I will distribute the sugar of Ganj Shakar provided God arranges peace ; Rajha is rice and Hir is sugar. May God soon bring about their union ; what we search is present on each lip (i.e. the name of God), drink that cup of friendship; Haidar, if he controls his anger, will say. Drink friendship with the sweet sugar of lips.)

Haidar, we believe, was a very good musician. Each line of his verse is full of rhythm and is so beautifully composed that his reader is tempted to sing rather than read or recite it. One specimen will suffice:

Te tariya lariya taidia ni, majnu lariya kariya mariya ni hir jahia sai golia gholia ni, sadake kittia taitho varia ni caupar mar taron na pase, pase ditia haddia saria ni Haidar kaun khalaria taitho, asi jitia bajia haria ni.

At the end of each poem of his *siharfis*, Haidar wrote a sort of *rahau* to indicate the musical refrain. Here is this chorus:

Anban inbin unbun thi, ikk samajh asadari ramaz mia.

Haidar used Multani, which is a sweet dialect of Punjabi, and became more so when the poet played with it. The few poems which have come down to us from the *Hir* of Haidar show that he was an Arabic scholar and a competent *hafiz*. Had it been complete it would be a document to prove how the Sufis understood the *Quran* and the *hadis*.

Their interpretations are different, as Haidar's Hir differs from those of other Mussulmans. Still what is left of the Hir is very interesting and pleasing. Before we close this account we will let Haidar speak briefly for himself.

Khe khalak khuda di ilam parhdi sanu ikka mutalia yar da ai jihne khol ke ishk kitab ditthi sige saraf desabh visar daai jinhe yar de nam da sabak parhya etthe jae na sabar karar da ai haidar mulla nu fikar namaz da ai ehna ashka talab didar da ai.

(*Khe* : the creatures of God study knowledge, but we have only the study of the Beloved ; he who has opened and looked in the book of love is ready to spend all; he who has read the lesson of the beloved's

name should not come here, for here is only peace and contentment : Haidar, the priest has to think of prayers, but these lovers desire only the manifestation (of the Beloved).

Be, be di teg na dass mulla oh alif sidha kham ghat aya oha yar kalokari rat vala hun bhes vata ke vattaayasohna mim di cadar paihn ke ji keha julfa de ghungat ghat aiya ali haidar oha yar paiyara hun ahmad ban ke vatta aya. returned; ' Ali Haidar, that friend beloved now has come agai as Ahmad.

Lam lok nasihata de thakke sohne yar to mukkh na morsa mai tore maure peure kadd choran jani yar piche ghar chorsa mai mai ta bele vassa hardam mahi vale matti dedea ni khuhe borsa mai ali haidar ne akkhia laiya kite kaul nu mul na torsa mai.

Lam : the people are tired giving me good counsels, but I will not turn my face from the handsome friend; if mother and father turn me out, for my beloved I will leave the house; I will ever live in the *jangal* of my beloved, and will throw into a well those who give me good advice. 'Ali Haidar, our eyes have met and I will never break my word.

Ali Haidar though not known popularly as writer, yet as saint his aid of audition to the spiritual stage is undeniable. Si-Harfis of Haidar can be recited with Tabla and other musical instruments. By the group of Sufi mystics the Si-Harfis of Ali-Haidar used to be sung in the medieval period. Lyricism of Ali Haidar is less poetic and more musical. Love of God has so observed in the minds of Ali Haidar that neither love nor hate of any thing remains in his heart.

Ali Haidar raised his voice against injustice and oppression. J.S. Grewal discussing Sufism in India says, "The Sufis preached personal humility and a deep concern for the brothers in faith. They denounced oppression and injustice".

We find the word of great revolution against injustice, in the poetry of Haidar. Indians have accepted the yoke of slavery under Persia and Khurasan. Haidar does not hesitate to satire who were ruling in India. Poet writes, "Don't they get poison? Why don't they die? These Turks have become shameless. Some of the traitors are offering plenty of wealth to the foreign invaders from Persia and Khurasan.

Literature of Ali Haidar can not be compared with Farid, Hussain or Bulleh Shah. Principal Sant Singh Seikhon remarks about the composition of Ali Haidar that his language gives the look as if it were crossing the wild stage. Means adopted by Haidar in his poetic tendency does not justify the end.

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Abda'l Haqq, Shaikh Ahmad (d.1434 A.D.)

The founder of the earliest centre there

was Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. It appears he was born in Delhi and that his father died during his childhood. His elder brother Shaikh Taqiu'd-Din tried to give him the formal religious education but Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq showed a great desire to discover the secrets of mysticism. He then went to Panipat and became a disciple of Shaikh Jalal Panipati, who in turn traced his spiritual genealogy from Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Turk also from Panipat, a *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Ala'u d-Din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir. Therefore Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq could trace his own spiritual descent through the Sabiri branch of the Chishtis.

From Panipat, Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l - Haqq went to Sunam but Timur's invasion in 1398-99 devastated both the Punjab and Delhi. The Shaikh left for Bengal and stayed in Pandua with a *kotwal* (police officer). This was when Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah was the Sultan of Bengal and had embarked on a scheme to expel all *qalandars* and dervishes from the town. Possibly this was part of an attempt to purge non-Bengalis from the administration. The following anecdote by Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Although it gives an insight into the social ethics of contemporary *qalandars* and yogis, fails to throw light on the political motivation of such a scheme.

One night the king visited a camp of qalandars disguised as a beggar. They were just about to start eating and rudely ordered him to leave. Then the king visited a camp of yogis. They were also taking food together and gave him an equal share. To his question why had they fed a mere stranger they replied that this was in accordance with their custom of sharing all food equally, even with dogs. Next morning the king ordered the Muslim mystics to leave Pandua. All were arrested and escorted to boats which took them to exile. This action led to great unrest in the town. So Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq, accompanied by a dervish (*majzub*) friend went to the palace to test the king's reaction to their presence. They remained unnoticed for quite some time, then left, returning to the house of their host. The Shaikh declared that the king did not expel dervishes and *qalandars*, only ignorant mystics.'

Frequently Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq visited Shaikh Nur Qutb-i'Alam. The former left Bengal before its domination by Raja Ganesa when he was about fifty. Initially he stayed in Bihar and Awadh, finally settling in Rudauli. Twice he visited Jaunpur but Qazi Shihabu'd-Din conspired to prevent him from being granted an audience with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi.

At Rudauli, the Shaikh led the traditional ascetic existence of a mystic. This took the form of constant refusals of land grants for either his *khanqah* or for his family. Once a son-in-law accepted a *farman* from the *muqta'* of Rudauli. So incensed was the Shaikh when he discovered the gift, he tore the paper into shreds and ordered that not a single piece remain in his *khanqah*. On another occasion a qazi of Sultan Ibrahim presented another *farman* of a number of villages from his ruler. Firmly, the Shaikh refused the offer, saying that as God provided food for Sultan Ibrahim, his elephants and horses, he felt he could also be trusted to feed himself and his descendants.

In order to illustrate the hardships perfect sufis were required to endure, the Shaikh gave the following practical demonstration. He asked a disciple to dig a hole in the ground and fill it with water. Then he asked him to fill the hole with pebbles and remove them one by one and the disciple followed his request. Taking some md, the Shaikh then poured it into the hole. The disciple was asked to take out the mud as he had the pebbles, but by that time it had all been dissolved. He was expected to lose himself in the Divine, the Shaikh told his pupil, like the mud in the water, and also to simultaneously efface himself in order to become a sufi.

Often Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq remarked that Hallaj had been a child to disclose divine secrets and that there were some sufis who wee so mature they could drink an ocean of divine secrets and reveal nothing.

'Haqq was the most perfect of the many names and attributes of Allah', believed Shaikh

Ahmad 'Abdul'l-Haqq. With his disciples in the *khanqah* he showed great devotion to *pas-ianfas* (breath control) and the key word before an after prayer was Haqq. Whether they were talking or buying and selling in the bazaar, the Shaikh's disciples would cry 'Haqq.' When the Shaikh visited the mosque his disciples walked in front of him crying 'Haqq'. Many people were critical of such a custom, calling it *pir* worship, but the Shaikh justified it by quoting from the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-'Arabi.

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq died on 15 Jumada II 837/27 January 1434. Among his many disciples the most prominent was Shaikh Bakhtiyar. Formerly the slave of a jewel merchant, after enrolling himself as a disciple of the Shaikh he became his *pir's* constant and obedient companion. Even after his initiation as a mystic, Shaikh Bakhtiyar continued to trade, but took great care to stay within the boundaries claimed by Shaikh Ahmad as his particular domain of spiritual influence. This story tends to indicate that Shaikh Ahmad was not opposed to a sufi earning an adequate income while simultaneously living as an ascetic.

Shaikh 'Arif, Shaikh Ahmad's son, was his spiritual successor. 'Arif was also a poet and a man of great tolerance to different ideas. His son, Shaikh Muhammad, was pir to the great sixteenth century sufi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi.

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq's contemporary in Awadh (Ayodhya) was Shaikh Jamal, a Muslim Gujar. According to Shaikh Ahmad his disciple was the only real Muslim he had found between Pandua and Awadh. Here is one story about the teacher and his disciple. A bitch, owned by Shaikh Ahmad, had puppies and her owner celebrated by giving a large feast for all the dignitaries and common people in Awadh, but excluded Shaikh Jamal. The following day the forgotten disciple complained he had been ignored. Shaikh Ahmad however replied that as the feast had been given only for dogs, that is te worldly, how could humans have been invited?

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Abul Karim, Shah (d. 1623)

Shah Abdul Karim was an eminent sufi saint and Sindhi poet. He was born in 1536, in the town of Matiari (then called Mat Alvi) in the present Nawab Shah district in Eastern Sindh and lived to be eighty-seven in 1623 at Bulri, a village of the *taluka* Tando Khan.

He was born in a notable Sayid family which traces its lineal connection to Herat and was descended from Sayid Haider who had alongwith Amir Timur come from Herat to Sindh in 1398. Shah Abdul Karim was seventh in descent from Sayid Haidar. Daudpota shows Shah Abdul Karim to be the seventh in Shajara of generalogiocal tree, that is, Shah Abdul Karim bin Sayid Lal Muhammad bin Sayid Abdul Momin bin Sayid Hashim bin Sayid Jalal Muhammad "Jararu" bin Sayid Sharfuddin bin Sayid Mir Ali bin Sayid Haider.

He was still a little babe, when his father died. He was brought up by his mother and elder brother Sayid Jalal. When he was six years old, he was admitted to a local *maktab* where he took little or no interest in conventional studies. He is stated to have said (Bayan al-Arifin) that his teacher used to send him and his school-

mates to collect firewood from a nearby jungle and also memories lessons on their way. While his friends remembered their lessons, here membered God.

As a young boy, he was immersed in God. In Bulri Tando Khan village, as in other villages in Sindh, the *Sama'*, the gatherings where Sufi songs accompanied by the simple rural music, were held. These gatherings drew men of all ages and had deep impact on the thoughts and emotions of the young Shah Abdul Karim as they had on the early age of his great-great grandson Shah Abdul Latif in the later times. Shah Abdul Karim's attraction for these gatherings increased with the passage of time.

His elder brother Sayid Jalal, a worldly man, would like the young Karim not to waste his time and to complete his school education. Once when he found him away from his maktab and in the Sama', he pulled him out, gave him a good beating and led him back home. It was on this occasion that Shah Abdul Karim as a young boy broke spontaneously into poetry:

Say Allah is one,
learn no other speech,
Keep on writing in your mind
this true word alone!

It was the first of his 92 *baits* and augured well for the development of Sindhi poetic tradition which grew earlier, to be sure, in Qazi Qadan (1463—1551) and reached its climax in Shah Abdul Latif.

When Sayid Jalal took Shah Abdul Karim away from the Sama', and brought him before the mother, she scolded him (Jalal) for having slapped his younger brother and told him that he was perhaps not aware of his brother's high spiritual nature. Thereafter, Sayid Jalal did everything according to what the young Karim said and tried to keep him away from the domestic worries.

Free from the household affairs, Shah Abdul Karim engaged himself in hearing the discourses on life and religion by the learned, sitting in the company of *faqirs*. Once as he was going home after listening to an absorbing talk by Makhdum Ziauddin of Thatta, a noted man of learning of his days, the Makhdum remarked about him, the Makhdum remarked about him, "I wish I could see this boy in his adult, full-blown golry."

They elderly Sayid Jalal was a staunch believer in *Sharī'ah* and, therefore, he forced Karim, now a young man, into marriage. It was Karim's view at that time that a seeker of God should not get married for the marriage hindered his way of life. But after marriage he paid due attention to his wife.

One day, Shah Abdul Karim saw an old man staying in the mosque of his village. He served the visitor well and carried out his commands religiouly. After about six months, the old man narrated his life-story to him. His name was Sultan Ibrahim.

He belonged to Bihar and was once a soldier under a ruler. He killed many persons in a battlefield and fear of Godseized his whole being. He deserted the fierce battlefield for 'aimless' wanderings in the nature. Now he was a fuller man. Shah Abdul Karim was already impressed by his way of life and on hearing the account he became his *murid*.

In his young age, Shah Abdul Karim looked after his family well. The sudden death of Sayid Jalal placed on him the new responsibility. His *murshid* Sultan Ibrahim asked him to serve his household in the way his elder brother had done. He worked as a labourer in the field and earned the family's livelihood. He served his mother devotedly in her old age.

When on the field, he would often yield to his fellow-labourers' requests and sing the baits in his sweet and sonorous voice and they would insist on completing his share of labour. Rhyme and rhythm brought ease and flow to their task of the day.

Once Shah Abdul Karim inadvertently divulged his *zikr*, or liturgy, to someone and found to his utter dismay that his murshid was not in the village mosque as usual. Barefooted, he went in search for him and reached, miles away,

the *daira*, or circle, under the spiritual headship of Miran Yusuf. He found him there.

Sultan Ibrahim had not met Miran Yusuf personally before. He knew him through his disciple Shah Abdul Karim and others. When he saw Karim did not wear them. Instead, he went to the market-place and got a cap made out of the shoes and put it on. The *murshid* was pleased with him. Sultan Ibrahim had a plan to go for *Hajj* soon. But how could he break in words to Karim the news of coming separation? So the *murshid* gave him money to go to nearby Thatta and bring some loaves for him. Karim spent from his murshid. He had left again for an undisclosed destination. He broke down and wept.

Guided by his intuition again, he went to Lahri Bunder where he saw am boarding a boat. The loaves on his head, 'tears of blood' in his eyes, he looked a picture of reverence. The murshid told him every thing now. But Karim beseeched him to take him along with him to take him along with him. The *murshid* didn't hear. He asked him to go back and serve the family, instead. And the boat moved on to a distant shore.

Later, Shah Abdul Karim came in close contact with Sayid Miran Yusuf and Makhdum Nuh and became the murid of the latter. It was due to the Makhdum's teachings that his growing mystic fervour was tempered with the *shariah*. Before his dedication to the Makhdum, he had often experienced so much exaltation that he had felt like putting off his *godri*, too, and live in the nature's nakedness like '*alif*'. He did not feel so, after becoming his *murid*.

During his young and middle age, the Sufi poet would rise very early in the morning, perform ablutions and give the "call' to the Faithful from the village mosque. This done, he would engage himself in *zikr*. Having offered the *fair* prayers in congregation, he would practice contemplation (*muraqibah*).

Then he would say the *ishraq* prayers and go home where he would be occupied with the household chores like cleaning pots and cooking food. He would feed boiled rice to his children and come out to collect food from the neighbouring houses for the *faqirs*. After feeding them his wife and he took a little for themselves.

Now it would be the time for Shah Abdul Karim to go to the field where he ploughed, and cut down grass for his oxen. He would return home around the mid-day and offer the *nafl* prayers, the two *rak'as* of them. He would go to the mosque to give the 'call" for the *zuhr* prayers. He would go to mosque until the *maghrib* prayers were offered. Then he would go home and help his wife in cooking.

Afterwards, he would see to it that no one went to sleep without having food. If some body was left without it, he would give him his own share, which used to be always small. He ate sparingly and reduced himself almost to bone and skin. Only then a seeker of God, he thought, could meet Him. Only then he would say to his *nafs*, or desire, "there is not much left in me to feed you".

When all his sons and disciples retired to their beds after having meals, Shah Abdul Karim would perform ablutions and offer his *nafl* prayers. Then he would go to Rahot town. As he would pass by the mosques of small villages end route, he would fillwater in the earthen pots kept there, and pray for the fifth time between dusk and midnight (*isha*) in one of them. If he found somebody sleeping there in a mosque, he brought him more comfort by rubbing and kneading his fatigued limbs with his hands.

Across the river he would follow the path to the Makli hills (near Thatta) and on his way would visit the adoration of Shah Jhando, the saviour ferry man And then he would come back after the third watch of the night to his village mosque where sometimes the very first *rak'*at of *tahajjud* sent him in the state of *wajd*. He would hardly reach the other *rak'a*, for very soon it would be the time for giving the "call" for the *fair* prayers.

People knew nothing about the severe discipline he underwent, excepting a few persons quite close to him. The common people won-

dered even at his giving the 'call" to the Faithful so early in the morning.

The *bayan al-Arifin* says, Shah Abdul Karim travelled a lot. Even during his old age, he sometimes undertook journeys to far off places. He travelled extensively in Sindh and what up to Ahmedabad in Gujarat.

Shah Abdul Karim met *a faqir* in Ahmedabad. The faqir kept quiet for a long while, When he spoke, he said the following bait:

> Heko jo akhar vingro, jo Gur tusi de
> *Andhare ghar divala, phir phir jot kare.*
> (If the Guru were to give you to recite the one curved word (*Om*) it would be to you as the light in darkness.)

Once a faqir, Ahmed by name, asked the Sayid, " What do you do for your sustenance?" Shah Abdul Karim said, I do digging and cultivation."The *faqir* put another question, "Then how do you remember God at that time?"

He replied, "I just can't forget Him. Take an example from the day-to-day life. When a woman with jars full of water on her head walks and also busies herself with talking to her friends, do those jars deter her from walking and talking?"

Shah Abdul Karim exhorts his fellow-beings to work out their destiny through devotion and action (*Bhakti* and *Karma*) and says in his *baits* :

> Like a jar poised on a woman-water carrier
> and a bird on the water,
> Our Beloved in the same way
> has been close to our soul and
> Give your heart to the Beloved
> and your body to the people;
> Private cloisters and public mosques
> go together for the general weal.

His poetry and *malfuzat* (sayings) in Sindhi appeared for the first time in a Persian work, Bayan al-Arifin, written by the Sufi poet's disciple, Mian Muhammad Raza ibn Abdul Wasi, alias Mir Daryai Thatawi, in 1630, seven years after the Sufi poet's death.

The *Bayan al-Arifin* contains introduction, seven chapters and epilogue of what Shah Abdul Karim said for the *hidayat* (instruction) of his *murids*. It collects his wise sayings, aphorisms, instructive tales and the Sindhi *baits* (verses). The manuscript remained in the drak until it reached the hands of one Abdul Rahman ibn Muhammad Maluk who translated it into Sindhi in 1798.

In 1874, Makhdum Abdul Samad ibn Haji Muhammad Muquim Nawrangpota made some modifications in the old Sindhi translation and published it from Bombay. In 1904, Mirza Qalich Beg, a distinguished Sindhi author, edited the *baits* in Sindhi. He says in his *Risala Karimi* that while editing it he collated the manuscript by the author himself and other manuscripts available now'.

In 1937, Allama U.M. Daudpota published *Shah Karim Bulriware Jo Kalam*, an edition marked by his great scholarship and erudition, and kept Shah Abdul Karim's *baits* in the original form Since the first edition of Daudpota's work was out of print and its second edition was not forthcoming, Memon Abdul Majid Sindhi edited *Karim Jo Kalam* from Sukkur Sindh, in 1963. He has in his book given Shah Abdul Karim's *baits* separately at the end also.

One of the major poets of Sindhi, Shah Abdul Karim has been called by Allam Daudpota as the Chaucer of Sindhi literature.

Shah Abdul Karim was very much respected by the people and ha many *murids* during his old age. Though physically not well after the age of 64, there was a spiritual glow on his face. Severe austerities and travels almost broke down his bodily health. But they had increased his capacity and experience to work for the suffering humanity. If somebody approached him to have a word with the zamindar or ruler on his behalf. he would go on the horseback, on which he hardly managed now.

Ordinarily, he had little or no connection with the rulers in particular and political life in general. He like all other people at that time saw the bloody clashes between Mirza 'Isa Khan, the Sindh ruler, and Mahmud Khan of Bakhar, who had declared himself to be the indepen-

dent ruler of Bakhar and flouted Mirza'a central authority; the pillage of Thatta by the Portuguese from Goa; the atrocities of Mirza Baqi and Mirza Jani Beg, son and grandson of Mirza 'Isa; the transfer of power from the Turkhan rulers to the governors under the Mughal King Jahangir.

Since he could not do anything to better the political life of Sindh he prayed to God and turned to *tasawwuf*, a philosophy of life offering solace and peace during the uncertain times.

Shah Abdul Karim passed the last days of his life in seclusion and sang the Sindhi baits usually after midnight. He died at the age of 87, in 1623, and was survived by three sons and three daughters. The 'prayer-carpet' (sajjadah) was then passed on to his son Sayid Din Muhammad and afterwards to his successors Abdul Dalil, Abdul Ghani, Abdul Wasi Muhammad Abdul Zaman, Muqim Shah, Sayid Was and others.

The latter Sayid Abdul Wasi was a contemporary of Mir Ali Shir Qani', the historian, and Shah Abdul Latif, the poet. Shah Abdul Latif was simple in his habits as his great grandfather, Shah Abdul Karim, and wore dark clothes like him. Besides being himself a monument to his habits as his great grandfather, Shah Abdul Karim, and wore dark clothes like him. Besides being himself a monument to his grandeur, he built a mausoleum to his memory.

Shah Abdul Karim does not seem to have belonged to any of the Orthodox Orders of Sufis, for these Orders observed the routine of Prayers and fasts and did not by pass *zuhd, ibadat, taqwa and riyazat*—the limits set by their founders. It is, therefore, curious that Shah Abdul Karim and Shah Abdul Latif are stated to have been of the Qadiri Order for, as we know, the Qadiri and Suhrawardi Orders "had strong objection to the *Sama*'."

Both the Sindhi poets belonged to a family of hereditary religious teachers and therefore observed religious practices. But they had a liking or the Sama', or the mystical dance, right from their childhood and could not keep a way from it during their ripe and mature days. Shah Abdul Karim says, "Some people engaged themselves in reading books and some in other occupations, but I learnt the *Sama'* only and did not care for any other occupation." To him there was no difference between the *zikr* and the *Sama*.

Like the Qur'an the *Risalo* emphasises the moral code as the basis of human behaviour (see the bait Nos. 23, 31, 3, 40) and underlines the importance of austerity and discipline in one's life (see the bait Nos. 7, 22, 34, 36, 69). Shah Abdul Karim gave the pantheistic meaning and significance to the Quranic expressions such as 'He, *The First and the Last*, and *The Apparent and The Hidden*', and 'wherever you turn, you will behold the countenance of God', and 'He is nearer to you than your jugular vein', and 'every moment He discloses Himself in a fresh glory' and sang:

> Separation and union are one and the same;
> God, the best of proposers,
> will unite the lover and the loved one.

This bait No. 50 uses a part of the Qur'an's ayat—*Wallaha khair almakirin*—as the third hemistich and affirms the poet's faith in *wahdah*-al *wujud*, or the doctrine of Immanence, that is, in a concept of God different from that of the Qur'an. Shah Abdul Karim knew Muhiyuddin ibn Arabi (1165-1240) and his view of wahdah-al wujud very well and it was on this doctrine, in the main, and not on the orthodox Sufism, that his own view of life was based.

On the authority of the *Bayan-at Arifin*, we know that once Shah Karim said, "A seeker of God should lose conscious existence or movement first., He will attain the *ma'rifat* or come to know God's secrets then—the secrets which Ibnul Arabi's philosophical book *Fusus al-hikam* won't give." He said the following bait:

> First lose yourself,
> then only you find Him,
> The Beloved is not separate from you,
> just turn your face within. (19)

One, who gives up himself, supposes no two existences, his own and God's. He doesn't say, Ana l-abd; he says, *Ana l-Huqq*. Shah Abdul Karim says:

Those for whom we yearn
are none but we ourselves;
Now, O Doubt ! be gone,
We recognise the Beloved. (74)

The two main organising principles of poetry are analogy and prosody. As for analogy, it serves as the basis upon which a symbol or a metaphor or an image is founded. It serves them in stating the unstated, in giving meaning to the unexpressed; for as the poet said, "If I could say what it means I should not have to say this." So arts---sciences, languages, myths, religions are analogic forms.

Analogy is related to metaphor, sign, symbol, allegory and simile, and provides a springboard to reach the inaccessible and to know the unknown. The western concept of symbolic imagination with analogy at the basis is not different from the Indian concept of symbolic imagination with analogy at the basis is not different from the Indian concept of *dhvani*, or suggestion, with its three kinds *vastu-dhvani, alankara-dhvani and rasa-dhvani.*

The first two kinds are inadequate in themselves and the third kind (*rasadhvani*) gives words and sense the capacity of producing rasa (aesthetic delight). These three kinds of dhvani are, as B.B. Paliwal observes, like the three stages of poetic imagination in ascending order, finally leading to the symbolic imagination.

The Sufi poet Shah Abdul Karim also seems to have begun with knowing man in relation with men, their customs, occupations and environment and finally come to know himself in the process. And then he gives a name and, if unable to give a name, an analogous interpretation to what he knows: Shah Abdul Karim sees a blacksmith hammering on an ironanvil, a village-maid carrying pitchers on her head, a bird' floating' listlessly on the water (see the bait Nos. 2 and 13).

The objects in the *vastu-dhvani* offer to him the palpable parallels. Then he develops his suggested meaning ad apprehends the objects in *alankaras* and (in the words of T.S. Eliot) "objective correlatives". Shah Abdul Karim watches a baited hook and a fish and correlates human beings to the hooked fish :

The baited hook, O fish !
which has pierced your throat
Has taken in many of your kind
and thrown them on the ground. (37)

The bait No. 38 also gives the same suggested meaning The bait Nos. 60 and 61 describe the ordinary fishermen of Kalachi who are caught up in the whirlpool of passion and therefore cannot reach the other shore. On the other hand, the divers, or men of contemplation, are able to get at 'treasures of the sea (God)'. They are away from kalachi and its inhabitants thriving on killing fishes, big and small, in creeks.

In another bait (No. 42) at once revealing and concealing, the poet imagines a swan diving down in the deep and a stork playing in the shallow waters. He says :

A swan feeds on pearls,
he dives deep down;
He who plays in the shallows
is only an ordinary bird. (42)

Shah Abdul Karim is able to find an object or a human situation which gives expression to his personal emotion and thought in an impersonal way. *Camel* stands for the lower self in man here:

Camel of desire ! Why did he drink
sweet, clean water?
I vainly tried to induce him
but he impulsively falls on the poisonous creeper. (23)

Sasui (see the *bait* Nos. 14, 17, 24, 26, 52, 63, 66, 69, 74, 86), Sohni (the *bait* Nos. 32, 62), Marui (the bait Nos. 30, 35, 48, 58), Mumal (the *bait* No. 51) and Lila (the *bait* No. 59), the heroines of the Sindhi folk-tales present Shah Abdul Karim in the role of a female-lover and deficit their heroes Punhu, Mehar, Khetsen, Rano, Chanesar as God a la Indian mysticism.

Shah Abdul Karim's references to these tales have allegorical significance; he, through these heroines of twin qualities—devotion and action—seeks union with the Lover and finally

is one with Him. For example, the baits pertaining to the folk-tale *Sasui Punhu*:

Move at a faster pace, O Sausui,
for when the sun sets, it sets,
Punhu has already reached
near the Hara mountain. (86)
Those for whom we yearn
are none but we ourselves,
Now, O Doubt ! be gone
we recognise the Beloved. (74)

In the third kind of *dhvani* the *rasa dhvani*, both the poet and the reader are left at a stage where a poem as a whole, and not in parts, contains the suggested meaning. The parts—words, phrases, sentences—lose their independence in creating this meaning. The words become the unstruck melody of the Word. Shah Abdul Karim says in the state of trance, or *wajd*:

What if the husband forgot her?
She has not forgotten him;
No one will ever say
there has been darkness in her house. (12)
There is only one tale
which I recounted yesterday;
Sisters, don't be angry with me,
I cannot tell you another. (29)

Shah Abdul Karim's words are of the Sindhi language, only 29 words and one phrase are from Arabic and eight words are from Persian. But when it comes to the symbolic or suggested meaning, Shah Abdul Karim's poetry becomes independent of words and the reader rises above them.

Till 1953, the poetic form of Shah Abdul Karim and other Sindhi poets had not been rightly recognised. Many Sindhi scholars saw it based on "the laws of jungle" and not on those of prosody because they were conversant with *Ilam Aruz* and not with Pingala Muni's Sanskrit *varnik chhandas*, the Prakrit-Apabhransa *matrik chhandas* and the various chhandas in the modern Indian languages. They thought that the rhyme came ungovernedly sometimes in the middle and sometimes at the end of the line in their poetry.

In 1953, J.K. Bhavnani evinced a greater understanding of the Sindhi baits compose on the model of *Tunvei Duho* and *Baro Duho* of Dingal and Gujarati, named them as "Ardha Doha Ardha Soratha" and "Ardha Soratha Ardha Doha" respectively and wrongly considered these two varieties as *Khas Sindhi Qabiliyat* (special Sindhi ability).

Like *Doha* and *Soratha*, which we know for many centuries now, Tunveri Duho and *Baro Duho* have two stichs (or four hemistichs) of 48 *matras* in total in each of them for these, too, are varieties of *Doha*. But it is the rhyming scheme and varying number of *matras* (either 13 or 11) in the 4-hemistich sequence that make the difference.

A *Tunveri Duho* may be defined as having in its first and fourth hemistich 13 matras each and in its second and third ones 11 *matras*, both rhyming at their close. But Boro Duho is its reverse. In it we have 11-*matras* each in the first and fourth hemistichs rhyming together. Two things stand out clearly that, in the first place, of tunveri Duho, and secondly, the 11-*matra* hemistichs rhyme together in all these forms.

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Abdul Latif, Shah
(1689A.D. — 1752A.D.)

Shah Abdul Latif was great-great grandson of Sayyid Abdul Karim, great grandson of Sayyid Jamal, grandson of Sayyid Abdul Quddus and son of Sayyid Sahah Habib. Shah Abdul Karim had migrated from Matiari to Bulri. But this family of Sayyids, in the generation immediately before Sayyid Shah Habib, however, was living in his Haweli or mansion which he had built in the village of Bhaipur in Hala *tahqa* where Shah Abdul Latif was born.

In Hala *taluqa* there was anther village Kotri Mughal, which was not far from the Haweli. The Mughals there had constructed a small *Kot* (protective compound wall) around their mud houses. Hence their village was called Kotri Mughal of Sardar Shah Beg Mughal. After Shah Latif's birth Shah Habib shifted from his *Howeli* to kotri. Both the villages are now in ruins and the simple mosque built by Laung *faqir* on the site of the house of Shah Abdul Latif's birth place is a lone vestige of the old Hala haweli.

But Bhit (mound) which is four miles away from Kotri and where the poet lived with his *faqirs* during the last ten years of his life is a place of renown today. Thousands of people visit Bhit to pay their respect and homage to the poet, who is also known as Bhitai Ghot (the Bridgroom of Bhit) after the name of that place.

Habib Shah's Haweli is in Hala taluqa of the present Hyderabad (Sindh) district—a district, named after the city of Hyderabad founded by Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, in 1768, that is, a few years after poet's death. Ghulam Shah Kalhoro was a contemporary of Shah Abdul Latif and his dilapidated tomb still exists, alongside the tombs of several other members of the Kalhoro and Talpur dynasties, in the northern part of the plateau on which the city of Hyderabad is situated.

From the height of the massive structure of Hyderabad Fort, one saw at that time the whole of Hyderabad city and the surrounding area spread out at one's feet. In the East glimmers in the sun the Phuleli canal and on the West are set the rocks against the brown country side with patches of greenery here and there. This district presents a diversified look with the range of limestone hills (the Ganjo), an expanse of forests and a net-work of canals in its lower reaches.

The Hala taluqa borders on the North at Naushahro; on the South at portion of the Tando district; on the East by the Thar Parkar district; and on the West at the river Sindhu is fertile and bears rich crops. The Sindhu is a large river—nearly 1700 miles long from its source in Tibet to the Arabian sea. Within the limits from Kashmir to the sea, it ranges in width from 480 to 1600 yards. Its depth fluctuates from the average nine to the harsh 24 feet, the latter during the freshes. The Sindhu is famed in Sindhi song and story.

The climate of Hyderabad is like that of the other parts of Central; Sindh, with the seasons, though four in number, reasonably resolved into two, the hot and the cold, succeeding one another so suddenly as to make no intermediate distinction. Thus, frost-bite and sunstroke may occur on one and the same day. The extremes of weather may bring harm to a person not belonging to this 'unhappy valley, but its inhabitants develop a synthetic power keeps them physically fit and spiritually high,

A land of rich diversity, of arid desert and fertile fields, of level plains and hilly regions, of extremely hot and severely cold seasons, of the Sindhu river and the Arabian sea and also a meeting point of Hindu philosophy and Muslim thought, Sindh has for long periods seen 'unity in diversity'. Her poets, through their synthetic and magical power, to which Coleridge exclusively appopriated the name of 'imagination', composed sacred slokas in Sanskrit and also sang baits in Sindhi. There has been poetry in the very geography of Sindh.

In this land—where many races of the world came by sea from the South and by road from the North and where great religions and philosophies interacted—grew up generations of poets whose works are sublime in content.

Shah Abdul Latif is easily the greatest of them all, in Sindhi.

The *Risalo*, Leipzig, 1866, that Shah Abdul Latif lived for 67 years from 1680 to 1747. Dr. Trumpp seems to have based it on the following notice (of Shah Abdul Latif in a biographical work *Miar i Salikan i Tariqat*, in Persian about the holy men of Islam) reproduced in English by Richard F. Burton in his book *Sindh, and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus*, p. 83: "this saint was the son of Sayyid Habib Shah, and was born in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Hijrah Era (about 1680)....He departed this life in A.H. 1161...."The external evidence, however, gives the date of Shah Abdul Latif's death as 14 Safar, 1165 A.H. (1752) based on the oral tradition among the faqirs of Dargah recorded assiduously by Mirza Qalich Beg and also in a written work 'Tuhfat al-Kiram that he lived as long as Hadrat Paighamber Sal'am and Hadrat Ali, that is, 63 years.

People in Sindh observe his death anniversary on 14 Safar every year. Dr. Sorley also says in his Shah Abdul Lauf of Bhit (p. 1700),".... the evidence is in favour of his having been born in 1689 and having died in 1752."

It is generally agreed by all Sindhi scholars that Shah Abdul Latif was born in the year 1102 A.H. (1689) in the well known Sayyid family. He was descended from Sayyid Haidar who was genealogically related to the Prophet's and son-in-law Ali and had come from Herat to Sindh with Amir Timur in 1398. It is interesting to know that a man from Herat came to Sindh and founded one of the Houses of Sayyids, the House known for at least two great poets of the Sindhis—Shah Abdul Karim and Shah Abdul Latif.

Sayyid Haider's father, Sayyid Mir Ali, was a man of means ad a God-fearing citizen of Herat. He was genealogically related to Imam Musa Kazim and ultimately to hadrat Ali. When Timur in the course of his campaigns, reached herat with his army, on his way to India, Sayyid Mir Ali accompanied by his six sons went to meet him and placed before him as many rupees as the number of soldiers in his troops. The number os soldiers in Timur's army was given in the Appendix to the *Bayan al-arifin* is 2,62, 312 Allama Daudpota rightly argues in his *Shah Karim Bulri-a Ware Jo Kalam* that this number seems to be incorrect in view of (i) the historical fact putting this figure at 92,000 and (ii) Mir Ali's position in life.

Amir Timur was pleased with him and much impressed by the demeanour of his sons. While still in Herat, he gave to four of them, the governorship of Ajmer, Multan, Bakhar and Sewistan (now called Sewhan) respectively, the last two now in Sindh. The fifth one preferred to remain at Herat in charge of the family's affairs during the absence of his father who was to join Timur in his march to India. The sixth one, Sayyid Haidar Shah, chose not to accept any office but to go to India with his father.

After his arrival in India, Sayyid Haidar took permission of his father and Amir Timur to move about in the country. In his travels he reached Hala Kundi (now called Old hala) where he was entertained as the guest of Shah Muhammad bin Darya Khan, one of the leaders of the Halas, originally a Hindu tribe. For some reason, the Halas at that time were fined a sum of Rs. 525 by the governor of the place, Miran Muhammad. The fine was beyond the means of the poor Halas.

Sayyid Haidar coming to know of this, paid off the amount of the fine on his own, and helped the Halas in their difficulty. The grateful Halas offered him the hand of Shah Muhammad's daughter in Marriage. Sayyid Haidar, who had a wife and children already in Herat, ultimately accepted the offer and married the Sindhi girl Bibi Fatima. As Sayyid Haidar's mother, too, bore the same name—Bibi Fatima—the newly married lady came to be known as Bibi Sultana.

Thus, Sayyid Haidar laid the foundation of a Sindhi family of the Sayyids, each successive generation of which lived in Sindh and contracted marriages among the local Muslims who originally were Hindus and had become converts to Islam under the growing influence of the Muslim rulers and their religion.

Sayyid Haidar had lived in Sindh for one year and five months when the sad news of his father's death in Herat reached him. At that time, Bibi Sultan was pregnant. Before he embarked upon the return journey to Herat, he made a will that his child, if son, be called after his father's name, Mir Ali, and if daughter, be named after her paternal grand-mother. A male child was born.

When Mir Ali, second in descent from Sayyid Haidar, grew up, her went to Herat to see his father. There he learnt to his grief that his father, having lived three years and twenty-seven days after his return to Herat had die. Sayyid Haidar had two grown-up sons in Herat. When they came to know that they had a third brother too, they would not give him a due share of the father's bequest.

The court decided that a little less than one-third of their inherited fortune be given to Mir Ali, Mir Ali, too, immediately after his return to Sindh sent two-thirds of his patrimony to his step-brothers, though they were separated from him by about a thousand miles.

As stated earlier, Sayyid Mir Ali of Halakundi was the grandson of Mir Ali Herati. He had three sons:

(i) Sayyid Sharafuddin,
(ii) Sayyid Ahmed and
(iii) Sayyid Murtaza.

The third Sayyid had no issue and the families of the first and second Sayyids came to be known afterwards as the Sharaf Pota and the Miran Pota respectively, the latter after the name of Sayyid Ahmed's son, Sayyid Mir. The Sayyids lived in Hala for about thirty years and then a major part of their clan shifted to a village, not very far from Hala, Mata-waro-Goth or Matiari.

In *Mata-Waro-Goth*, as the name suggest, there lived a *faqir*, who used to sit on a way-side and keep always a pitcher, *matu*, full of water for the wayfarers. The Sayyids in their times tried to change the name of Matiari to Mat Alvi or in the Persian script Mat 'Alvi. But the native name of the town Matiari persisted for the reason of its simple and easy articulation.

During their stay in Matiari, the Sayyids were divided into four important clans of the Jarar Pota, the Baqil Pota, the Musa Pota and the Mu'in Pota. Some of them shifted to many nearby villages and towns because of their increase in number hardship of livelihood and domestic quarrels. Shah Abdul Karim and Shah Abdul Latif belong to the Jarar Pota, a branch of the Sharaf Pota.

Shah Abdul Karim migrated from Matiari to Burli and came to be known as the *Bulri a-Waro-Pir*, or the Pir of Bulri. His son Sayyid Jamal Shah died in Bulri as a martyr in a good cause. A gang of dacoits robbed a widow living there and decamped with all the valuables she had. Sayyid Jamal Shah chased the robbers and gave his life in the encounter with them. After his death his son Sayyid Abdul Quddus settled himself in Matiari.

But his son Shah Habib alongwith his family left Matiary and settled down in Bhaipur village in Hala *taluqa*, where his illustrious son Shah Abdul Latif was born. Shah Habib kept upto the family tradition of piety, devotion to God and service of the people. He was 'a perfect Man of God'. People from far and wide would visit him to seek his blessings. With *dastar* (turban) on his head, *tasbih* (rosary) in his hand, green over-garment on his robust body, his dark eyes, shining forehead, flowing beard, henna-dyed hair, he looked a consummate picture of learning, and piety. When free from the *namaz* he used to come out and sit on his *gaddi*, or carpet, in *otaro*; or compound, of his *Hawell*, where the spiritually starved heard his winged words and the bodily sick had the pain-relieving, strength-giving medicines of curative herbs like *soya, podina, ajowan, zeera, saunf* for their ailments.

Novices in the field of poetry approached him for advice and instruction. He insisted on their using. Sindhi, the language of the people, and not Persian, the court language, as a vehicle of their thoughts and feelings for it was in one's own native tongue that one could express

them best. He believed that there must be cadence and rhythm in all that was to be poetry.

In his discourses, Shah Habib quoted extensively from the Qur'an, the Hadith and the Sindhi *baits* including those of his predecessor, Shah Abdul Karim. In his *Haweli*, as in a *Gurukul* or *Ashram*, there prevailed an atmosphere of thought—the atmosphere, which would stimulate and satisfy the natural urge in all visiting people to know the 'why', the 'wherefore' and the 'how' of things within and around them and would initiation different persons in different post-schooling disciplines of study, e.g. medicine, occult, science, philosophy, poetry, every one trying to find truth in his own particular domain of knowledge.

Shah Habib gave charms and amulets, besides indigenous medicines, to the sick and offered prayers to God for those in difficulty. The people, too, showed utmost consideration to him and did voluntarily the jobs of shepherding his flock, cultivating his *Haweli* had their food from the common kitchen, run by them.

It is said that Shah Habib married three times, one after the other, for the sake of progeny. Yet he did not have a male child to keep continued the descendancy of the great Sayyids. He opened his anguished heart to a *dervesh* of his times, Abdul Latif by name.

The *dervesh* not only blessed him with birth of a son, but also made a prophency that he would be *qutb*, or the Pole Star, of his era. He desired that the son born be named after him—Abdul Latif, 'servant of the All Gracious'. Otherwise too, the *dervesh* said, names of the All Compassionate', Abdul Qadir, 'servant of the All Powerfull', Abdul Wahhab, 'servant of the All Munificent', Abdul Latif, 'servant of the All Gracious', etc.

Shah Habib's first wife gave birth to a male child, who, according to the holy man's desire, was called Abdul Latif. But the child soon died. Shah Habib gave the same name also to his second-born from her. Thereafter Shah Abdul Latif had no uterine brother. Shah Jamal, whose grandson of the same name succeeded Shah Abdul Latif, was his half brother.

Abdul Latif's real mother belonged to the family of Makhdum Dayani, a 'majzub', i.e. 'a man touched by divine lunacy'. He was also called makhdum Arabi, as he had come from Arabia. His mausoleum still exists in Old Hala. Thus, Shah Abdul Latif, was descended from parents, paternal and maternal, who were both spiritually elevated and socially privileged. For, as we know, the society treated the Sayyids with superstitious respect.

The child Shah Abdul Latif, predicted to be the Pole Star of his times, was not like any other child. Though born to a position of dignity and power, he was very humble in his ways. He spent days by himself beside flowers and buds, birds and beasts in the *otaro* of his *Haweli*. He loved solitude, a trait he inherited from his father.

Shah habib, too, used to be so much by himself at times that he was not even conscious of his son's presence in his room. Yet he (Shah Habib) was a man of worldly prudence. So, when he sent his son, now aged 5 or 6, to receive school education from Akhund Nur Muhammad Bhatti of Vai village, his son Latif, it is said, did not wish to learn anything beyond 'Alif', the first letter of the alphabet, and also that of 'Allah'. Upon this, he embraced him warmly and said to him: 'You are right and on the path of Truth. The opening letter of the alphabet 'Alif' is the Alpha and Omega of knowledge. I also know this mystic truth. But one should not dislike school instruction.'

Shah Abdul Latif, it seems, paid heed to his father's advice and rose to be a learned man of his times—a man having superb mastery over his mother-tongue Sindhi and good knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Hindi and other languages of his time and clime. The Risalo unmistakably shows that he had studied the Qur'an and the Traditions, Sufism and Vedantism, partly due to his academic training befitting a scion of the Sayyids and partly due to his personal observation of life in the company of Jogis and Sanyasins in his young age. His natural feel-

ing, later in life, was that mere book-learnedness was no aid to the knowledge of Allah in His varied manifestations.

This should not lead us to believe that he was an illiterate person, for such diatribes against book-learning were a common feature of the Sufi poetry. Another bait, in quick succession, not only testifies to his knowledge of 'Alif' in particular, but also of the alphabet in general. He says:

O scribe! as you write 'Alif' and 'Lam' together,
So our Beloved is close to our soul.

Mir Ali Sher Qani' Thattawi, who wrote an account of Sindh and its main cities and holymen is his Persion work *Tuhafat* al-Kiram (1767) fifteen years after the Sufi poet's death, regards Shah Abdul Latif's agile, literate and arithmetically correct statement, *viz., Yak Mughal beh budah* as a miracle and all his knowledge as a sort of special revelation.

He does so out of great devotion to him and brings him near to the Prophet, who also is said to have been an "ummi". The word "ummi", as it is mentioned in the Qur'an for the Prophet before Revelation, has been generally translated as "illiterate" by almost all the commentators of the Qur'an.

This word is the opposite of *ahl* al-*kitab*, or man of Law, given by God. As the Prophet did not know the Law of God previous to the Revelation of the Qur'an, he was referred to as an "ummi".

Shah Abdul Latif was an "ummi" in the sense that he was not an "ahl al-kitab" (man of the Book), though the kitab (Book) in the form of the Qur'an he knew so well. In the main, he was a great man of *tariqah* and not of *shari'ah* in the strict sense of the term.

The Holy Qur'an in Arabic, Rumi's Mathnawi in Persian and Shah Abdul Karim's baits in Sindhi—all in manuscript form, these were Shah Abdul Latif's never-failing friends with whom he conversed day by day. Though there was not much of book-learning in Sindhi at that time, he must have received his education in accordance with the family tradition of the Sayyids and this is amply borne out by many Arabic quotation from the Qur'an and the Hadith in his various "Surs".

Shah Abdul Latif had an unflinching faith in the great Persian poet Rumi. Here fears to him in half a dozen baits, as in the following one:

The whole creation seeks Him,
He is the Fount of Beauty, thus Rumi says;
If you but unlock yourself, you will see Him.

The Sufi poet knew Shah Abdul karim's compositions, some of which are intermingled with his own in the Risalo, and also many popular Bhakti compositions in Hindi and various other languages of North India.

Shah Abdul Latif remained in the company of children who scampered about in the open, the in hills and dales, in the desert and lakes and sang the Sindhi baits, striving in soul the love for solitude and infinitude. He saw women spinning at their *charkha*, the potter at his wheel, the blacksmith at his unvil, the river-farers and desert-dwellers, the thunder and the rain, the flight of birds in the blue sky, the changing moods of man and nature, and wove all these experiences in the spiritual warp and woof of his immortal poetry.

In the young Latif, the people saw with no uncertain eyes the wonderful signs of his future greatness. Watayo, a dervesh of Thatta, presented to him two flowers, symbolically meaning thereby that he saw in him the fragrant spirit and radiant sparkle of Sindh.

At the age of 13 or 14, Shah Abdul Latif came in close contact with the octogenarian Shah Inat, a great Sufi poet of his day and remained in touch with him till his death in c. 1712. Shah Abdul Latif and Shah Inat's grandson, Shah Bilal, who also grew to be a poet, though less known, of the Kalhoro times, were of the same age.

Yet Shah Inat felt more drawn to Shah Latif's compelling charm of the *baits*. Shah Bilal marked time at the very point from where he started, whereas Shah Abdul Latif floated his ideas in words and meaning that were perfectly

fused. Shah Bilal, unlike Shah Abdul Latif, was so pusillanimous as to make the protagonist a mere observer and not a 'sufferer'.

It is on record that Shah Abdul Latif Visited the grand old poet of Nasarpur, Shah inat, quite a number of times That he admired his verses and had great respect for him is clear from the fact that he used to feel such an urge to go and meet him that he would cross fifteen long, but really not-so-weary, miles from his village Kotri to Nasarpur in the same district. There he recited to him his own verses composed on the model of those of his (Shah Inat's) on the common themes.

He would do so in the same manner as a respectful and receptive pupil might recapitulate in other words what his Master had said earlier. Shah Inat was delighted to see that Shah Abdul Latif took to poetry so naturally.

One day the young Latif, caught in the conflict of the phases of *qabz* (detracted from reality) and bast (expanded to reality), came to Shah Inat. The latter gave him solace saying:

> Viewing the tough mountain passes,
> don't slacken your pace (O Sasui !);
> It is only the worldly lovers
> who are scared by the difficult paths;
> First, you deck yourself with the garland of Reality,
> Then, says Inat, Punhu will soon take care of you.

Shah Abdul Latif went home reassured and sang;

In the face of the rough mountains, don't slow down your pace, Says Latif, pursue punhu's path vigorously through the passes.

> O Sasui, feel the fire of love for Punhu and fare forward,
> though he be hard, let there be great hope in you;
> Why say the beloved is far away,
> When He is nearer to you than your very eyes?

In the beginning, Shah Abdul Latif's poetry had an element of improvisation, but after a few years it gave place to vindication of his individual genius.

Shah Inat died when Shah Abdul Latif was around twenty. The facts that Shah Abdul Latif was deeply influenced by him and that he lovingly admired his poetry after his death may be verified from the comparative study of Shah Abdul Latif's "Surs" and Shah Inat's "Suruds' which brings to the fore many parallel *baits* in thought and form. Shah Inat paved the way for emergence of Shah Abdul Latif as the greatest poet of Sindhi language.

About the same time , another incident of great importance occurred in his life; he chanced to visit the ailing daughter of Mirza Mughal Beg, a descendant of Shah beg Arghun (d. 1522) and of Chengiz Khan in the remote past. Mirza Mugal beg was of choleric temper but he had great faith in Sayyid Shah habib, the spiritual guide of the laity. So, when his daughter fell ill, he sent for him to obtain an amulet to ward off the evil spirit around her. Shah habib being himself unwell sent his son to offer on his behalf the blessings of the Sayyids.

Shah Abdul Latif saw the ailing daughter and was struck by her beauty. His youthful heart missed a beat or two. He held her little finger in his hand and felt her sick pulse through the tip of that finger. He said, as if inspired: the prophet-poet in him was on his lips now:

> One whose finger is in the Sayyid's hand need fear no fall.

But such a prayer of Shah Abdul Latif to God for her recovery and well-being incensed Mirza Mughal Beg, her father, instead of consoling him. He thought that the young man by holding her hand in his hand dared to hint of marriage with her. Coming to know of Shah Abdul Latif's love at first sight, Shah Habib made a formal proposal to the Arghun for his son's marriage with his daughter. The Arghun did not say anything to the Sayyid in reply, but adopted such means as compelled him to leave Kotri for Haweli, bag and baggage The Sayyids built his Haweli at a place not very for from Kotri.

A dejected love may became a poet It was certainly the 'frustration in love' which helped to mature Shah Abdul Latif's mind. An unusual

youth, he did not think of taking away his beloved by any anti-social means. Instead, the restlessness now gave edge to his poetic sensibility to carve out a niche for himself in the world of commitment beyond oneself, leaving behind the world commitment to one self or one's own immediate interest. Now he was in the ever glorious realm of the Reality, far away from the world of physical forms.

One of those days he happened to see some thirsty goats rushing to the bank of Sangro canal to quench their thirst with its cool, sweet water. When they had their fill, they abused the water with their excreta and did not wait to have another look at the bank. Had they not drunk their fill, they would not have sullied the pure water. The poet introspected, and from within him flowed the verse:

May I forever seek and never see the beloved!

Abdul Latif, like many others of this land, knew Husain's love for hind or India. It is said Husain had expressed his desire to leave the then Iraqian world of turmoil and live in peace here in India.

The circumstances attending the Sufi poet's passing away would move anyone. Abandoning the idea of visiting Karbala, the Sufi poet returned to Bhit. He wore a black, sombre garment and went into a solitary chamber. He remained there for twenty days together and took occasionally a few morsels of food. On the morning of the twenty-first day, he came out and took a bath.

Then he lay down and pulled a sheet over himself. He asked his *faqirs* to play music and sing songs. There was music and song or three days and lo ! "Latif, the Lord, was observed in Love." Thus he passed into the enternity very quietly. What a beautiful poetry in that death ! He had many friends in life and many witnesses to his death.

Shah Abdul Latif died on the 14th of Safar 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.) and his earthly remains were laid at rest according to his own will, by the feet of Mahmud Shah. The 14th Safar is the date on which the annual fair in the sacred memory of the Sufi poet is held around his mausoleum at Bhit. The mausoleum contains the tombs of Shah Abdul Latif and his immediate successor Sayyid Jamal Shah. Jamal Shah, with the money donated by the Sindh ruler, Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, built the mausoleum over Shah Abdul Latif's impressive tomb in 1754.

One of the inscriptions over its door says that its construction by Idan, a well-known mason of the times, was complete within two years of the Sufi poet's death. The two inscriptions in Persian over the door of the mausoleum and on a wall of the mosque to its North show, according to the *Abjd* system of calculation, the year of his death as 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.)

Shah Abdul Latif's mausoleum is a place of pilgrimage for all people from all walks of life. To the ignorant masses Shah Abdul Latif is a patron saint of their secular affairs and a spiritual guide in the turmoil of life. The educated go to him in search of a universal mind. There the faithful look for the fire which has emitted the smoke of this worldly existence and the skeptics feel that if is possible that god should exist then in that case, He must exist there.

In sum, Shah Abdul Latif led the simple and meaningful life of a Bhakti-movement poet. The *Tuhfat al-Kiram* referred to him as an *ummi*. Since then the word "ummi" has been usually translated as "an illiterate person" by the Sindhi biographers. The antonym of *ahl al-Kitab*, or a man of Law in the form of the Qur'an he knew quite well); he was a man of tariqah, and not of *shari'ah* in the strict sense of the term.

There were many historical changes during his life-time, but he was not concerned with them directly. The contemporary history passed through the crucible of his mind and expressed itself in his *kalam*; he, by expressing himself, gave the most vocal expression to his times. Thus, he was the most representative Sindhi poet of his age.

Besides, there was, as we have observed, an inner integrity in his life and work. His life was a piece of poetry and his poetry an unconscious record of his life was a piece of poetry

and his poetry an unconscious record of his life. The two parts were the one organic whole. He was the author of one work and we ought to read all his Surs in order to appreciate any one of them. A man of *'Ishq Haqiqi,* or the true Love, in his life, his *Risalo* is one long wail of *firaq*, or separation.

Ever aware of the reality which had its roots in the rural Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif never lost contact with the simple colloquial speech. Whereas many of his contemporaries adopted Persian, the language of their rulers, and imitated the ontlandish poets in their choice of diction, images and poetic forms, he expressed himself, as a rule, in pure and simple Sindhi and also in a simple manner even during periods of personal spiritual ferment.

The Sindhi language developed a lot at his hands, as he went on apprehending finer distinctions among classes of objects and of ideas—the objects and ideas, which, though varied, speak of unity at the base. He described his impersonalised emotion in the indigenous Doha form and enriched it (doha) with his many innovations.

Thus, the Sindhi bait became a blanket term for several kinds of the Doha form—Doha, Soratha, Baro Duho, Tunveri Duho and their varied placings side by side. He recited his *baits* to create a definite ethos for his Wai songs—the Wai songs, which he sang in the melodic folk forms.

The effortless use of Alankaras in his poetry gives us the feeling of being in a particular place at a particular time. He *saw* and described and let us *see* what he saw. He devised the impersonal Vibhavas (objective correlatives) to express his personal emotions effectively enough to engender Rasa in us. Essentially a lyrical poet, he objectified his emotions by describing the main events in the life-stories of his heroines Sasui, Maru, Sohni, Nuri and others.

Shah Abdul Latif imbibed the best of Islam and Hinduism and helped develop a type of Sufism which was more Indian in its character. His work Risalo is not a philosophical treatise, but it propounds through the love-songs the doctrine of *advaita. Advaitavada* in its political and social implications is opposed to the narrow set-up of theocracy and to the vast disparities on grounds of wealth, heredity, etc. Religion on the Sufi poet is universal brotherhood Though he was born in a particular religious community, he belongs to the one family of Man.

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Abdul Qadir Sani (d. 1533 A.D.)

The new leader of the Qadiriyyas at Uch was Shaikh Muhammd's eldest son, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani. While a young man 'Abdu'l Qadir was obsessed with music and travelling. On his journeys, much to the disgust of his orthodox father, he would take a meals laded up with musical instruments. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir was not unlike a number of other successful sufis whose early lives had been filled with an appreciation of worldly delights and who had then suddenly undergone a conversion to mysticism. His hagiographer relates the story. While

hunting in the forest 'Abdu'l-Qadir heard strange and disturbing cries from a partridge.

At the same time a wandering dervish came to him telling him that soon he too would cry in anguish at his separation from God. Suddenly 'Abdu'l-Qadir experienced an aversion to anything connected with the world. Later he renounced his official post as well as his beloved music and replace them with a new, intensely mystical illumination and love of the Divine.

The Langah ruler of Multan was incensed by 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani's sudden resignation from the government. Moreover the Shaikh returned all *farmans* of grants and stipends he had received to the Sultan, brusquely informing him they should be given to someone else.

His independence had a somewhat predictable result and for several years the Shaikh was beset by the privations associated with an erratic income. Finally the Sultan relented, apologized to the Shaikh and invited him to court. However the Shaikh declined, on the pretext that he could not disturb his ascetic life.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq credits Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir with a multitude of miracles. The most significant power attributed to him was the curing of diseases, in the same way as the first Shaikh 'Abdu'l--Qadir Jilani. When a plague struck Multan, those who ate grass where Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani performed his daily ablutions were instantly cured. It was also commonly believed that the Prophet ad appeared to the Shaikh and his disciples.

Naturally, too, the supernatural elements attached to legends of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani (the founder) must have greatly contributed towards firmly establishing the Qadiriyya order in Sind and the Punjab. According to Dara-Shukoh, Sahikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir converted a large number of Hindus to Islam, as well as causing many way ward Muslims to adopt a pious life.

In 940/1533, Shaikh Abdu'l Qadir Sani was succeeded by his eldest son, Shaikh 'Abdur-Razzaq, was however held the post briefly, dying on 5 Jumada 11 942/1 December 1535. His place was assumed by his son, Shaikh Hamid, who had been trained by his grandfather, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani. A great favourite with all the Muslim population in uch, he was showered with gifts and grants which he apparently enjoyed disposing of.

Early in Akbar's reign, the Sadru's-Sudur, Shaikh Gada'i Kamboh, succeeded in having the Shaikh summoned to Agra from Uch. angered at this, the Shaikh cursed both Shaikh Goda'i was disgraced with him. Many sufis and holy men ascribed their sudden fall to being cursed by Shaikh Hamid.

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Abdu'l-Wahhab (d. 1606/07 A. D.)

Abdu'l -Wahhab was a prominent sufi poet. He chose the life of an itinerant dervish. His desire for a spiritual life and his passion for study and travel, inspired by his father, was deeply implanted. Shortly after his father's death him mother also passed away. From Gujarat and the Deccan accompanied by a small party he travelled to Malabar and then to Ceylon.

Nowhere, did he remain for more than a few days unless the company of some eminent 'alim and the urge to improve his religious knowledge detained him. The group made it a practice not to beg food from the local popula-

tion, surviving on discarded butcher's bones and wheat grains which they collected in the fields and made into a soup.

During the journey the travellers had a number of interesting experiences, including a meeting at Malabar with a yogi ascetic to whom had been attributed great miraculous powers. He claimed he could see a fort made of gold and invited them to enter it by performing certain thaumaturgical exercises.

Crowds of men and women gathered with offerings of food and money but the yogi refused to accept either. But he listened attentively to the preaching by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's party, and the Shaikh was later to claim that their impact had made the yogi a true Muslim, prompting him to forget his fort of gold. The story is a stock-in-trade tale, popular around the time of the 14th century of confrontation between sufis and yogis, with the inevitable ending in a Muslim victory.

From Ceylon or Malabar Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab seems to have travelled to Mecca in a merchant ship. By the time he reached the holy town he had acquired sufficient religious education to act as an *'alim* and he was skilled as a calligrapher. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi saw in Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab not only a fellow countryman but a promising mind likely to be an asset to his own mystical mission.

He invited Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab to stay and, as was his custom, to help him copy manuscripts. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab was undecided. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq the impact of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi's remarkable spiritual powers and scholarship finally prompted Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to accept the invitation. He was remained of his father's advice that he should not associate with saints who were involved with the *Da'wat-jasma'* and in influencing rulers; and in influencing rulers; probably Shaikh 'Abdu'l -Haqq was referring in this story tot he Shattariyya saints, Shaikh Bahlul and his brother, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, for Shaikh 'Abdu'l Wahhab's father had advised his son to become the disciple of such sufis as Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab decided to grasp the opportunity presented and remain with Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi. Shaikh 'Abdul'l-Wahhab decided to grasp the opportunity presented and remain with Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l -Wahhab was an expert in Persian *masta'liq*. On his teacher's advice, however, he began practising the Arabic *naskh* in which the Qur'an had been copied. Soon he became an expert in writing *naskh* and spent a great deal of time copying Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi's drafts and collating them with the original. Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq illustrated Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's devotion to his *pir* by telling of how, when an urgent copy of a manuscript of 12,000 verses was needed, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab in addition to his normal work completed the manuscript in twelve days, copying 1,000 verses each night.

Until the day of his death, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab remembered his teacher's advice to choose a dervish's life of poverty in preference to any other alternative. With the exception of a brief visit to Gujarat after the death of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi, Shaikh-Haqq he went to Gujarat to settle some business connected with his family's property. However, it is possible that in reality this visit may have been to start a campaign against the Mahdawis. They were certainly expecting the Shaikh and continually pestered him with awake ward questions in debates.

At Ahmedabad his house was surrounded by a Mahdawi mob and he only managed to escape by jumping the wall. Perhaps the most miraculous feat attributed to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab was his forty days' journey by boat from mecca to Gujarat and the sixteen days' return journey. After leaving Mecca he was back there in time to perform the next year's pilgrimage on 10 zu'l-hijja.

Like his teacher, Shaikh 'Abdu'l -Wahhab also earned his living by copying manuscripts. This however, was insufficient to support him. Some time between the age and forty and fifty he married for the first time and started a family. Previously anything he had obtained in *futuh*

he gave away, his only possessions being some clothes and material for copying manuscripts.

After his marriage he retained some of the futuh as his family's share, himself following the same path as before. His *khanqah* became a haven for Indian pilgrims whom he entertained and to whom he gave money and provision for their journey to Medina.

The Shaikh continued to lecture on *Fiqh*, *Hadis* and Arabis lexicography close to the Ka'ba. His moments away from lecturing, prayer and meditation were spent copying his precious manuscripts. In old age, although his eyesight was weak he managed to continue the same routine.

The people of Mecca, who were generally interested in the sufi orders of the western Islamic world, gave Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab the title of second Shaikh Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad al-Mursi (616/1219-689/1287). An Andalusian, Shaikh Abu'l-Abbas was known to have made a great contribution to popularizing the Shazilliya *silsila*. From Morocco to Egypt and from Syria to Arabia the Shazilliyyas scored great success.

Although unconcerned with his own fame Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab was impressed by the spiritual attainments of Shaikh Taju'd-Din ibn 'Ata'u'lah 'Abbas (d. Cairo 709/1309), the author of *Lata' if al-minanfi Manaqib al-Shaikh Abu'l-Abbas wa Abu'l-Hasan*, a biography of Shaikh Abu'l 'Abbas and his teacher, Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Shazili.

In his writings Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab made a subtle distinction between *'ilm* (knowledge) and *zikr* (recollection). He asserted that 'ilm might be likened to food which was indispensable for human beings and was a source of universal benefit. Zikr, on the other hand, he believed to be like a medicine to be used occasionally to cure illness.

To him the sufi teaching that mystics should be almost perpetually involved in zikr really meant that those who devoted themselves to virtuous deeds were actually doing just that. To him the performance of obligatory prayer, recitation of the Qur'an and the teaching of religious subjects were all forms of zikr. Those who abandoned studying and teaching and turned their backs on the world retiring into seclusion and dedicating themselves to zikr, were to Shaikh 'Abdu'l -Wahhab's mind replacing food by medicine.

Using the same analogy he maintained that in the early stages of sufi initiation, novices were diseased by their worldly involvements and needed a continuing remedy which should be zikr and meditation. Like sages of the past who improved their morals and whose actions were meritorious, they continued to spread religious knowledge, and he believed that no saintly person could ignore the acquisition of knowledge.

Once a dervish asked the Shaikh whether *namz* (prayer) should be preferred to zikr. His reply was highly meritorious, constant zikr helped to obtain the stage of unio-mystica leading to annihilation into the Wahdat. Unable to explain this mystical stage he remarked that it was an indescribable mystical perception which was intended to be experienced.

Once it was perceived it left an indelible mark on the devotee's mind. Referring to the da'wat-iasma' preached by some mystics, the Shaikh observed that although he was not aware if they had experienced the *wasl* (union) he did know that they were rude and impatient.

Moreover if one failed to treat them with respect they became vindictive. The keys to mystical practices, believed Shaikh 'Abdu'l-wahhad, were social ethics, forebearance and a readiness to make sacrifices in he cause of others.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab defined *zikr-ikhafi* (silent zikr) as a form of recollection recited in such a way that no-one close could hear it. His disciples drew his attention to the statements by some sufis that *zikr i-khafi* was to be performed in sucha manner that the tongue did not move, and that in its perfect form the heart remained ignorant of the performance of zikr.

The Shaikh did not cortradict this; but he added that sufis who gave this definition had a

different situation in mind. He did believe, however, that *zikr-i-khafi* should be performed in seclusion and retreat.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab avoided explaining his mystical experiences to those who were not fellow travellers, and sometimes even to other eminent mystics. He considered mystical experience to be a strictly guarded secret which, if he had to explain it, Should be described only in its essential points which could be made comprehensible to the listener.

The Shaikh also had a non-committal attitude regarding the *Wahadat al-Wujud*. He did not lecture on the *Fusus al-Hikam*, but like the *Faqihs* refused to criticise or ridicule the ideas contained in it. He advised his disciples first to follow the orthodox Sunni path and only then to study the *Fusus al-Hikam*.

However, he did warn that obscure points in the *Wahdat al-Wujud* should not be allowed to confuse the reader. He advised sufi novices that if in their early career they had heard any apparently incorrect statements about mysticism they should not reject them hastily and become bigoted but should try to sympathetically understand their positive and negative aspects. If the statement was consistent with the truth it could be accepted or rejected. If the latter course were impracticable, there was no harm in ignoring the statement in he interests of Islam.

Once, when praising Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Karim al-jili (767/1365—832/1428), Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab remarked that al-Jili had written the *Insan al-Kamil* to expound the principles of the *Wahadat al-Wuju* after the style of Ibn 'Arabi. Al-Jili was also the author of an impressive commentary on the Qur'an, nineteen volumes of which were devoted to a discussion of the words *Bismil'llahi'r-rahmani'r-rahim* (In the same of God the Compassionate, the Merciful).

Although he accepted the work as subtle and scholarly, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab believed it was sugarcoated poison just like the *Fusus al-Hikam* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, and that those who could avoid such poison and save themselves from harming their faith were indeed blessed.

Moreover, the Shaikh believed that an understanding of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* as laid down in such works as the *Fusus al-Hikam* was not imperative for mystical training, rather it was the performance of ascetic exercises in obedience to the principles of sufism which was indispensable and inevitably aroused mystical sensitivity in the neophyte.

However Shaikh Abdu'l-Wahhab cautioned his disciples that if in spite of performing prayers and fasting, a sufi made ecstatic utterances, it should charitably be assumed these were spontaneous expressions of ecstasy and they should not hasten to accuse him of heresy or infidelity.

The Shaikh was flexible also in his view of *sama'*. He asserted it was not objectionable occasionally to hear a *ghazal* or local tune. However he did not approve of Indian *sama'* gatherings in which all classes of people, both saintly and sinful, mixed promiscuously. *Sama'* to him was an act of worship which should be practised strictly according to the rules of the *Shari'a*

The teachings of Shaikh' Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi Qadiri, as previously stated, were reintroduced into the Indian sub-continent by his talented disciple, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, but his influence cannot be traced beyond Hijaz and India. A number of Indian sufis of the Shattariyya, Chishtiya and Naqshbandiyya orders who lived in Mecca or Medina, either temporarily or permanently, were more successful in disseminating their teachings throughout other parts of the Islamic world.

The most prominent was Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din's disciple, Mir Saiyid Sibghatu'llah bin Ruhu'llah. Born at Bharauch he travelled to Ahmadabad where he became a disciple of Shaikh Wajihu'-Din Gujarati. For some years he taught the Shattariyya doctrines and forms of zikr in the town of his birth. In 999/1590-91 he visited Malwa, after which he embarked on a

pilgrimage. Travelling through Khandesh he reached Ahmadnagar, where he remained for one year at the request of the ruler. He then moved to Bijapur where the Sultan made arrangements for the Saiyid to travel to mecca in his royal boat.

At Medina Saiyid Sibghtu'llah built a house and a khanqah, possibly out of the finance he received from the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. In Medina he accepted only gifts offered by the representatives of the Sultan of Turkey. In 1015/ 1606-07 he died and was buried at Baqi' in Medina.

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Adam Barnuri Shaikh (d. 1661 AD.)

The ancestors of Shaikh Adam Banuri were from Roh; on his father's side he was a Saiyid and on his mother's an Afghan. As one of his ancestors had settled in Banur, near Sirhind, the family came to be known by that name. Shaikh Adam Nanuri was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by Hajji Khizr Khan Afghan, a disciple of the Mujaddid.

Later, when he could guide Shaikh Adam no further, his *pir* suggested that he be trained under the Mujaddid. Confident in what he believed to be his own extensive spiritual achievements, Shaikh Adam was shocked to be told he had not reached even a preliminary stage of sufism. Shaikh Adam started training with the Mujaddid and soon realized that he was the only pir who could carry him further mystically. His progress, was rapid and he was soon appointed a *khalifa* by the Mujaddid ad commissioned to work at Banur.

In 1035/1625-26, Shaikh Adam Banuri wrote a book on the teachings of the Mujaddid and the Naqshbandiyyas entitled *Kalimatu'l-ma'arif*. Two of his other works, the *Khulastu'l-ma'arif* and the *Nikatu'l-asrar*, were among other well-known works on sufi teachings and on the importance of the Naqshbandiyya order.

A large number of Afghans became his disciples, and Muhammad Amin estimated the number of Afghans became his disciples, and Muhammad Amin estimated the number of his disciples to be 100,000 with 100 *khalifas*. Although this figure would appear grossly exaggerated, so large was the Shaikh's Afghan following that he became suspect in the eyes of the Mughal officials and nobility.

In 1052/1642-43 the Shaikh arrived in Lahore it this Afghan disciples, by this time amounting to the size of a private army. The Mughal governor was so apprehensive that the Emperor decided to dispatch his Diwan, Sa'du'llah Khan, accompanied by Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Sialkoti to investigate the situation. The Shaikh ignored them both. However he was unable to prove his Saiyid descent. On Sa'du'llah Khan's recommendation, the Emperor became convinced that this great Afghan following was a potential threat to the Empire and had the Shaikh and some of his disciples banished to Mecca.

In mecca and Medina Shaikh Adam Banuri uninhibitedly lectured on the mystical philosophy outlined by the Mujaddid. Once, while attending an assembly of the '*ulama*' of Mecca and Medina, he began describing he Mujaddid's pet theory about the superiority of the reality of the Ka'ba to the reality of the Prophet Muhammad and the other prophets.

In the audience was Shaikh Ahmmad Qushshashi who challenged Shaikh Adam to prove theory. The latter replied that the Prophet used to prostrate himself before the Ka'ba but

to him Ka'ba was not a structure of stone and roofs but Reality incomprehensible to the human intelligence. Shaikh Ahmad Qushshashi thereupon rejected Shaikh Ahmad's logic on the following grounds:

1. Muslims unanimously agreed that the Prophet Muhammad was superior to the whole of creation that even his grave was superior to the Ka'ba.
2. A denial of the importance of the form of the Ka'ba amounted to a rejection of the clear injunctions of the Qur'an contained in several verses and innumerable authentic traditions. As the 'ulama' regarded those who did not recognize the Ka'ba as infidels, one who denied its significance was an infidel.

According to the *Ma'ariju'l-wilaat*, Shaikh Ahmad Qushshushi's arguments partially convinced Shaikh Adam and he did admit the superiority of the Prophet Muhammad over the Ka'ba, while rejecting that of the other prophets and faithful over the Ka'ba. Qushshashi followed up with a treatise expanding his point of view.

Shaikh Adam Banuri preached the teachings of the Mujadid to the 'ulama' of Mecca and Medina some important letters of he Mujaddid were translated into Arabic. The Mujaddidiyya pilgrims to mecca and Medina reinforced the preachings of Shaikh Adam and the visit of Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id and Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum to Mecca and Medina in 1067/1656 made Hijaz an active centre of the controversies surrounding the Mujaddid's mystical claims. Two years after the death of Qushshi in 1661 Shaikh 'Adam Banuri also died.

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Ashraf, Muhammad (16th Century)

We have already spoken of Ashraf in our account of Muhammad Din, whose fellow disciple he was. His sincere desire to attain union with God led him to accept a spiritual teacher and guide who turned out to be very incompetent. He lost his health, which failed in a *cila* of a year's duration, and so died shortly afterwards.

Two of his *bara-mahs* are found in Muhammad Din's manuscript. A few lines from the pen of this unfortunate poet will not be out of place here.

Magh mahi tere bajho phirnia mast divani ji
ucca kuka ah vi aisi, sune na dil da jani ji
sabh jag alim tere nuro surat da lasani ji
Muhammad ashraf sai bajho alve umar vihani ji

In magh without thee, O beloved, I walk intoxicated and senseless, sire. Loudly I wail, and similar is the sigh, but the beloved of my heart does not hear, sire. All the world has knowledge from your light, in appearance you are peer-

less, sire. Muhammad Asraf, without the Master life is aimlessly passed, sire.

Magh Majhi cher savele avi
analhakk di bin bajavi
mukkh to ghungat caa uthavi
ajiz tal daras karavi
nosha shauh kadi phera pavi
ashraf tai yar malavi.

In *magh, graze* the cattle and return early and play the flute of *ana'l-Haqq*. Take the veil off your face and let the helpless have a glance. Bridegroom Lord, some time visit me, and let Ashraf meet the Beloved.

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Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, Saiyid (1285A.D. — 1405A.D.)

A new dimension to the growing Chishti centers in Jaunpur was added by Mir Saiyid Ashraf jahangir Simnani. The story of his life in the biographical accounts, such as the Miratu'l-Asrar are legendary. Simnani travelled round the world only once; and then performed the same journey on two occasions in a supernatural way: hagiologists including the author of the Lata'if-i *Ashrafi*, however have failed to discriminate between the two. More reliable are the Saiyid's own letters, although they fail to provide biographical evidence.

Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani a distinguished disciple of Shaikh 'Alaul Haq, was a leading saint of eastern U.P. He made notable contribution to the advancement of the Chishti *silsilah*. He belonged to a royal family of Simnani. He is reported to have memorised the whole Quran at the age of seven, and knew the seven traditional methods of reciting the Quran. The traditional went that when he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, he carried on the administration very efficiently, and became famous for his justice.

Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani was born at the end of the thirteenth century and left Simnani at about the age of twenty-three. He had been friendly with Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla Simnani but remained unimpressed by his theory of *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, devised as a counter to Ibn al-'Arabi's *Whadat* al-*Wudud*. A study of the controversial letters exchanged between Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawla seems to have prompted the Saiyid to go to Kashan to study under Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq.

The latter was an enthusiastic interpreter of the works of Ibn al-'Arabi. The Saiyid studied the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* and Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashani's *Istilahat al-Sufiyya* (Dictionary of Sufi Terms) under that great master of *Wahdat al-Wujud*. It would appear that the Saiyid left Kashan some time before Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashani's death in 730/1329.

Simnani left Kashan to travel and during this period Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani became his companion. They visited all the important sufi centres in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey and may have performed a pilgrimage. Travelling through Khurasan Simnani visited Mashhad, then went to Transoxiana where he spent some time with Khwaja Baha'u'd-Din Naqshband.

Then taking the route through Multan and Uch to India, Simnani lived for a period with makhdum Jahaniyan. Delhi was his next stop. Saiyid Gisu Daraz, who had already been converted to the teachings of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Dawala Simnani's followers was unconvinced by Saiyid Ashraf's discourses on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Disappointed, the Saiyid moved eastwards, reachings Munyar on 2 January 1381. At the time of his arrival, he body of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Munyari was awaiting burial. The Saiyid led the pre-burial prayers of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din, and this would indicate he had already achieved considerable prominence. He left Munyar for Pandua and was initiated as a Chishti by Shaikh 'Ala'u'l-Haqq.

This was his last initiation as he had already become a member of every existing sufi order. From Pandua Simnani went to Sunargaon, visiting the descendants of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Tawwama. Bengali sufis whose beliefs were filled was the idea of the Unity of Being were highly impressed by the Saiyid lectures on that subject.

Early in Ibrahim Shah Sharqi's reign, Simnani arrived in Jaunpur, however, the personality of Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi so dominated the Sultan's court that he immediately left for Kichaucha, in the modern Faizabad district of U.P. Although the *Lataif-i Ashrafi* tends to imply that he again travelled around the entire world with Shah Madar, this of course, would imply a miraculous journey while in the state of *Tair*, a common occurrence attributed to many sufis of that century.

At Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam's request, the Saiyid persuaded Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi to liberate Bengal from the domination of Raja Ganesa. He also wrote a letter to Sultan Hushan (1406-35) of Malwa in response to the Sultan's request to counsel him in matters of the government. His advice included the following points: in the event of an infidel invasion Jihad was compulsory for all Muslims, but as retaliation for an internal revolt of kafirs, jihad was optional. The administration should be run in consulation with the heads of different power groups. The belief held by some sages and ministers that consulation was dangerous because it worked against state security was, Simnani believed, against the best interests of the government.

To Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, the duties of a ruler to promote the interests of his subjects were extensive. He should rise early and then perform morning prayers. He should hold public audiences in which complaints of peasants and common Muslims were heard. Justice and the holy law should be enforced by the Sultan. Sadrs should place before rulers applications from the many Saiyids, Qazis and sufis. A Sadr should have integrity and kindness without distinction, and preferably should also be a mystic. A vizier should be accomplished in all the sciences and the arts, but more significantly, he should be deeply religious.

As indicated by his letters to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi on Ganesa's uzurpation of power, Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf was still alive in 1415. This would tend to negate the date of his death as given in the *Khaninatu'l Asfiya'* as 27 Muharram 808 25 July 1405, although it has been accepted uncritically by many modern scholars. Basing his assumption on the *Tabaqat-i Shahjahani*, Rieu believes the Saiyid died after 840/1436-37. Although this would make the Shaikh's life rather long, this date is more acceptable than the anachronistic date specified in the *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya'*.

Simnani emphasized that the majority of sufis were followers of the Unity of Being theory and the hostility of the 'ulama' and the jurists was prompted by reasons of expediency. In accordance with the teachings of Shaikh' Abdu'r-Razzaq Kashani, Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf stressed the necessity of gaining a true understanding of the esoteric definitions of the technical terms of sufism.

Finding that Indian sufis did not have an adequate knowledge of the terminology contained in the theory of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Simnani wrote a number of books, including the *Basharatu'l-ikhwan*, the *Fawa'idu'l-Ashraf*, the *Basharatu'q-Zakrin* and *Tambihu'l Ikhwan* to cater for the needs of novice mystics. The *Miratu'l Haqai'q* and the *Kanzu'd -Daqai'q* were written by Simnani for the benefit of specialists. His books and letters succinctly and convincingly clarified common misunderstanding about the Unity of being.

At the same time Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Simnani popularized the use of the Persian term Hama Ust (All is He) thus emphasizing the belief that anything other than God did not exist—the Tawhid meant that what existed was He. *Shuhud* (Appearance) and *Wujud* (Bein) were identical in the sense that everything existed through His Essence (*Haqq*) and this state was a gift from the Essence.

An independent existence necessarily implied non-existence. The Unity of Being did not imply that Being was united with the world, wrote Simnani instead it was a realization by the slave that the one Divine Essence was manifested in creation.

Saiyid Muhammad Asraf Jahangir Simnani makes an interesting commentary on the following lines contained in the *Masnawi* of Jalalu'd-Din Rumi:

> I died as mineral and became a plant,
> I died as plant and rose to animal,
> I died as animal and I was a Man,
> Why should I fear? When was I less by dying?
> Yet once more I shall die as Man, to soar
> With angels blest; but even from angelhood
> When I have sacrificed my angel-soul,
> I shall become what to mind e'er conceived.
> Oh, let me not exist ! for non-existence.
> Proclaims in organ tones: "To Him we shall return."

Simnani saw the death of self in terms of a spiritual ascent towards the Divine and maintained that it demanded complete severance from involvement in earthly existence. The verses did not, however, advocate transmigration, which Simnani added, was a different thing altogether.

In a letter to Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi, Simnani gave a very spirited defence of Ibn al-'Arabi's theory of the obedience and faith of Pharaoh Thothmis I of Egypt. He stated that the question of the Pharaoh's faith was discussed on ten different occasion in the *Fusus al-Hikam*.. Ibnal-'Arabi observed that the Pharaoh feared neither hell nor its tortures, however, he did obey the creative will of God (*al-Mashiyya*) and His eternally predetermined command. Thus he was not a free agent and his disobedience was neither purely religious nor irreligious and therefore it was unfair to call him unfaithful.

Before Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf's arrival in India, a holyman named Rukn claimed to be the Mahdi. It was during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, who duly had Rukn beheaded. Often the subject would be discussed at the Simmani's gatherings. The many sings of the Mahdi had been recorded in the authentic Ahadis of the Prophet, said Simnani, and it was therefore easy to discredit false claimants.

According to him someone had proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi during the time of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din of Quniya and the Shaikh had become embroiled in a great controversy because of his refusal to endorse the impostor's claim. Likewise, Simnani met another Mahdi pretender in Turkey and advised him to refrain from such adventurous and dangerous ambitions.

Royal life with all its glories and luxuries could not quench the spiritual thirst of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir. There was great tension in his mind for sometime but eventually he decided to abdicate the throne and lead the life of a mystic. He sought the advice of his mother who gladly allowed him to adopt mystic path. When he left his country, thousands of soldiers came to see him off. Travelling through Transoxiana, Samarqand and Bukhara he first arrived at Uchch, where he met Saiyid Jalauddin Bukhari, popularly known as Makhdun Jahaniiyan-i Jahangasht. He then came to Delhi and, after staying for some time there, proceeded to Bihar.

His arrival in Bihar coincided with the death of Shaikh Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maneri. He led his funeral prayer and proceeded to Pandua. Shaikh Alaul Haq received him with great affection and admitted him to his discipline. He spent 14 years at his khanqah and eventually to a *khiraqa* and a *khilafatnamah* from him. His preceptor also conferred upon him the title of Jahangir.

Afterwards Shaikh 'Alaul Haq asked him

to settle in Jaunpur. Saiyid Ashraf who had deep attachment for his mentor, was reluctant to leave his company, but on persuasion he set out for Jaunpur. The people of Pandua, nobles as well as common folk, gave him a hearty send of. A large number of people with camels and horses, including *alams* (standards) and *nishans* (banners) accompanied him.

When he reached Manner with all this paraphernalia, a local mystic, Shaikh Soman Arwali, criticised him for his royal show. Saiyid Ashraf retorted The pegs with which the horses are tied are nailed in the soil and not to his heart. Later he came to Muhammadabad (a qasba in Azamgarh district) and held discussions with the local scholars, He read to them a book he had written on the lives of the Pious Caliphs. Some of the ulama criticised the book on the ground that it contained more details about Hazrat Ali compared to the other three Caliphs.

They called him to the mosque on Friday to explain his point of view. A local scholar. Saiyid Khan, defended Saiyid Ashraf by citing a tradition and said "theulama could have (with some justification) objected to his encomiums on Ali, if the work were by a non-Saiyid and not by a Saiyid. Saiyid Ashraf was himself a Saiyid so he had every right to use exalting words about his ancestors." From Muhammadpur, Saiyid Shraf came to Aafarabad (near Jaunpur), and soon acquired great reputation. Shaikh Haji Chiragh-i Hind, a local Suhrawardi saint, did not like the idea of his settling at Zafarabad. It is said that a scholar of Sarharpur, Shaikh Kabir, who had initially thought of becoming a disciple of Shaikh Haji, joined the circle of Saiyid Ashraf's disciples. This further annoyed Shaikh Haji, and he used all his means to disturb Saiyid Ashraf and his disciples; but he did not succeed in his designs.

Later on he was struck with paralysis. After staying for sometime at Zafarabad, Saiyid Ashraf came to Jaunpur, where he was well received by the Sharqi ruler, Sultan Ibrahim (140-140 A.D.) At that time Sultan Ibrahim had sent an expedition to capture the fort of Janadah and was much concerned about it. He approached Saiyid Ashraf for his blessings and it so happened that his forces succeeded in capturing the fort. The Sultan and his sons developed great faith in him. Ibrahim expressed his desire to offer some gifts to Saiyid Asraf but he declined.

Qazi Shihabuddin Daultabadi, the chief qazi of the Sultan, was impressed by the spiritual eminence of Saiyid Ashraf and became his disciple. This considerably enhanced the prestige and position of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir in the eyes of the people as the Qazi was distinguished scholar of his time. Saiyid Ashraf conferred his *khirqa* and *khilafat* on him.

Saiyid Ashraf had considerable influence on Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. It is said that when his fellow disciple Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam faced difficulties at the hand of Raja Kans (Ganesh) and sought his assistance, Saiyid Ashraf wrote to Sultan Ibrahim about it and the latter responded to his request.

From Jaunpur Saiyid Ashraf finally moved to Kachaucha where he settled and established his khanqah. According to the author of *Lata'if-iAshrafi*, a leader of the Yogis was so impressed by his mystic personality that he embraced Islam along with his many followers and burnt all his religious books. Saiyid Ashraf died in 808 A.H./ 1406 A.D. at Kachaucha. He was one of the most distinguished mystics associated with the Chishti silsilah in Bengal. His later career and the history of his own line of disciples, however, lies outside Bengal.

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Abu Yusuf Yahya, Shaikh Muhi'u'd-Din (1602 A.D. — 1689 A.D.)

Among Chishtiyya settlers in Medina in the seventeenth century, the most important was Shaikh Muhi'u'd-Din Abu Yusuf Yahya Chishti, popularly known as Miyan Shaikh Yahya Chishti of Gujarat. The son of Shaikh Muhamud bin Shaikh Muhammad Chishti, he was born on 20 Ramazan 1010/14 January 1602. After completing his education at the age of twenty, he entered the army.

Unlike his follow soldiers he refused to plunder local villages for food, preferring hunger. After the death of his grandfather on 9 Rabi'1, 1040/16 October, 1630 he succeeded him in his spiritual position and renounced the world. During Aurangzib's viceroyalty of Gujarat (February 1645-January 1647), Miyan Shaikh Yahya repeatedly turned down the Prince's request for an interview, Finally when they did meet, Aurangzib requested advice on how to further the Islamic cause.

The Shaikh gave a non-committal reply, implying that Islam would progress naturally without help, and a supporter of the Prince interpreted the reply as a prophecy of Aurangzib's succession to the throne. Before he ascended the throne Aurangzib used to send an annual gift of 200 rupees to the Shaikh. When he became Emperor the amount increased to one thousand rupees per annum.

The Shaikh's indulgence in *sama'* prompted the *muhtasib* of Gujarat to hinder him from organizing such a gathering and also recitals of *maulud*. The Shaikh refused to recognize their authority and ordered his disciples to show armed resistance to the *muhtasib's* implementation of the imperial command. He, then, wrote a letter of complaint to the Emperor.

Aurangzib sided with the Shaikh and ordered the Governor, Raja Jaswant Singh, and other high officials to warn the *muhtasib* not to meddle in controversial religious issues. This meant a total victory for the Shaikh; the Emperor's officers apologized to him on behalf of Aurangzib and then presented him with a gift of one thousand rupees and four *tolas* of gold.

Prior to his mother's death, Shaikh Yahya had made a pilgrimage to Mecca. After her death he left India permanently, living in Mecca and Medina in alternate years. In these cities the Shaikh's seminaries became great centres for Indian pilgrims and sufis, several of whom he initiated. After residing for fourteen years in Mecca and Medina Shaikh yahya Chishti died on 28 Safar 1101/11 December 1689 at the age of ninety-one years.

His sons and grandsons remained in Medina, continuing in the family tradition of teaching and leading a retired mystic life. According to the *Ma'arijul-Wilayat*; the Chishtiyya order was popular in Arabia from the time of Fuzayl bin Iyaz, Ibrahim bin Adham and Khwaja 'Usman Harwani, Shaikh yahya being another welcome addition to the line of illustrious sufis.

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Amanu'llah, Shaikh (d. 1550 A.D.)

One of the most truthful exponents of the *Wahdat al-Wudud* among Qadiriyyas was Shaikh Amanu'llah of Panipat. Although his name was actually 'Abdu'l-Malik, he achieved fame under his title, Amanu'llah. Associated with several orders, Shaikh Amanu'llah was foremost a Qadiriyya and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud Lari, who introduced him to the *Fusus al-Hikam* and other famous works on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Amanu'llah must have often been present during the evenings when Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud became filled with ecstasy, ordered all books from the room and then delivered *extempore* lectures on the Unity of Being.

Totally involved with the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, Shaikh Aman claimed, he could deliver public lectures on its principles without veiling the by the use of anecdotes or similes, and even then could fully convince his audience of the truth of his message. He also asserted that, when a sufi novice, he could use two completely acceptable arguments in defence of the *Wahdat al-Wudud* and that later the number increased to sixteen.

The author of a number of treatises on *Tasawwuf* and the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, in the *Asbat* al-*Ahdiyya* Shaikh Aman meaningfully reinterpreted the universality of Reality and its process of encompassing the essence of phenomenal existence and embodying what was beyond existence. Tracing the history of the controversy over the *Wahdat al-Wudud* in the *Asbat al-Ahadiyya* the Shaikh quoted the Persian sufi and poet, Mawlana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi, who in his *Sharh-i Ruba'iyat* had clarified the most basic attacks on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* by its detractors.

Rumi asserted that some unenlightened interpreters of sufi aphorism believed that Divine Reality was infused into all existences. Such a fallacy, said the Shaikh, had arisen from a rationalization that the whole exists only in sections, which meant it was believed that God existed through His creations, depending Himself on their existence and that His attributes also depended on the attributes of created beings.

To sufis like Shaikh Aman or Rumi such a view was founded on a total ignorance of the truth, and was also sheer heresy. Adherents to another wrong ideal believed that in His primordial absoluteness God was free of attributes, but the stage of His self-revelation deprived Him of his former state and He infused Himself into phenomenal objects.

According to this line of thinking, the separate and transcendental existence of God remained unproven and He was known only through His emanations. Shaikh Aman fiercely believed this view also contradicted the notion of the self-revelation of the Ab-

solute and was not essentially different from the position of the first group.

According to Shaikh Aman the hierarchical order of Wujud as defined by the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* merely included varying degrees of self-manifestations of the Absolute. Being represented in His transcendent absoluteness, continued the Shaikh, was beyond the dichotomy of 'existence' and 'non-existence; quiddity (*mahiyya*) was not to be understood in its genera sense but in the following special sense of Essence. The recurrence (*tajdid*) of creation was the revelation of the Essence, first to Himself, then in a perpetual cycle of the passing away of forms.

In conclusion the unknowable Essence (or God existing in Himself) was so Absolute that it was even free from the attribute of absoluteness. Amanu'llah also wrote a detailed commentary on the *Lawa'ih* of Mawlana 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami. In it he stressed that the perfection of a dervish depended on a refinement of morals, coupled with an intense devotion to Muhammad's family and their descendants. So profound was the Shaikh's own respect for Saiyids that as a lecturer he would remain standing while the children of Saiyids played in the streets outside.

Shaikh Aman, however, never founded his own *khanqah* and lived in a very humble dwelling. So scrupulous was he to avoid any form of ownership that he was constantly distributing gifts in charity. He fasted incessantly and during the night took little sleep. His excessive *zikr* and meditation often made him neglect his obligatory prayers.

When praying, he periodically found himself unable to recite beyond the fourth verse of the opening chapter of the Qur'an where the line, 'Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help' would produce in him an ecstatic state.

Although sick with fever, on 11 Rabi II 957/ 29 April 1550 Shaikh Amanu'llah Panipati conducted the '*urs* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani (the Ghausu'l-A'zam) and then dispensed food to the people of Delhi before collapsing and dying the following day. He was buried near the grave of his *pir*, Shaikh Muhammad Mawdud.

Despite Shaikh Aman's general unwillingness to enrol disciples, by the time of his death these were quite numerous. Of them Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq highly praises Shaikh Taju'd Din for his excellent personal qualities, as well as for his extensive knowledge of sufism and the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Although he subscribed to the view held by a considerable number of Akbar's courtiers that the Emperor was the Perfect Man (as devised by Ibn 'Arabi and his followers), thereby becoming a target for the merciless ridicule of Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's profound respect for Shaikh Taju'd-Din never altered.

Among other disciples of Shaikh aman Panipati was Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's father. In the early days of his career as a mystic Shaikh Saifu'd-Din, had been a Suhrawardiyya. On hearing of the famous Shaikh Aman he decided to join the Qadiriyya order.

Traditionally, Shaikh Aman would test the attitudes of his new disciples and Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was no exception. When asked to express his own feelings towards mysticism Shaikh Saifu'd-Din replied that he often felt the whole universe encircling him and that he in turn encircled it. Shaikh Aman decided that an understanding of the Unity of Being was already germinating in his new disciple.

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Akhi Siraj (14th Century A.D.)

At the close of the 13th century or in the early part of the 14th century there came a saint from Lakhnauti, named Sirajud-Din, to meet Hazrat Mehboob-i-Alahi at Delhi (d. 725 A.h./324A.D). He remained four years with Nizamud-Din Auliya. Once a year he used to go to see his mother at Lakhnauti. The name of Sirajud-Din came up for conferring of Khilafatship, but he was not acceptable because he was not well educated.

Maulana Fakhrud-Din Zaradi took pity on him and determined to make him an erudite scholar in Islamic learning, and within a period of six months he did it. Now he presented him to Mehboob-i-Alahi, who conferred upon him the title of 'Aine-e-Hindi' (mirror of India) before making him khalifa. The following moment as have been composed in his honour which are preserved in *Rauzatul Aqtab*.

> *'Alhaq ki way aainai hind bud ki tamam hind az way rawnaq irshad wa hadayet bifarmud wa triqi marifatwa vilayet rua namud, agarchi jami khulafa sultanul mashaikh sahibe muqamat ali bud, aman azahan shaikh nasiruddin mahmud ki chiraghe dehli wa shaikh sirajuddin ki aainai hind ast chashni digar dashtand wa azin du buzurg base mardunan sahib takmil wa irshad paidaamadanud'.*

He was the mirror of India of a surety, the light that radiated from his discourses on religion and on matters spiritual illuminated the whole country. His service to the cause o Sufism excelled all in magnitude and perfection. Although all the deputies of Nizamud-Din Auliya were men of high eminence in the realm of divine knowledge, the name of Shaikh Nasirud-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i-Dehlavi and Shaikh Sirajud-Din 'Aina-i-Hind' are conspicuous. Many scholars and eminent saints quenched heir intellectual thirst from the fountains of their learnings.

Hazrat Sirajud-Din Akhi stayed at Delhi a few years after the death of his mentor. When Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325—1351 A.D.) ordered for compulsory migration of all the people of Delhi to Devagiri (1327 A.D.) (Deccan) Shaikh Akhi Siraj retired to his native land Lakhnauti. He took some books from the library of Mehboob-i-Alahi for further study.

Shaikh Akhi Siraj was the first saint who established the Chishtiya Order in Bengal and his personal library was first of is kinds. Islamic learning and culture spread through him and by the effort of his disciples throughout the length and breadth of this part of India. His popularity touched such a height that the rulers of the territory felt it an honour to be included among the disciples of his khalifas. His mausoleum at pandua in Maldah is a place of pilgrimage even today.

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Al-Din A'la, Amin (d. 1597)

Shah Amin al-Din A'la put into practice the spiritual life of which his father, Burhan al-Din Janam, had written. Born in the year of his father's death, 1597, Amin al-Din was raised and taught on Shahpur Hillock by three of Burhan al-din Janam's most prominent *khalifas*: Muhmud Khush Dahan, Saiyid Dawal, and Saiyid Khudawand Shah.

Little is known of his activities during the entire first half of the seventeenth century, though it is certain that he had no contract with the courts of Ibrahim II and Muhammad 'Adil Shah. One biographical account relates only that early in his life he submerged himself in reclusive meditation for twelve years. Another records that he spent his childhood and boyhood brooding at his father's tomb until finally, one moonlit night, he emerged from his reflections to declare to some devotees that union with God was possible only through insensible rapture (*bi-khudi*).

It was from this point, perhaps the middle 1600s, that a cult seems to have coalesced around Amin al-Din, for he became to his *murids* not only a *pir* to be venerated but a living object of worship.

The mystical doctrine taught by Amin al-Din was not presented as any systematized theory as was that of his father Burhan al-Din Janam or his principal teacher Mahmud Khush Dahan. As a *majzub*, Amin al-Din was inclined neither to speculative reasoning nor to composition; and although several Dakhni works have been attributed to him, it is more likely that such writings were written by his disciples who took down the words of the master while he lapsed into ecstatic moods. Some of his teachings were non-conventional, such as his protest against the idea that the mosque was the exclusive house of God:

> Some great people say that prayers to God consist of constructing a mosque and praying in it. They would pray day and night to God in the house of God. [But] the first mosque is the whole creation; the body is *mibrab* [a mosque's niche indicating the direction of prayer], and the heart is the spiritual light which, when filled and illuminated, prepares a man to offer prayers.

Although the above sentiment perhaps reflected Amin al-Din's conscious alienation from urban Islam, it was far from heretical. Much more serious were his claims to have achieved union and identity with God Herein lay the crucial difference between Amin al-Din and his father; indeed, it was the difference between the radical Sufism of the *majzubs* and the more moderate position of the Literati.

As noted above, Burhan al-Din Janam maintained the position of Orthodox Chishtis that in the stage of *maqam-iqurb* the Sufi can attain "nearness' to God but not union or identity with the Divine Being. With reference to his own arrival at the *maqam-iqurb* Amin al-Din said:

> When I saw that this is the place of God

I Saw that two names signify one thing.
You should know and accept that in reality
God and man are one.
The extremity [*siwat*] of Man is God,
And the extremity of God is Man.
There is only one place of both God and Man
And they both have one sign.
And in another essay he stated,
At that time we will cease to recognize
Human qualities in ourselves,
As well as divine qualities in God.
To single out divine qualities would be false,
As also to single out human qualities.

In the passage quoted above, Amin al-Din was speaking not of himself so much as of the general relationship between Man and God. Even more heretical were his own claims to divinity, or more accurately, to a share of God's divinity. This sentiment, which represents the logical culmination of a majzub's religious experience, was eloquently expressed in a first- and second-person essay attributed to him:

You [i.e., God] were a witness on the day of creation
And it is certain that my light was also a witness.
As far as You wanted to reveal, You did so;
And so was revealed the brightness of my light.
The sun of my light has appeared brightly,
And it has happened in our presence.
You have made my light a mirror of Your own self,
And in that light have filled Your qualities like a hidden treasure.
The qualities have been given to me,
Yet the praise is for Your;
so how can I distinguish between You and myself?"

Both manuscript and epigraphic sources suggest that the followers of Amin al-Din believed in their pir's quasi-divine status. Evidently writing after Amin al-Din's death, on of his murids praised the Sufi's charismatic and quasi-divine qualities, even comparing him with the Mahdi (a spiritual personage who will appear on the last day and establish Islam over all unrighteous forces):

I myself have seen with my own eyes
That whoever met Amin benefited from him.
In the eleventh century [A.H.] he became our leader,
And is like a Mahdi for us.
Everyone believed that his disciples
Are able to reflect God.
For it is true that Amin has dissolved himself with God
And in truth has become immortal.

Further evidence of the cult surrounding Amin al-Din is seen in an important inscription on the Sufi's mausoleum, built in 1677-78, just two years after his death. Professor M. Akbaruddin Siddiqi of Hyderabad has recently published a transcription and translation of this massive epigraph, which he suggests in the largest single inscription to be found on a Muslim tomb in all of India.

Over the doorway of the tomb are inscribed the Islamic credo, several Traditions of the prophet, and the names of the twelve imams. Flanking both sides of the tomb's doorway is inscribed a Dakhni *ghazal* of fifteen couplets extolling the saintly character of Amin al-Din and describing his closeness to God. On both sides of the doorway, interspersed between these couplets, are some short phrases enclosed in small circles At a glance their function would appear to be purely decorative, serving only to fill the gaps between the verses of the Dakhni *ghazal*. But a close examination strongly suggests that they are appeals to Amin al-Din authored by one of the Sufi's disciples:

O Amin! Help (2)
O fulfiller of needs!
O performer of miracles! (2)
O Amin! Help!
A Shamsu'l-'Ushshaq [literally, "sun among the lovers"!
O divine beloved!
O sun of [and?] the moon!
O fulfiller of needs! (2)
O Amin! Help!
O 'secret of My light!
O Amin! Help!
O 'Ashiq-i-Shhbaz [literally, "lover-falcon"]!
O Amini! Help!

O secret of My secret!
O light of my light!
O Amin! Help!
O secret of My secret!
Allah sufficeth!
Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali!
Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali!
Allah is the healer!
O Allah! (2)
Verily, I am Allah!

The last line in this inscription is of more than casual interest, for it was the utterance of essentially this phrase that led to the execution of the martyr-Sufi Mansur al-Hallaj in tenth-century Baghdad. Thenceforth the phrase became a warchword for heresy among Sufi. It is therefore significant that the phrase is given such prominent position in the inscription, appearing at the head of both sides of the doorway, and that its characters are larger than most others in the inscription.

Furthermore, it hardly seems coincidental that the phrase is inscribed inside a drawing of a spherical dome resembling the Amin al-Din *dargah* itself. These facts, plus the constant repetition of Amin al-Din's name and epithet in other lines would seem to associate the heretical phrase with the Sufi. It was probably used by both the pir and followers when in states of extreme ecstasy.

The cult that coalesced around the figure of Amin al-Din A'la on Shahpur Hillock, consisting of at least a dozen *khalifas* and numerous *murids*, was not only heretical from the standpoint of orthodox Islam, but was also accommodating toward the non-Muslim population. Muhammad Mu'azzam, one of these *khalifas*, related that '*lakhs*" (hundreds of thousands) of Hindus were attracted to Amin al-Din:

On the same night he was in exhilaration
Many followers became his *murids*.
Hearing this *lakhs* of Hindus
Came and worshiped him.
A *lakh* of people having sacred threads
Also came before Amin presenting themselves as offerings.
A *lakh* of Jangams also came to worship him
And to ask him of their own existence,
Saying, "I, I—who am I?
Who is in Amin uttering these truths
When he is exhilarated?"
Having been asked about these secrets,
Amin taught them as he had been taught.
After they mastered these secrets
Lakhs of infidels showed their gratitude

[i.e., became Muslims]. After all due account is made for hagiographical exaggeration, the passage nonetheless indicates the Sufi's receptive attitude toward non-Muslims.

There seem to have been especially close ties between Shahpur Hillock and the Kannad-speaking Lingayat population of the region. This is suggested in the above passage by reference to the Jangams, the Lingayat priesthood. It is further suggested by the life and even the name of one of Amin al-Din's foremost *khalifas*, Qadir *Linga*.

According to one tradition Qadir Linga was even permitted by the Lingayat community to wear their divine emblem, the *linga*, on his left foot. This purportedly occurred after he had miraculously recovered a number of *lingas* from a deep well and restored them to their Lingayat owners "They then declared their belief in him," concludes the hagiographic account, "and even to this day [180-5] it is customary among their descendants to wear the *linga* on their left foot."

These passages accord with other evidence suggesting a symbiotic relationship between Sufis and Lingayats, and the possibility that Lingayats formed a significant component of the outer circle of devotees attached to seventeenth-century Shahpur Hillock.

As the guardians of Islamic orthodoxy in Bijapur, the '*ulama* could not, and did not, stand idly by as the cult of Amin al-Din showed these signs of syncretism and, worse still, heresy. While they differ in details, all hagiographical account of Amin al-Din's life mention the 'ulama's decisive steps to check the Sufi excesses. One of the most complete reports of the encounter that took place between Amin al-Din and the

'ulama, and the most contemporary such account, is found in a biographical work entitled *Makbzan* al-Amin. Composed by the son of one of the Sufi's closest *khalifas*, Amin al-Din A'la Ii, this work was possibly written during the Sufi's own lifetime since the author died in 1690-91.

The Makbzan al-Amin records that during the reign of Sultan 'Ali II (1656-72) one of the leaders of the city's 'ulama, Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari (d. 1685-86), accused Amin al-Din of permitting pir-worship among his followers in conscious violation of the commandment that only God can be worshiped. A delegation of 'ulama headed by Muhammad Bukhari then brought this accusation to Shahpur Hillock where they were received by the Sufi's son, Baba Shah.

The latter went to the mosque attached to the *khanaqah* where he informed his father of the 'ulama's arrival and the nature of their complaint. Replied Amin al-Din sarcastically, "And whom do these men worship? Very well, if they are coming, let them come."

When Muhammad Bukhari and the delegation of 'ulama arrived at the mosque, Amin al-Din had them all sit down and present their arguments in light of the Koran, the Traditions of the Prophet, and the Commentaries and opinions of earlier scholars. The discussion focused on the meaning of prostration (*sijda*), and whether or not the prostration performed by the followers of Amin al-Din before their pir constituted worship of Amin al-Din himself. After delving into the fine points of Islamic jurisprudence, the learned assembly eventually ruled in favor of the Sufi. It concluded tat two types of prostration must be distinguished, the prostration of servitude (*sijda-yi bandagi*) and the prostration of respect (*sijda-yi ta'zim*).

The first of these was reserved only for worship of God, while the second was lawfully suitable for any of five special relationships: the faithful to the prophet, a murid to a *pir*, a citizen to a king, a child to a parent, and a slave to a master. Acquiescing in this decision, Muhammad Bukhari reported these events to Sultan Ali II, later confessing Shame for ever having brought the accusations against Amin al-Din.

Since the above account was recorded by one of Amin al-Din's own descendants, the resolution of the conflict in the Sufi's favor is perhaps understandable. On the other hand the *Tazkirat al-Qadiri*, and undated account of Bijapur Sufis written by a Aadiri compiler who generally viewed Chishtis as rivals, lends a different perspective to this event. According to this account the 'ulama of the city brought the transgressions of Amin al-Din directly to the attention of the sultan, not the Sufi.

The Sultan then summoned to court the disciples of the heterodox Sufi and admonished them to see that Amin al-Din participate in the orthodox prayers and follow the dictates of Islamic Law Missing from this account is any reference to a meeting between Amin al-Din and the 'ulama, much less a decision of the learned doctors of Islam in favor of the Sufi. On the contrary, by this account the court toughened its dealings with Amin al-Din and his cult by ordering all the city's shops to refuse goods to both the Sufi an his disciples.

Other descriptions of the encounter between Amin al-Din and the 'ulama likewise mention Muhammad Bukhari as the leader of the orthodox party, though they differ slightly in narrative details. Mentioning the encounter as a "tradition" (*naql*), Ibrahim Zubairi wrote:

Owing to the predominance of his exhilaration and the intensity of his senselessness, Amin al-Din paid no attention to the pillars of Islamic Law. And by abandoning existence and by persisting in his vigilance and his sight of God, he failed to observe the [obligatory] prayers. When Saiyid Muhammad Bukhari... heard of the Sufi's exhilarations and his ignoring the pillars of Islamic Law, he became seized by a will to protect the *shari'at* and a zeal to do what is commanded. In the company of several great men and prayer-leaders, Saiyid Muhammad verbally attacked the Sufi... [saying that] first he must obey the pillars and commands

of the Law, turning his foot from the path of the [Sufi] Way.

From this point Zubairi follows a version of the encounter that first appeared in the *Shajarat al-Atqiya*, a contemporary narrative poem composed by one of Amin al-Din's murids, Muhammad Mu'azzam Bijapuri. In this account Saiyid Muhammad was again portrayed as the champion of orthodoxy. But instead of going to Shahpur Hillock or to the Sultan, Bukhari tried to persuade Amin al-Din to come to the Jami' Mosque for the regular prayers. Doing so would have symbolized the Sufi's submission to the city's 'ulama.

Amin al-Din accordingly refused to yield to this pressure and instead invited Muhammad Mukhari to Shahpur Hillock. The latter accepted, went to the hill, and was astonished to watch Amin al-din spread out his prayer-carpet on the water of a nearby reservoir and proceed to offer his prayers in that fashion. As far as concerns the 'ulama, the episode abruptly ends at this juncture and nothing further is mentioned of Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari.

Yet the theme that runs through this and the other biographical notices concerning this confrontation is clear: Amin al-Din A'la implacably refused to submit to the city's 'ulama either by recanting his doctrine or by performing his prayers in the city's jami Mosque.

Shah Amin al-Din A'la's heterodox views and the cult that he attracted around him drew sharp opposition not only from the city's 'ulama, but also, and far more significantly, from fellow Sufis of the Qadiri and Shattari orders. Among them was a certain Mir Muhammad Sadiq, a murid of 'Abd al-Latif Qadiri (d. 1671-72) and a contemporary of Amin al-Din.

In his *Shams al-Haqayiq*, a Dakhni poem explaining orthodox Sufi terms, Mir Muhammad Sadiq leveled an attack on Amin al-Din in which the epithet "majzub" was clearly employed as a pejorative:

> Amin was absolutely a majzub,
> And nobody can trod the path of belief with a majzub.
> Norcant he majzub guide anybody—
> Madmen always seek madmen,
> even though there have been many thorough majzubs,
> No chain [of followers] has ever issued from them.
> *Majzubs* are like diamonds—
> They cannot give or reflect light,
> But keep it in themselves.

An even more vicious attack on Amin al-Din is found in a letter among the papers belonging to the present *sajjada-nisbin* of the Qasim Qadiri dargah in Bijapur. This letter was written during Amin al-Din's lifetime by a certain Karim Allah. Little is known of Karim Allah's identity, but the persons to whom he was writing as well as the content of the letter indicate that he was a landed Sufi, a resident of the city, and a member of either the Qadiri or the Shattari order, or both.

One of his two addressee, 'Abd al-Razzaq Qadiri, resided in the village of Gomarsi, which from 1676 would become an *in'am* for two grandsons of Shah Mustafa Qadiri. The letter, which is undated, further identifies its author as a jagirdar of the village of Salkonda (not located on modern maps). Since the content of the letter indicates that Karim Allah lived during the lifetime of Amin al-Din, who died in 1675, it is possible to conclude that the author was a late seventeenth century landed Sufi having close ties with *pirzadas* of prominent Qadiri and Shattari *pirs*.

The most significant aspect of this letter is that it reflects the alarm with which urban Sufis viewed the expanding popularity of Amin al-Din. Karim Allah wrote, "Not only have all the inhabitants of Bijapur shown preference for Khwaja...Amin, but all the people of the Deccan have placed their heads before his greatness and have become believers in him. It has come to this that even several ignorant Qadiri shaikhs have recently joined his following." Karim Allah then fired several volleys of poetic invectives at Amin al-Din and his followers:

> The followers of Amin are all disbelievers,
> For they all emphasize the body as self-existent.

Actually, they have no understanding of self-existence—
Nor of the meaning of possibility, those asses.
They say there are five elements having twenty-five qualities,
But no wise-man can accept this talk;
these five elements are only five devils.

The tenor of these passages suggests that the hostility for Amin al-Din harbored by his Sufi detractors sprang from causes more profound than academic differences over the nature of the cosmos. Indeed, even that dispute had its wider implications, for Amin al-Din evidently borrowed his cosmology from a Hindu philosophical system, while that of orthodox Sufis originated in Middle Eastern thought.

The hostility between Amin al-Din and his Sufi opponents reveals just how far apart the *in'amdar* and the *majzub*, the two Sufi types most characteristic of late seventeenth century Bijapur, had strayed from each other. While the one had become thoroughly absorbed into the social and religious world of the [ulama, the other had just as resolutely turned his back on that world while adopting unorthodox doctrines and practices. This important theme can be further elucidated by examining the career of a late seventeenth century poet affiliated with Chishti Sufism, Muhammad Muhmud Bahri.

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Abdu'l-Haqq (1551 A.D. — 1663 A.D.)

'Abdu'l-Haqq, was born in Muharram 958/ January 1551 when Shaikh Saifu'd-Din (father) was bout thirty-seven yeas old. 'Abdu'l-Haqq was a melancholy and meditative child who was also precocious. His father's unique method of teaching further increased his learning. Although intensely mystical, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din proved an enthusiastic and encouraging teacher, urging his pupil to spread his interests to cover various classics and grammatical texts.

From his earliest years 'Abdu'l-Haqq refused to behave like a child playing games and idly amusing himself. A tireless student, he would arrive at school before daybreak and begin studying. Besides daily reading, memorizing and discussing his lessons, he would prepare written notes on them, and during the evening continue his study. His parents became distressed by the extent of his seriousness an lack of exercise. When forced to go to bed he would pretend to sleep then quietly resume his studies.

On several occasions 'Abdu'l-Haqq's turban caught alight, yet he remained oblivious until his scalp itself began burning. As well, he pursued a rigorous knowledge and piety, was without limit. In order to satisfy his sons's mystical urge, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din initiated him as a

Qadiriyya. Later he advised him to become a disciple of the most illustrious living Qadiriyya *pir*, Shaikh Musa.

On 6 Shawwal 958/17 Dec. 1577 Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq was given sufi initiation into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Musa, who by that time was living permanently at Akbar's court in Fathpur-Sikri his younger brother Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir having retired to Multan after the dispute to which we have already referred. It would seem that this initiation occurred at Fathpur-Sikri or, if it did take place in Delhi, Shaikh 'Abdu'-Haqq must have accompanied his pir to Fathpur-Sikri and stayed there for perhaps a year, making frequent visits to Delhi to see his by then ailing father.

In Sept. 1578 Akbar returned to Fathpur-Sikri after an expedition against the Rajputs and the second round of religious debates in the '*Ibadat-Khana* and Anup Tala'o (tank) was resumed. In these discussions Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi and Makhdumu'l-Mulk emerged as leading rivals to each other. During this period also, the '*ulama*' signed the *mahzar*. Naturally Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq came in touch with his *pir's* friends. Shaikh 'Abu'l-Fazl and Faizi. He also became friendly with other dignitaries of the court.

However the eclectic trend in the new religious developments disgusted him as did the parties of Makdumu'l-Mulk and 'Abdu'n-Nabi as well as their opponents. He was reminded of his father's disappointment over greedy and status conscious 'ulama' and he decided to withdraw to Delhi. Although his *pir* Shaikh Musa remained a close associate of Abu'l-Fazl and Faizi, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's enthusiastic devotion to his pir never waned.

In both prose and poetry he eulogized Shaikh Musa. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq refused to take part in the war which was waged by 'ulama' leaders, however, and was therefore regarded as being neutral to the new imperial policies.

After his father's death in 1582 the Shaikh remained in Delhi looking after his widowed mother. By that time the thrust of the Emperor's opposition had also abated, but the death of the Emperor's half-brother, Mirza Hakim (at the end of July 1585) in Kabul caused the Emperor to leave for Kabul the following month, and he did not return to Agra until 1598.

Therefore as has been claimed there was nothing political to prompt Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to leave India and he only did so for he felt in himself the awakening of a compelling urge to go on pilgrimage. As his mother was lathe to let him go, he promised he would return after only visiting Mecca and Medina.

After leaving Delhi early in 995/1586-87, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq travelled through Malwa and Gujarat. In Ujjain he stayed with Mirza 'Aziz Koka, the governor of Malwa, and at Mandu was the guest of Shaikh Ghausi Shattarim the author of the *Gulazar-i Abrar*. When he reached Ahmadabad it was the wrong season for sea travel so he spent some months with Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad Bakhshi.

There Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq also called on the celebrated Shattari, Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din; Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq showed no interest in the Shattari teachings but sat instead at the feet of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din to learn the Qadiriyya *zikrs*. By the time the sailing season arrived, his host had made provision of his passage to the Arabian peninsula. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq finally reached Mecca sometime before Ramazan 996/July-August 1588.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq soon became proficient in such outstanding *Hadis* works as the *Sahih* Muslim and *Sahih Bukhari* and studied under Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi al-Qadiri al-Shazili, formerly of India, who will be referred to more fully in Chapter Six. He also spent some time in retreat in a cell near the Ka'ba. On 21 Zu'lhiija, 998/21 Oct. 1590 Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq claimed to have seen the Prophet Muhammad in a dream, delivering a sermon on *Hadis*. This marked the high point of his religious aspirations and he decided to settle permanently in the Holy Land.

Under the influence of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq was to retain an

attachment to the Hanafi school of jurisprudence which had begun to wane because of the impact of the Shafi'i 'ulama' of Mecca. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi not only initiated his disciple into the Chishtiyya, Qadiriyya, Madayniyya and Shaziliyya *silsilas*, but also imbud him with a moderate attitude towards the controversies which concerned the different sufi orders and the various schools of 'ulama'.

The serenity of the intellectual and spiritual life of Mecca appealed greatly to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, but his pir, Shaikh 'Abdu'l Wahhab, himself an emigrant from India reminded him of his obligations to his family and urged him to return home speedily.

Shaikh Abdu'l-Wahhab ably parried Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's arguments against returning to India, by encouraging him to believe that from the Islamic point of view the situation there was not as gloomy as his pupil had imagined. His instructions to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq included the following points. The most sacred duty of Muslims was to strengthen (both internally and externally) their beliefs within the frame-work of Sunni law and then to study dispassionately the sufi works of scholars of the Wahdat al-Wudud. Subtle mystical secrets contained in sufic works which appeared unintelligible should be passed over and not be allowed to interfere with the religious beliefs of the sufis. Neither gullibility nor resistance to new ideas were useful to the sagacious.

> "Should you see anyone who recites *kalima* and performs obligatory prayers and keeps the fast, while uttering such remarks (as violate the principle of *Shari'a*) you should consider him needy of help rather than hastening to declare him an infidel or a heretic."

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq was finally persuaded to return to India. Leaving the Holy Land in Shawwal 999/July-August 1591, he reached the sub-contiment by sea in 1000/1592. By that time active opposition to the '*ulama*' had died and Kashmir had been annexed to the Mughal empire and the Emperor's presence near the western frontiers had curbed the expansionist designs of 'Abdu'llah Khan Uzbek. A scheme for strengthening the friendship of orthodox Sunnis who supported the Court had been launched.

Without abounding in religious and philosophical enthusiasm, some of Akbar's courtiers had started commentaries on the Qur'an and were compiling biographical accounts of the Prophet Muhammad. One Shaikh Ya'qab Sarfi or Kashmir (d. 1003/1595), was working on a large commentary on the Qur'an and had completed a biography of Muhammad in verse entitled the *Maghazi'l-Nabi.*

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, however, stood by his decision to dissociate himself from the Court, turning to teaching and compiling works on Hadis.

Soon after Khwaja Baqi Billah's establishment of the Naqshbandiyya *khanqah* at Delhi in 1008/1599, he and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq became firm friends. An authority suggests that Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq became the Khwaja's disciple. Following the example of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah Shaikh 'Abdu'l-haqq corresponded with such members of the nobility as Murtaza Khan and the Khan-i Khanan.

After Akbar's sudden death on 16 October 1605 Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq hoped that the powerful dignitaries friendly to him might succeed in replacing Akbar's policy of 'peace with all' by strict Sunni rule as envisaged by Ghazali. He wrote a letter to Murtaza khan suggesting that in the discharge of his worldly duties he should never neglect the path of the *Shari'a.*

As soon as a courtier informed Shaikh Abdu'l-haqq of Jahangir's interest in the *Hadis*, he wrote a short political treatise, the *Nuriyya-i Sultaniyya*, which will be dealt with in some detail in Chapter Seven. However, the Shaikh's main concern remained teachings, writing and sufism, and in general he maintained a detachment from the world. His *khanqah* in Delhi which he built some time before 1611 and where most of his time was spent, was known as the *Khanqah-i Qadiriyya.*

After the death of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah his

disciple, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din, remained in close contact with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haq. Another intimate friend and guide was the Qadiriyya *pir*, Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali Qadiri.

In the 14th year of Jahangir's reign (1619-20) the Emperor Jahangir invited Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to pay him his respects and to present him with the Akhbaru'l-akhyar. Apart from this, Jahangir took no interest Whatsoever in the Shaikh's monumental contributions to the study of Hadis which by this time had made him a prominent figure, but he rewarded Shaikh 'Abdu'l Haqq with lavish honours and gifts.

Just prior to his death, however, Jahangir became alienated from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-haqq and his son Shaik Nuru'l-Haqq. He exiled Nuru'l-Haqq to Kabul and ordered Shaikh 'Abdu'l-haqq and Shaikh Husamu'd-Din to where he was camped in Kashmir Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq travelled to Lahore where he visited Miyan Mir. The Miyan predicted that before he saw the Emperor he would return safely to Delhi.

Four days later Jahangir died. The reasons for the change in Jahangir's attitude towards the aged Shaikh remain obscure. According to Dara-Shukoh people made unjust allegations against him and his son. It would seem that Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq who was *qazi* of Agra, was accused of friendship with Prince Khurram who later ascended the throne as Shahjahan. The Prince had rebelled against his father in 1622 waging war against him until his surrender in March 1626. His young sons (Dara, then aged ten and Aurangzib aged eight) wee sent as hostages to the Emperor's court.

Nevertheless he remained a potential threat to the throne. Jahangir's rapidly declining health precipitated the traditional Mughal war of succession. Shaikh Nuu'l -Haqq's interest in Prince Khurram prompted the retribution meted out to those whom Jahangir considered a threat to his throne, and caused Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq's exile to Kabul. After the accession to Shahjahan to the throne not only were Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq and Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq allowed to return to Delhi but the latter was reappointed *qazi* in Agra.

On 21 Rabi' I 1052/19 June 1642 Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq died at the age of ninety-four. In accordance with his will he was buried at the *Hauzi-i Shamsi*, a prestigious cemetery which had the reputation of being a place of rest for the pious. On his grave stone a lengthy account of his life and activities was inscribed.

According to this tablet the Shaikh had written a total of one hundred books, both long and short. In a list of his works which the Shaikh himself compiled there were forty-nine titles to which were added another eleven. Therefore the Shaikh wrote some sixty treatises, as well as a collection of sixty-eight letters. All these works were designed to propagate orthodox interpretations of the Sunni Shari'a and way of life.

What made Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq a celebrity both in his own lifetime and after was his works on Hadis. Of these the most important was the Persian commentary on the Mishkat *al-masabih* entitled the *Ashi'at al-lama'at*, which he started on 13 Zu'lhijia 1019/26 February 1611 and completed on 24 Rabi' II 1025/11 May 1616. When the first half had been completed it occurred to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to write an Arabic commentary on certain subtle points of the Mishkat which he had not found it expedient to explain to the less educated Muslims.

The progress of the Arabic commentary was more rapid and both works were finished at the same time. The Arabic commentary, the Lama'at *altanqih*, was completed on 24 Rajab 1025/7 August 1616; it also aimed to reconcile the Hanafi *Fiqh* with *Hadits*. Then there was a summary of his own Persian commentary entitled *Jama'al-barakat*, and he compiled a book an *Asm'a al-Rijal* as well.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq also wrote a Persian commentary on the *Sufar al-sa'ada or al-Sirat al-mustaqin* by Majdu'd-Din Muhammad bin Ya'qub al-Firuzabadi (b. 729/ 1329, d. 817/1414) who was also the author of an Arabic dictionary, al-Qamus. The Sufar al-sa'ada contains many traditions relating to the Prophet Muhammad's practices of (1) *wuzu* (ablutions), *namaz and ad'iya* (prayer), *Siyam* (fastng), (2) Friday services, (3) pilgrimages, (4) *azkar* (in-

vocations) and (5) his way of life in general. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq chose to write this in Persian even though the original was also in that language, partly because of the great popularity of the work and partly to defend the views of some authorities on the Hanafi law which Firuzabadi's work tended to undermine.

The critical sections of Firuzabadi offered a basis for the opponents of the Hanafi law and the schismatics to mislead the simple-minded Sunnis. He entitled the work *al-Tariq al-qawim fi sharh al-Sirat al-mustaqim.*

'Abdu'l-Haqq wrote the *Madariju'n-nubuwwa* also in Persian, again to refute Muslim intellectuals who challenged some of the miracles claimed to have been performed by the Prophet Muhammad. The work asserts the importance of the execution of miracles to the Prophet Muhammad's mission and offers a detailed analysis of him in relation to these miracles.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq wrote the *Ma Sabta Bi's-Sunna* as a rejection of the superstitious beliefs and practices of Muslims regarding different lunar months, particularly those relating to the 10th day of Muharram on which Imam Husain was martyred at Karbala (61H/10 October 680). The work shows the author's deep concern over the penetration of Shi'i ideas amongst Sunnis.

This also led to a book by him about the twelve Sh'i Imams, called the *Faza'il-A'imma Isna 'Ashr*, which was an attempt to counter misconceptions Sunnis might develop from reading Shi'i works eulogizing their leading Imams. It was also intended to discourage some of the hostilities of extremist Sunnis towards the family and descendants of 'Ali.

A Persian treatise, the *Takmilu'l-iman*, by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq gives details in controversial matters of the fundamental aspects of Sunni beliefs and advocates the adoption of a moderate path. He stressed that sinfulness and villainy did not make a *mu'min* (faithful) an infidel, adding that the companions of the Prophet Muhammad had joined in funeral prayers of sinners and wicked people.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's writings on sufism are generally an attempt to reconcile the *Shari'a* with the *Tariqa*; nevertheless they also assert the superiority of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani and the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. His celebrated *Akhbaru'l-akhyar*, relating to Indian sufis, is prefaced by a long biography of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani, giving a reasonable selection of the great Qadiri's was superior to all his predecessors and that his precedence over all future generations of Saints of God was also guaranteed. To Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, the Ghausul-A'zam's claim, 'My foot is on the neck of every saint of God' was a wel-considered statement.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq also wrote a treatise in Arabic supporting this assertion, and saying that Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi's contention that Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir had made this statement in a state of mystical intoxication was incorrect for, according to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, the Ghausu'l-A'zam had uttered these words in a state of complete sobriety and with full understanding of their implications.

The most significant contribution in Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's efforts to popularize the teachings of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani is his Persian translation of a collection of seventy-eight of Ghausu'l-A'zam's sermons called the *Futuh al-Ghayb*. Compelling in style, the sermons show a marked religious sensitivity and avoid the complexities of mystical terminology. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq himself considered Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir's sermons to be a true facsimile of the Prophet Muhammad's eloquent expressions.

He had first read the *Futuh al-Ghayb* with his pir, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab Muttaqi, who had suggested that he should propagate the ideas in it. In India he acquired a copy and commenced its translation into Persian. During a short stay in Lahore in 1023/1614-15 in Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali's *khanqah* he completed it, giving his own work, the title *Miftah-iutuh* (Key to the *Futuh*). Shaikh 'Abdu'l Haqq later added a *ruba'i* saying that the total number of Arabic

letters in the title of the book also gave the year of its completion.

Another treatise, the *Marj al-bahrain fi'l-jama' bain al-Tariqain* was written by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq to place the *Tariqa* within the framework of the *Shari'a*. It was also an attempt to remind Sunnis that the pursuit of philosophy was the principal reason for the deviation of Sunnis from the path of orthodoxy and sanctity.

The Shaikh's letter to the Mujaddid, and a treatise entitled the *Wujudiyya*, show his own unshakable faith in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Extremely informative, his letters give a clear explanation of his own views of sufism and the mystical life. He also summarized the Masunawi of Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Rumi.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's sufism was impregnated with an unceasing desire to reconcile the 'exoteric' with the 'esoteric', the *Shari'a* with the Tariqa and *Fiqh* with *Tasawwuf*. In his mystical writings he stove to cut across differences in sufic ideologies and practices and set himself the arduous task of reminding sufis that dogmatism was alien to mysticism. However he himself believed that there was nothing in the world of greater worth than a judicious combination of scholarship, sufic ecstasy and *ma'rifa*, although he did admit that this ideal was rarely achieved.

Only such sufis as Baghdad's Junaid has succeeded in a perfect reconciliation of scholarship with sufis. What generally occurred was that one either became overpowered with mystic ecstasy, love and introspection , or became dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, therefore to bridge the gap was arduous. The Qadiri ideal of a perfect life in the world, according to the Shaikh, was firstly to adhere to the laws of the Shari'a and the teachings of the *Faqihs* (jurists) and then to follow the sufi path.

Those who chose to become mystics without obtaining mastery over Fiqh had strayed from the safe path. It was impossible for a scholar and an 'alim to obtain initiation into sufism and to achieve perfection in that realm. However, after ecstasy and mystic illumination had filled a student mystic, a return to scholarship was impossible. To Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq this was an explanation of the saying 'be a Faqih-sufi and not a sufi-Faqih'.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq was himself initiated into many *silsilas* of the eastern and western Islamic world and after his return to. Delhi became the disciple of the *Naqshbandiyya*, Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah. His Qadiriyya spiritual affiliations however, remained the major influence in his life. He introduced among Indian sufis and thinkers the teachings and practices of Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad bin Harazim (d. 633/1236), a disciple of Abu Madyan, and those of Au'l-Hasan 'Ali ash-Shazili.

The corner-stone of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's teachings was the maxim of the Ghausu'-i A'zam that those aspects of the *Haqiqa* which the *Shari'a* rejected were heresy.

If one's spiritual revelations were incompatible with the Shari'a one instantly became a heretic and an infidel. There was no intrinsic difference between the teachings and practices of the many Sufi orders, for all were founded on the Shari'a and pious practices. The controversy over the religious superiority of supereogatory prayers and *zikr* was meaningless, and even occasional financial assistance offered to some truly pious Muslims was of greater benefit than supererogatory prayers.

The prophets had prescribed numerous forms of worship designed to lead the seeker to Allah but the Muhammad's path was infallible. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq also asserted that men were instinctively prompted to embrace Islam. He advised Muslims to ignore the dialectics of the philosophers regarding the nature of God and the forms of pre-existent images, urging them instead to believe in the Names and Attributes of God the Most High according to orthodox Muslim belief.

There were two ways of seeking favour from god. Firstly there was the tradition a, formal way of praying in the hour of need. Those chosen among the spiritualists and gnostics did

not seek from Him anything but His satisfaction (*riza*) and absolute good. Unselfishly they did not ask for anything for themselves. According to gnostics, the Divine invitation 'to ask' contained in the Qur'an did not refer to personal favours, but only to supplications from the 'absolute good' and His satisfaction.

To Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq both the Jabriyya and Qadariyya were extremists; the former believed that men were helpless and God was responsible for all their actions, thus men were reduced to inanimate objects like stone; while the Qadariyya maintained that men were responsible for their own actions, ignoring the Divine Will. Both, asserted the Shaikh, had strayed from the middle path.

Rejecting the views of philosophers and materialists about the properties of fire, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq argued that God had endowed fire with the power to burn and that he could destroy and save whoever He liked.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq strongly rejected the idea put forward by some sufis hat rules of worship, prayers and obedience to the laws of the Shari'a were meant only for externalities and widows and that dervished were naturally exempt. He asserted that these misguided sufis failed to remember that the laws relating to prayer and fasting had been laid down initially by the prophets; and in their final form they emanated from Muhammad who by God's Will was perfecting human ethics.

Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi's statement in the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* that an apprentice sufi should avoid the company of dervishes who ignored their traditional duties and whom he believed to be worse than the worldly and therefore infinitely more detrimental to spiritual advancement, was also supported by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq.

According to the Shaikh, *mujahada* (mortification) and *riyazat* (ascetic exercises) were instruments for precipitating obedience to God and the Shari'a. As an example of this he specified the Hindu yogis and soothsayers who obtained supernatural powers by strict forms of asceticism and were able to perform miracles by the temporary fifth of Divine favour (*istidraj*). Many Muslims, misled by such miraculous power, most undesirably became favourably disposed to the faith of their enemies.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq gave considerable publicity to a book entitled the *Faqr al-Muhammadi* by Ahmad bin Ibrahim al-Wasiti al-Harazimi, a famous Arab dervish. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq considered the *Muhammadiyya Tariqa* a matchless sufi path. The work was modelled on the ascetic aspects of the Prophet Muhammad's life and that of some of his companions.

The followers of this path considered the Prophet Muhammad to be their murshid (guide). The first step in initiation into this path was to repent of one's sins to God and to pledge control of the senses, eyes, ears, tongue, stomach, sexual organs, hands and feet. The tongue should not indulge in slander, calumny or lying; no evil should be heard; the eyes should not fallon the women of others or young boys and the heart should not be involved in anything illicit. Basically, the *Faqr al-Muhammadi* advocated strict observance of the ethical traditions of the Prophet. The second duty of the followers of the *Faqr al-Muhammadi* was a *namaz* featuring absolute concentration on Allah.

In Faqr al-Muhammadi the most essential duty for sufis was to bind the heart mystically to the Prophet, loving him and considering him to be their Shaikh and Imam. A recitation of the Qur'an, believed Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, moved the followers of the *Faqr al-Muhammadi* to ecstasy and the words aroused perception of the 'theophany' and illumination of the heart. They believed that the words of the Qur'an as spoken by the Beloved united them in love for Him.

Adherents to this path were to be distinguished from sufi impostors who unlawfully ate rich food, craved for the sight of a pretty face, yearned to savour sweet melodies and exhibited feigned ecstasy, chatting constantey abut gnosis. Prompted by material motives alone, these charlatans sought followers only to re-

ceive their gifts. Entire evenings would be spent in listening to music and dancing, after which they would faint when they stood for prayer. They could not be called Muslims, said the Shaikh; only those who followed the rules of the *Faqr* al-*Muhammadi* were among the truly faithful.

Trenchant criticism was directed by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq against those who in the name of *Tawhid* (*Wahdat al-Wujud*) violated the Shari'a and were their should were foul and vicious. To them the Unity of Being was an excuse for unrestrained behaviour. So audacious were they that they even went to the extent of hurling abuse at those sufis who were truly virtuous.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq endorsed his father's interpretation of the phrases, *Hama Ust* and *Hama az Ust* which he considered essentially identical. Only the true sense of Tawhid (*Wahdat al-Wujud*) explained the significance of the many in the One, and as long as a man became entangled in linguistic gymnastics he was unable truly to understand *Tawhid*. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq invited sufis to ignore the linguistic complexities and to believe in the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. *Tawhid*, he contended, amounted to perceiving the Divine incomparability through speech, knowledge and sight.

There were four categories of *Tawhid*: that of speech, knowledge, faith, and of mystic experience and Essence. Whatever the division was, the conception of tawhid bred the concept of duality and for this reason sufis could say that the *Tawhid* of *Haqq* or *Haqq* -in the Unity of His Own Being was inconceivable.

Knowledge ('*ilm*), perception (*shu'ur*) and experience (*shuhud*) were attributes. Although in a true perception of the Being, Attributes were Essence perse, the stage of the Unity of Essence was higher than that of attributes. The Shaikh illustrated this wit the saying that both the existence of the One and the non-existence of the One were facts, the existence of Two being a misguided notion.

In his famous letter to the Mujaddid, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq wrote that mystics who received revelations admitted it was possible for their experiences to become perverted from time to time. He added that Ibn 'Arabi's concept of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* did not belong to the class of mystical utterances made in a state of ecstasy, for it was firmly rooted in his own convictions.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's teacher, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, considered the works of Ibn 'Arabi and his followers to be sugar-coated drops of poison and, like Shaikh 'Abdu'l-haqq, emphasized that both *Faqihs* and a section of the sufi movement condemned Ibn 'Arabi's works as conflicting with their respective beliefs. Although he believed the Fusus al-Hikam was written in a special style, sufi discipline was not exclusively based on the ideas it contained; the framework of sufi theories actually coming from works such as the Risala of Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushairi, Manazil al-Sa'irian, 'Awarif al-Ma'arif and the like.

The Shaikh believed that since the meanings of parts of Ibn 'Arabi's works aroused doubts, they were unaceptable to a true Muslim. It was necessary to take the intelligible parts and see them in terms of their apparent sense only, for only God knew the author's true intentions. However it should be noted that the controversy was over the outer meaning and did not warrant a total rejection a of Ibn 'Arabi.

Several verses of the Qur'an reproached Fir'aun for his pride, tyranny and heresy and none of the '*ulama*' and Sufis prior to Ibn 'Arabi had credited him with good faith. In several places in the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* Ibn 'Arabi himself condemned *Fir'aun* on the basis of certain lines contained in the Qur'an, but in the *Fusus al-Hikam* he contradicted himself. In such circumstances it should be kept in mind that Ibn 'Arabi's real beliefs concerning Fir'aun were contained in the *Futuhat* and were compatible with the universal beliefs of the '*ulama*' and sufis.

According to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Ibn 'Arabi believed that a confession of faith in a situation of despair and despondency by an

obstinate sinner or tyrant (for example, Fir'aun) was not inadmissible to God. Although the 'ulama' did not agree, Ibn 'Arabi could be credited with having merely made an error of judgment in his understanding of Fir'aun.

Also briefly discussed by Shaikh 'Abdu'l -Haqq was the claim of the Chishtiyya and of a number of other sufi orders that Hasan Basri had been initiated by 'Ali. To him it appeared that past scholars of Hadis must have been sceptical about this tradition as not one of them had quoted it. An *ijaza* given by Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra specifically mentioned that Hasan Basri had associated with some of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

The right tradition, therefore, according to the Shaikh, was that Hasan Basri had acquired a knowledge of sufism and had received initiation from some companions of the Prophet. However, he added that Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din had written that Hasan Basri had been born in Medina two years before the death of the second Caliph 'Umar (13/634-23/644). He also claimed that during the regime of the Caliph 'Usman (23/644-35/656) Hasan Basri was in Medina, migrating to Basra after 'Usman's assassination, and that he had met 'Ali in Medina. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq believed that there was insufficient evidence that Hasan visited 'Ali at Basra.

According to sufi traditions his association with a number of distinguished spiritualists was sufficient to support the idea that he had probably learnt zikr from 'Ali, and that this did not necessarily mean a long association. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's scepticism over this claim did not, however, lead him to question the authenticity of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Suyuti.

The sons and disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq were strict adherents to the traditions of his Qadiriyya *khanqah* and were mystics as well as scholars. Of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's three sons, Shaikh 'Ali Muhammad wrote treatises on the teachings and the biographies of Chishtiyya sufis, a biography of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir and a dictionary of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The most outstanding of the three was the eldest, Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq (b.983/1575-76) who was also his father's successor.

He wrote a history of India from the time of Mu'izzu'd-Din Muhammad bin Sam to the accession of Jahangir (1014/1605). He also wrote a Persian commentary on the *Qiranu's-sa'dain*, which Amir Khusrau Dihlawi (b. 651/1253,d. 725/1325) had written about the meeting of Sultan Mu'izz'd-Din Kai-Qubad with his father, Nasiru'd-Din Bughra Khan. He gave his translation the title *Nur al'Ain fi sharh Qiranu's-sa'dain*. Like his father, his most valuable contribution was his works on Hadis.

He also wrote a Persian commentary on the Sahih of al-Bukhari entitled the *Taisir al-qari fi sharh Sahih al-Bukhari* and dedicated it to Aurangzib. He also translated into Persian the Shama'il and dedicated it to Aurangzib. He also translated into Persian the *Shama'il al-Nabi* of Abu 'Isa Muhammad bin 'Isa bin Saurah al-Tirmizi (d. 279/892-93) which was another collection of traditions concerning the person and character of the Prophet Muhammad.

After the death of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq on 9 Shawwal 1073/17 May 1663 his only son, Shaikh Nuru'llah had little impact in Delhi as an '*alim*. Two of the latter's four sons, however, Shaikh Saifu'llah also translated the Shama'il al-Nabi of Timizi into Persian and dedicated it to the Emperor Aurangzib.

Shaikh Muhibbu'llah wrote a Persian commentary on the Sahih of Muslim which was later edited and added to by Shaikh Muhibbu'llah's eldest son, Hafiz Muhammad Fakhru'd-Din. This work was called *Manba' al-'Ilm Fi Sharh Sahih Muslim*. Continuning the family tradition Hafiz's son, Shaikhu'l-Islam Muhammad, was also a scholar of Hadis and made a further translation of the Sahih of Mukhari. The first half of this work was completed at the end of Jumada II 1166/May 1753.

His son Shaikh Salamu'llah (d. 1229/1817) migrated to Rampur from Delhi. From the end of the 18th century through to the 19th, Rampur was a centre for the work of the great-grandsons of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq.

After more than two centuries of dedication to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq and his descendants their disciples were scattered throughout India. A modern scholar gives an account of twenty disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq and Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq. Among these Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din (the son of Khwaja Khawand Muhmud) and Khwaja Khwurd (the son of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah) were leading Naqshbandiyya *pirs* and Shaikh 'Abdu'l- Jalil of Allahabad was a famous Chishtiyya.

Shaikh Muhammad Yahya, a son of the Mujaddid, also learnt Hadis from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq. Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani (the author of the Kalimatu's-Sadiqin and the Tabaqat-i Shahjahani) was a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah but had also attend Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's lectures on Hadis.

Maulana Sulaiman Kurd was another of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq's disciples intensely devoted to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. He wrote a Persian masnawi entitled Manba' al-Khairat eulogizing the Ghausu'l-A'zam. From Delhi the Maulana migrated to Ahmadabad where he founded a seminary. His son, Maulana Ahmad (d. 21 Jumada II 1112/2 December 1700), was both a scholar and a teacher of some repute.

Of Maulana Ahmad's disciples, Maulana Nuru'd-Din Ahmadabad (b. 10 Jumada I 1063/8 April 1653, d. 9 Sha'ban 1153/9 October 1742) was mainly responsible for the popularity of the seminary of Maulana Sulaiman Kurd in Ahmadabad. He wrote commentaries on several chapters of the Qur'an, on the Sahih by al-Bukhari and also on the *Fusus al-Hakam*.

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Abd Al-Karim, Kutb Al-Din B. Ibrahim al-Djili (1365A.D. — 1428A.D.)

Abd al-Karim, Kutb al-Din B. Ibrahim al-Djili a Muslim mystic, descendant of the famous sufi 'Abd al-Dijilani, was born in 767/1365 and died about 832/1428. Little is known of his life, as the biographical works do not mention him. According to some of his own statements in *al-Insan al-Kamil*, he lived from 796/1393 until 805/1402-3 in Zabid in Yaman together with his shyaykh Sharaf al-Din Isma'il al-Djabarti. In 790/1387 he was in India.

He wrote about thirty books and treatises, of which *al-Insan al Kamil fi Ma'rifat al-Awakhir wa 'l-Awa'il* is the best known (several editions printed in Cairo) An analysis of its contents has been given by R.A. Nicholson; *The Perfect Man* (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921. Ch. ii) Al-Djili is an adherent of the well-known pantheistic mystic Ibn 'Arabi, to whose *Futuhat* he wrote a commentary and whose doctrines he developed and modified.

According to his ontological doctrine exposed in his *al-Insan al-Kamil* and his *Maratib al Wudjud*, nothing really exists but the Divine Essence with its creative (*hakki*) and creaturely (*khalki*) modes of being. Absolute Being develops in a scale (*maratib*) of individualisations or "descents" (ta-nazzulat). the most important of these are the following: 'ama, the simple hidden pure Essence before its manifestation (*tadjalli*): ahadiyya, the first descent from the darkness of 'Ama to the light of the manifestation, the first manifestation of Pure Essence (*dhat*) exclusive of Divine attributes, qualities or relations: *wahidiyya*, the manifestation of the Essence with the attributes, they are identical with each other and with the One.

Opposites coincide—Mercy and Vengeance are the same. *Ilahiyya* is higher than the above-mentioned manifestations. It comprehends both being and non-being in all degrees, the "places of manifestation and the manifested' (al-mazahir wa 'lzahir), i.e. the Creator and the Creature (al-hakk wa 'l-khalk). At the same time it is the principle of order for the whole series of individualisations and maintains each of them in its proper place.

All opposites exhibit their relativity in the greatest possible perfection, they do not coincide any longer. Rahmaniyya manifests the creative attributes (*al-sifat al-khalkiyya*) exclusively, whereas *ilahiyya* comprehends both creative and the creaturely. The first Mercy (*rahma*) of god was His bringing the Universe into existence from Himself. God is the substance (*hayula*) of the Universe. The Univese is like ice, and God is the water o which the ice is made.

Rubttbiya comprehends those attributes that require an object and are shared by man, as knowing hearing, seeing. The differentiation of the phenomena of the universe id caused by their mutual relations to the respective divine attribute through which God manifests himself. In his al-Insan al-Kamil al Djili deals with most of the cosmic metaphysical, religious and psychological notions current in his time. He established their place his system and explains their relations to the respective divine attribute.

In doing so he has succeeded in giving many new, unexpected and highly interesting interpretations of well-known theologoumena. Thus he builds a phantasmal cosmology which differs widely from orthodox views: e.g. Adam ate the forbidden fruit because his soul manifested a certain aspect of Lordship (*rububiyya*), for it is not in the nature of Lordship to submit to a prohibition; for the people in Hell God creates a natural pleasure of which their bodies become enamoured; Hell at last will be extinguished and replaced by a tree named Djirdjir; Iblis will return to the presence and grace of God; all infidels worship God according to the necessity of their essential natures and all will be saved, etc.

Al-Djili's doctrine of the Perfect Man (al-Insan al-Kamil), the Logos, is almost the same as that of Ibn 'Arabi. He is Muhammad the prophet who may, however, assume the form of any holy man. So al- Djili met him in 790 in Zabid in the form of his shaykh. He is a copy of God. Who becomes visible in him, and at the same time, he is a copy of the Universe, which is brought into existence from him. His whole being is sensible of a pervasive delight and contemplates the emanation of all that exists from himself. etc, Al-Djili had many auditions and visions. He talked with angels and cosmic beings.

When in 800, he stayed in Zabid, he met all the prophets and saints; he met Plato. In the *Maratib al-Wudjud* forty degrees of Being are enumerated, the first being a*l-dhat al-ilahiyya or al-ghayb al-mutlak*, the last al-insan. The other books and treatises of al-Djili have not yet been studied by European scholars.

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B

Bamu'd-Din (d. 1420 A.D.)

After enrolling himself as one of the disciples of Nuru'd-Din, Bamu'd-Din is said to have lived for twelve years, eating crushed stones and water as his food. This is obviously an exaggeration, but speaks at least of his reputation for piety. He is said to have kept no servant and never troubled himself about keeping a proper kitchen.

It appears that Bamu'd-Din, like his mentor, sought solitude. When 'Ali Shah (1413-20), wanted to see him, he said that if the visit was really necessary, he should not come in his royal robes. The Sultan attended Bamu'd-Din in the dress of a peasant. He asked, as was the custom of the age, for the saint's advice; the reply was:

> "You have taken off the dress of a king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you ? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of saints like air; the fire flares up in the air".

Again the Sultan asked if he could do anything for him Bamu'd-Din replied: "Do not come to see me again, and do not mention my name in your court". The Sultan retorted: "What deep enmity you show for ordinary men". The reply was : "Only because I am enemy of worldliness". When the Sultan left, Bamu'd-din threw the mat, on which the Sultan had been sitting, in the river.

When Bamu'd-din was dying, somebody asked who was to wash his corpse; he replied: "Zainu'd-Din." His disciples told him that it was impossible for Zainu'd-Din to come, as he was in Tibet, far from Kashmir. Bamu'd-Din replied that distance was nothing. When he died, Zainu'd-Din miraculously attended his funeral. This tradition would imply that Bamu'd-Din's death took place after 1420, as Zainu'd-Din's visit to Tibet, if true, occurred in the reign of Zainu'l-'Abidin (1420-70).

Bamu'd-Din is buried at Bamuzu, where he is supposed to have maintained his idols and performed his worship as a Hindu, and later lived and prayed as a Muslim Rishi.

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Baqar Shah (d. 1946 AD.)

Baqar Shah is counted as a pious and devoted Sufi of silchar town. He hailed from Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh, and used to work in a tea garden. As, he was a religious man and used to engage himself in prayer and meditation, people behaved him gently. Seeing his divine power and miracles people had become his devotee and followers.

After sometime, he left his job and settled at Silchar in the house of Formus Ali. He used to impart education to the children for some time. Then he turned to be a Majzub (ascetic). People flocked at his place with *Nazr-o-Niyaz* and got their desires fulfilled.

Some people are of the opinion that he was originally a non-Muslim, who embraced Islam. The circle of his followers and disciples are unlimited. He died in 1946 A.D. His tomb at Silchar is a place of Pilgrimage.

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Batakzai Chishti, Shaikh Bayazid (17th Century)

Shaikh Bayazid Batakza'i Chishti's *pir* was Shaikh Batak. Once during a *sama'* performance Shaikh Bayazid offered to turn volunteers into perfect sufis, and reportedly a number of Khweshgi Afghans in the audience availed themselves of this opportunity, later becoming well-known sufis.

Each time Shaikh Bayazid was in an ecstatic state he made the same offer, and in this way he acquired a considerable number of disciples.

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Bayábani, Shaikh Jamal (16th Century)

Shaikh Bayabani was an important saint of the sixteenth century. He is said to have lived and worked at A'alapur (in Bengal). He was known for his learning and spiritual attainments.

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Bayabani, Shaikh Raja (14th Century)

Shaikh Raja Bayabani was one of the important sufis who flourished at Hazrat Pandua (Firozabad) in the 14th century. Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah (734/1342-758/1357) had great reverence for him. It is said that when he died in 754/1353, Ilyas was besieged in the fort of Ekdalah by Sultan Firoz Shah (1351-1387) of Delhi.

On hearing the news of his death Ilyas came out of the fort in the guise of a mendicant and attended his funeral. The tomb of Bayabani is said to be situated at Bolbari about four miles east of the Adina Mosque.

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Bazrud-Din, Pir (15th Century)

When Bazrud-Din started preaching Islam, the Raja of the area, named Mahesh Raja, severely opposed him. The pir attracted the attention of Hussain Shah (1486-1538 A.D.) of Gaur. A large army was sent.

Mahesh Raja was defeated and killed, and

the dominion was annexed to Hussain Shah's Kingdom. A small sepulchre situated at Hamatabad is said to be a place where the pir was buried.

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Bazaruddin, Pir (1493 A.D. — 1579 A.D.)

Pir Bazaruddin, a contemporary of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1579), was a noted saint and preacher of his time. He lived and worked at Hemtabad in the district of Dinajpur.

According to tradition, the local Hindu Raja Mahesh turned hostile towards him; but he sought help from the Sultan and the Raja was defeated. His *dargah* at Hemtabad enjoys local veneration.

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Beg, Maulana Mirza Abdur Rahman

Maulana Mirza Abdur Rahman Beg made great impact upon the Muslims of Upper Assam in recent times was Maulana Mirza Abdur Rahman Beg of Dibrugarh town. He was the *Khalifa* of Haji Imdadullah Mahajir Makki.

After his death, his son Maulana Mirza Diaur Rahman Beg stepped into the share of his father to further the cause of Sufism in the Easternmost part of the province of Assam.

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Beyafani, Shaikh Reza (d 1553 A.D.)

Shaikh Reza Beyafani was the contemporary of Shah Shamsud-din Ilyas Shah (1339—1358 A.D) Firoz Shah of Delhi (1351—1388 A.D.), when laying the seige of the impregnable fortress of Ekdila. Ilyas Shah was there in shelter.

Shaikh Beyafani died in the vicinity of the fortress. Ilyas Shah could not come out for fear of life to attend the Janaza prayer; but he did come out in disguises; performed his duty to his pir and returned to the fort safely.

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Beyazid Bistami, Sultan (16th Century A.D.)

Probably, people make some confusion between Sultan Beyazid of Bistami and Shah Sultan Balkhi of Bagora, who first landed at an island near Chittagong. He might have visited Nasirabad before he visited Sandip, which created confusion that he came here in the ninth century. A.H.

Sultan Beyazid Bistami and Shah Sultan Balkhi of Bagora both were kings of their re-

spective lands and abdicated their thrones for the sake of Islam. Their names were also more or less alike and this created an impression that Sultan Beyazid Bistami once visited Bengal. To commemorate him the people built a mausoleum at Nasirabad, five miles away from Chittagong.

Anyway the popular belief is that the Sultan Beyazid did not die at Nasirabad. Due to its long association with religious activities Nasirabad became a place of enlightenment.

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Bhita'i, Shah 'Abd al-Latif (1689A.D. — 1752A.D.)

Shah 'Abd al-Latif Bhita'i was an eminent Sindhi poet belonging to a priestly family of Matiari Sayyids. He lived for a large part of his life at Bhit ("Sandhill"), a small hamlet near Hala in the district of Haydarabad in Sind. He is the national poet of Sind. His poetry is Sufi in nature, as the poet, though not a man of great learning or education, was deeply impressed by the mystical thought of Djalal al-Din Rumi, whose influence is evident in many of his poems.

These poems were gathered together after his death by his followers and made into a collection which is called the *Risalo*. They are written in a pure form of eighteenth century Sindhi and are remarkable for the manner in which philosophic and religious use is made of the folk tales of the Sind countryside. The poems deal with the longings of unrequited love and the need for trust in the power, wisdom and compassion of Allah. Their deeply mystical character has endeared them to the simple rural folk of Sind.

It is noteworthy that their appeal has been as much to the Hindus of Sind as to the Muslims. The reason is perhaps due to the fact that the bulk of the indigenous Sindhi population is Hindu in origin, as many of the personal names testify, and the poet himself was deeply interested in the mystical contemplation of fakirs, sanyasis and yogis, which in turn found an echo in the Sikh religion followed by most of the caste Hindus living in Sind till the partition of India in 1947 resulted in their precipitate flight therefrom.

The poems of the *Risalo* which are lyrical in type are sung to well-known Indian music and many of them, such as the *Sur Asa* and the *Sur Bilawal*, proclaim a sublime form of devotion.

The folk stories on the other hand make direct appeal to the childlike simplicity common to unsophisticated people. The love tales of Sasui and Punhun, of Suhini and Mehar, and of Lilan and Chanesar are sung at the cradles of Sindhi children today. A vast literature in Sindhi on the poet and his message has been evoked by the poet's achievement and the *rawda* of Shah 'Abd al-Latif is the scene of regular pilgrimages of devotees who listen today to the recitation and singing of his verses.

There have been learned studies of Shah 'Abd al-Latif's life and work by three Sindhi scholars of distinction, namely the late Shams al-'Ulama' Mirza Kalich Beg, the late Professor H. M. Gurbuxani and the late Shams al-'Ulama' U. M. Daudpota, whose works may be consulted by those interested.

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Bullhe Shah (1680A.D. — 1757A.D.)

Bullhe Shah the foremost Sufi Poet of the Panjab and holds manifold importance. In him the pantheism of Panjabi sufism reached its apex. In his works is found the fusion of the two pantheisms - Neo-Platonic and Vedantic. Though, he was Khalifa of a Muslim saint, yet he had equal reverence for all the religions. He held that no religion was better than any other to attain God. He never took part in the proselytizing activities. He refused to be imprisoned by the mythological boundaries of a sectarian religion and he took free flights in the open sky of thought.

He appreciated and adopted all such Hindu ideas which appealed to him. So far as his spiritual achievements are concerned, he surpassed all other Panjabi Sufis. Dr. Lajwanti Madan rightly asserts that no Sufi of any country can venture to dispute the spiritual summit which Bullhe Shah attained. He is rightly called the Rumi of Panjabi.

His real name was perhaps Abdulla. He was born at Pandoke a village in tehsil Qasur, district Lahore in 1680 A.D.. After receiving education from Maulvi Ghulam Murtaza of Qasur, he went to Lahore and became a disciple of Shah Anayat Qadiri Shattari. Anayat later on appointed him as his Khalifa.

His tomb is in Qasur where Urs is held every year. His mystical experiences and spiritual ideas are contained in his poetry which is available in the forms of *Kafis, Siharfis, Dohras, Chhandas*, an *Athwara* and a *Baramaha*. Discussing the influence of the Hindu thought and practice on Bullhe Shah, both Dr. Mohan Singh and Dr. Lajwanti Madan agree that the following six ideas betray influence of Hinduism:

(i) The adoration of Prophet Mohammad on the pattern, on which Vaishanavas adore Lord Krishna;
(ii) The identification of the spiritual guide with God;
(iii) Wifely devotion;
(iv) The practice of concentrating on the *Trikuti*, controlling of breath and hearing of *Anahat Shabd* (unstruck sound);
(v) Monism; and
(vi) Transmigration of soul.

The practice of concentrating on the *Trikuti*, controlling of breath and hearing of *Anahat Shabd* are from the system of the Nath Yogis. All the remaining ideas have been adopted from the system of Vaishnava Vedantic Bhakti.

In some of the verses, the Vaishnava colour is so dominant that one hesitates to admit them as the compositions of a Mohammadan. The vocabulary, the metaphors, the atmosphere and the thought all are Vaishnava. In his following verses speak the gopis of Krishna Bhaktas:

Murli baj uthi aghatan, sun sun bhul gaian sab batan; Sun sun Sham Sundar dian batan.......
(Lord Krishna) is playing on the flute. Hearing its sound, I have forgotten everything.)
Bullhe Shah main tad birlai;
Jad di Murli Kanha vajai;
Bauri hoe ke tain val dhai,
Kaho ji kit val dast baratan.
(When Lord Krishna sounded the flute and I heard its voice, sayeth Bullhe Shah, I cried in agony and since then I am wailing in pain of separation. Bullhe, the gopi, turned mad and ran towards Lord Krishna. The gopi asks whereelse she should go.)

Bullhe Shah sees God in Krishna who grazed cows in Brindaban and in Rama who invaded Lanka:

Bindraban vich gauan charaen;
Lanka charh ke nad vajaen;
(O God, it were you who grazed the cows in Brindaban in the guise of Krishna and it were you who blew the trumpet of victory and invaded Lanka.)

In the verses where the Islamic terminology occurs, the spirit therein is undoubtedly Vaishnava. Bullhe Shah adores Mohammad, the Prophet, not as a messenger of God, but as incarnation of God.

In Islamic theology, Mohammad is not assigned any divinity except that God chose him to convey His message. Thus he is only a servant of God. Bullhe, Shah declares in the following verse that the Beloved (God) Himself disguised as Prophet and appeared on the earth:

Piyara pehan poshakan aya;
Adam apna nam dharaya;
Ahad ton ban Ahmad aya;
Nabian da sardar.

In this way, Bullhe Shah anthropomorphised the Immanent Aspect of God in the Vaishnava style and identified It with the historical Mohammad.

Bullhe Shah, then, established identity of God and the Guide (the Spiritual teacher). Nathism as well as the ascetic sections of Vaishnavism had the tradition of identifying Guru with God. According to Nathism, knowledge represents Guru (Guide). When it is learnt from a personal Guru, then Guru is God, but when it is received direct from God, then God is Guru. But Bulhe Shah is a devotee and so needs an object for the emotional identification through the purgation of the aroused emotions of devotion. Bullhe Shah adores his Pir's person:

Dast kangan bahin churian, gal naurang chola
Ranjhan mainu kar giya koi raval rola:
Hun mainu pai gaya, sulan da ghera;
Arsh munavvaron milian bangan, sunian takhat hazaron;
Shah Anayat kundian paian;
Luk chhip khichada dor.
[He (Anayat Shah, the pir) is wearing bangles on his arms, and an ascetic's robe on his body. Such Ranjhan (the Beloved) has turned me mad and I have fallen into the whirlwind of sufferings. The calls came from the Heaven and I heard them from Takhat Hazara (the abode of the Ranjha). Shah Anayat has fastened my heart with staples and, though hiding, is pulling and hauling me through the thread.]

The idea of wifely devotion does not need any comments. It will be discernible in a number of verses being quoted in the following pages. However, a quotation would suffice to illustrate the impact of Yogic practices:

Tain karan habasi hoye hain;
Nau darvaze band kar soye hain;
Dar dasven an khaloye hain;
Kade man meri ashnai.
(To attain Thee I have controlled breath; I have shut all the nine gates and have reached the tenth one. I pray Thee, accept my love.)

There is an utterance by Bullhe Shah which refers to the Hindu doctrine of Karma on the basis of which both Dr. Mohan singh and Dr. Lajwanti Madan hold that Bullhe Shah believed in the law of Karma:

Pandit padhe jagat de puchh rahian sare;
Ved pothi ki dosh hai hine karam hamare.
(I enquired each and every astrologer of the world. None told me so far that I would meet my Beloved. The Vedas are not at fault. The fault is of my actions, that they are bad.)

But this verse is not sufficient to prove that Bullhe Shah believed in the Hindu Law of Karma. No religion denies the law of Karma. But the Hindu Law of Karma is different from those of others. Every religion assures of good fortune on the basis of good conduct and noble deeds. But the condition of Hindu Law of Karma is fulfilled only if Bullhe Shah says that 'vision of God is denied to him because of his bad actions in his previous lives i.e., before his birth. Here is another verse of the same purport :

Je main hini bhag di tusin chup kar rahio

Here the word 'bhag' also represents lot on the basis of actions in the past lives. The Muslims also hold similar views in regard to fortune or fate. They believe in the pen of iron of God, with which He writes the fates of persons. In a way, both Hindus and Muslims believe in some sort of predeterminism. The Hindus believe that the fate is determined by the past karmas whereas the Muslims believe that the fate is fixed and written by God at his Will.

It appears that Bullhe Shah used in the above verse only Hindu vocabulary and did not accept the Law of Karma. In the same way, the use of the word 'Veda' is also idiomatic in the

above verse. The Vedas are not the books of astrology. It may be that the word was used by the masses in this sense.

The Qadiris of Panjab were renowned for their interest in the Hindu philosophies. Bullhe Shah's spiritual teacher Anayat Shah also studied the systems of thought prevalent amongst the Hindus. He has elaborately discussed in his work *Dastur-al-Amal*, the various practices employed by the Hindus for the attainment of salivation. Prince Dara Shikoh, a Qadiri mystic had already prepared or got prepared the Persian translation of the Upanishads for the use of the Sufis. He was very much influenced by the knowledge contained in the Upanishads and he expressed all appreciations for it in his works.

It is, thus, a certainty that Bullhe Shah had studied and known the knowledge of the Upanishads. But his works further testify that he had full knowledge of the doctrine of Wahdatuwwajud of Ibn-al-Arabi and Jili also through whom Neo-Platonic Pantheism percolated into Sufism. Bullhe versifies the different stages of descent of the Reality in the terminology of *Jili*. The state of Ahadiya (oneness) is the transcendant nature of reality fromwhich the first emanation is of *Noor* of *Mohammad* or *Ahmad*, the Immanent aspect of the Reality.

With the addition of *MIM Ahad* became Ahmad. This Reality is again *Haqq* or the Absolute Being from which is caused the creation. The interpretation of the idea of Mohammad or Ahmad is that one should know God by achieving union with the idea of Mohammad projected by God in pre-enternity to be in his likeness to lead mankind back to him. Bullha says :

Hun main lakhiya sohna yar, Jis de husn da garam bazar;
Juda jada ik ikalla si, na zahir koi tajalla si;
Na Rabba Rasul na Allah si, na Jabbar Kahar;
Piyara pahan poshakan aya, adam apna nam dharaya;
Ahad ton ban Ahmad aya, nabian da sardar.
Ahmed de vich mim ralaya, tan kita eda pasar.
(Now I have seen the handsome Beloved whose Beauty is manifested all around. When the One was single and alone, there was no light manifest.)

There was neither God nor the Prophet of Allah, not was there the Cruel or the Tyrant. The Beloved One wearing the costumes came and *Adam* got his name fixed. From the One, *Ahmad* was made. He said *Kun* and *Faikun* was said. So, out of likeness, He created likeness. In *Ahad*, He inserted MIM (i.e., produced Ahmad) and then made the universe).

In the presence of such verses, it cannot be held that Bullhe Shah was influenced only by the Vedantic Pantheism. He was without doubt influenced by the views of Dara Shikoh who studied Hindu as well as Muslim mystic practices and beliefs and concluded that there was close similarity between them, Dara Shikoh illustrated his views with quotations from both the sources.

In the preface to his translation of the Upanishads he confesses that as he studied the Quran and the other books on Sufism, there arose doubts in his mind which he failed to satisfy even by having recourse to *gnostics* and pious men. At last, he discovered that the subject of monotheism was very plainly explained in the Vedas and the Upanishads and he knew from them what he had not known and understood. The Ijadist-Sufis see God's Beauty, Wisdom, Awe etc. manifested in the phenomenal world.

The Neo-Platonic pantheist Sufi Ibn al-Arabi sums up his system in his own words: "Glory be to God, who created things, being Himself their Essence." He holds that the whole existence is God. There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He. Despite all this Neo-Platonic Sufi fails to recognise God in the one which he considers to be evil. In the phenomenal world Ibn al-Arabi admits the reality of both good and evil and affirms that it is impossible to erase evil from the world.

He adds that if we must make a distinction at all between good and evil, we should always attribute good to God and evil to man. It tends to maintain that the man to whom evil has been assigned, is different from God. This position cripples the pantheism of Neo-

platonism. Bullhe Shah under the impact of Vedanta sees God even in the opposites. He realizes the One in his friends and foes, in the lovers and the Beloved, and in the guide as well as in the disciples. He says that God Himself shows His own path to His Ownself:

Kahun bair para kahun beli ho;
Kahun majnu hai kahun leli ho;
Kuhun ap Guru kahun cheli ho;
Ap ap ka panth bataya hai.

He not only sees God in a Muslim who reads the holy Quran, but also in a Hindu Bhagat who mutters the sacred names of God. Bullhe Shah says that he who has gone astray is also God and that he is also God who is being loved as a child in every house:

Kahun Turk Musalman parhte ho;
Kahun bhagat Hindu jap karte ho;
Kahun ghor ghungat men parate ho;
Kahun ghar ghar lad ladaia hai.

Bullhe Shah's unitive experience reaches new heights when he says that it is God who suffers and weeps as a woeful person. This expression is so clear and bold that it is indicative of his nearness to Vedanta than to Neo-Platonism.

Kadi ho asmani bahinde ho;
Kadi is jag te dukh sahinde ho;
Kadi mast magan hoi rahinde ho;
Main ta ikse nach nachai;
Main vich main na rahia kai.
(Sometimes Thou art happy and stayest in the Heaven. Sometimes Thou sufferest miseries in this world; Sometimes thou art satisfied and absorbed in Thy ownself. I verily dance at Thy Will and the idea of I-ness has been removed from myself.)

Besides, there are a few more ideas which Bullhe Shah adopted from the Vaishnava Vedantic Bhakti cult of Hinduism. He accepted the Vaishnava idea of the Grace of God. He clearly says that he cannot achieve God by dint of his and solely his own efforts and expresses his faith in the Grace of God. He declares that the Grace of God is prior to and higher than His Justice. If justice be relied upon, man cannot attain God. It is due to His Grace, that God takes mercy on man and accepts him on His path and takes him in His communion:

Vah jis per karam aveha hai, tahqiq uh bhi tain jeha hai;
Sach sahi ravait eha hai, teri nazar mehar tar jai da.
(He on whom Thou showest Thy Grace is verily in Thy likeness; It is the true practice that only with Thy Grace we swim over.)

He makes it abundantly clear that if God does justice he will he thrown into Hell and if He does grace and, forgives his sins, he is sure to attain communion with Him:

Adal karen tan ja na kai,
Fazal karen tan bakhara paie.
(If justice is done, I am doomed; I, therefore, pray. Thee for Thy Grace, there so that I may be saved.)

According to Ijadic Sufism, the scope of God's Grace is limited in its sphere. It begins after the man has won over the *nafs* and is no more a defaulter in the observance of the religious obligatories at any stage. But the Vaishnava Vendantic pantheist's notion of God's Grace is much wider. He believes that God showers His Grace not only on the noble and those who have won over the *nafs*, but even on the sinful.

He does not claim that he has won over the *nafs* and that he is now free from sins, but still he prays for God's Grace. He says that if justice is done, he will be doomed. He hopes to be saved, may he be sinful or noble, as God shows His Grace on His devotees. The judgement will be on the basis of the actions, unless God shows His Grace. The *Salik*, therefore, prays to God with all humility for mercy and grace.

Thus, under the Vaishnava impact Bullhe Shah emerged as much more clear in the quandary of justice and grace than any other Panjabi Sufi Poet.

Bullhe Shah adopted the doctrine of Lila of the Vaishnavas, also. The Islamic view of the purpose of the creation is contained in the *Hadis-i-Qudsi* which runs thus:

"I (i.e., Allah) was a hidden treasure; I desired to become known and I brought creation into being that I might be known."

But the view that the world is Lila or sport or Tamsaha of God is Vaishnava and has been adopted by Bullhe Shah, who says:

Oh Jama sada pahan ke,
Aya Tamashe ap.
(God Himself has appeared in the guise of the individuals to play the sport).

Thus in respect of both the thought and style, Bullhe Shah was influenced more by Vaishnava Vedantic cult than by Neo-Platonic Pantheism of Ibn al-Arabi and Jili.

As regards his attitude towards the Mullans and the Muslim orthodoxy he criticised them on many grounds. The Sufis were generally popular amongst the masses and the Mullans saw in them their rivals. The Mullans had been condemning the Sufi movement as antinomian to Islam and the Sufis as heretics, since the very beginning of the movement.

The Sufis then adopted the terminology of the orthodoxy and gave their own interpretation on the one hand and levelled counter charges against the Mullans and the Qazis on the other. Bullhe Shah adopted the same path.

He criticises the orthodoxy and the Mullans saying that they lay stress on the teachings which deal with Heaven, Hell and the worldly life, and that the Sufis know no lesson other than that of love of God and their aim of practice is God and only God in this life as well as in the life after death. Condemning the learning and the heavy loads of books he says:

Haraf ishq da ikke nuqta;
Kahe nun unt ladaven.

He claimed that only the Sufi path is the true Shariat, he condemns the practices and the religious obligatories of Mullan's *Shariat* as false and warns that those who do not follow the true Sufi path, will have to repent. Elevating the position of the *Tariqat* (the path of Sufism) in comparison with the path of *Shariat*, Bullhe Shah gives the place of mother to the former and of a midwife to the latter;

Shariat sadi dai hai, Tariqat sadi mai hai.

It has already been mentioned earlier that Mohammad, the Prophet, is not an historical man for him. He anthropomorphised the First Emanation of Idea from the One and declared it Mohammad, the Seal of the Prophets through which man retraces his return to God in his pre-creation state.

He broke even mythological prison of Islam and crossed the sectarian boundaries created by the *Shariat* and saw no difference between the Hindus and the Muslims, the Kafirs and the Momin, Mecca and Gaya, the Mandir and the Masjid. He sees the same God in the Mullan as well as in the Pandit:

Kite Mullan ho valende ho;
Kite Ram duhai dende ho;
Kite sunnat mazhab disende ho;
Kite maththe tilak lagaida;
Hun kiston ap lukaida.

But the Mullans declare him heretic and he suffers many hardships on that account:

Bullhia ashaq hoion Rabb da malamat hoi lakh;
Lok kafir kafir akhade tun aho aho akh.

In retaliation, he too criticises them on personal as well as ideological grounds. He charges them with their irreligious and sinful conduct.

Masitan vich kusattiye rehnde, Ashq rahan alag.
(In the mosques live the wicked persons and the lovers of God adopt loneliness.)
Bullhia mullans ate masalchi, dohan da ikko chit;
Lokan karde chanana, ap andhere vich.
(Bullhe says that the Mullans are like the torch bearer who himself is in the dark, but shows path to the others.)

He also attacks them for their mechanical performance of the religious duties. He says that the observance of religious obligatories does no good, unless the man does realize the Truth through the way of Sufism.

Vich masitan ki kujh hunda, je dilon namaz na kiti;
Bina murshado kamal Bullhia, teri aiven gai

ibadat kiti;
Mecca giyan gal mukdi nahin, jichar dilon na ap mukaiye.
(It is useless to go to the mosque, unless the prayer is said with love. Bullhe says that thou wasted thy time in saying prayers without the guidance of a perfect teacher. It is useless to go to Mecca. God can be attained only by removing ignorance from the mind.)
Bhatth nimazan te chikkar roze, kalime te phir gai siyahi;
Bullha Shahu andron milia, bhulli phire lukai.
(Let the prayers go to the dust and the fasts (rozas) to the mud. Kalima also proved to be useless. Bullhe Shah says that he realized God in the heart and the people are ignorantly wandering hither and thither.)

Bullhe Shah's place of pilgrimage is not Mecca of Arabia, but is *Takhat Hazara* the village of Ranjha, which is his heart. His *namaz* is not the prayer or the recitation of the Quran, but is meditation on the name of God. Thus, the path of Bullhe Shah is distinct from the *Shariat.* He adopted the path of love and abandoned all other formal practices:

Ja main shabad ishq da purhia, masjid kolon jiyunda daria;
Phuk musalla bhan sut lota, na phar tasbi kasa sota;
Alim kahinde de de hoka;
Tarak hallalon kha murdar.
(As soon as, I learnt the lesson of love, I ran away from the mosque. Burn the prayer carpet and break the clay pot. Do not touch tasbi (rosary), kasa (bowl) and the sota (cudgel). Learning deals with the worldly affairs and the learned advise to adopt murdar (the dead body, metaphorically means worldliness) and to abandon the halal (Reality).

Love for Bullhe Shah is the essence of God. He affirms that it is a fire which is lit in the heart of man by God Himself. It is yearning for return to God and is generated at the moment the individual self gets separated from Him. He compares the arousing of love with the piercing of a spear in the heart. His utterances explaining communion with God discern a great intimacy.

He takes so much enjoyment in love, that he abandons even the company of other people and likes loneliness for more and more blissful enjoyment. He finds that the path of love is very difficult and full of obstacles. He finds it difficult to kill the *nafs.* The people cut jokes. The orthodoxy criticises and foments troubles on the way. When one has once a glimpse of the Vision of God even for a little while his woes know no bounds. The state caused by pang of separation is still very painful.

Bullhe Shah's mystical experiences are very rich and are quite identical to those of Abul Qasim al-al-Junaid, the celebrated Sufi teacher and the author of *Kitab al-Fina* and those of Shahabuddin Suhrabardi, the founder of Suhravardi order and the author of *Awarif-ul-Muarif;* the difference being only that the mystical experiences of Junaid and Suhrabardi are restricted only to internal union while Bullhe Shah is a pantheist and he experiences the unicity in the external world as well.

His mystic experiences of states like *Qurb* (nearness), *Uns* (intimacy), *Qabz* and *Bast* (contraction and expansion) accord with the illustration of the states given in *Awarif-ul-Muarif* and those of states like *Fana* (annihilation). *Baqa* (subsistence) accord with the explanation as given in *Kitab-ul-Fana.* Besides, his greatness lies in the style of his expression. He expressed his most subtle experiences through the simple imagery of daily life.

He describes the mystic states in personal terminology and in literary style of a very high merit. He used a number of metaphors to explain his system, practice and experiences. He conceives heart as *vehra* (compound) and *ghar* (home). It is the abode of God and has been called the *Takhat Hazara,* the native town of Ranjha, the Beloved of Heer. This *Takhat Hazara* i.e., heart is the Mecca of the Sufis. Bullha turns to his heart to see the Vision of God:

Haji lok Meccay nun jande, mere ghar vich naushahu Mecca;
Vichche haji te vichche gaji, vichche chor uchchakka.

(The Hajis go to Mecca, a city of the Arabs; known to be the abode of God; but I have both the Mecca and the Beloved in my heart. In my heart dwell all the Hajis and the Gajis etc., and the thief (the nafs as well.)
Ghar vich paiya mehram yar.
(I have found the Beloved in my heart.)

Through another metaphor he calls the self of man as Heer, the female lover of a love narrative and God as Ranjha, her Spouse. The native town of Ranjha, i.e., *Takhat Hazara* has been described above as Mecca, the abode of God. The metaphorization of self and God as wife and Husband was traditional which Bullhe Shah adopted. The veil of ignorance has been described as *Ghungat* (the veil) which a newly married girl uses to conceal her face.

For Bullhe Shah ignorance means the idea of duality. By removal of veil, Bullha means the removal of ignorance. As a wife, by removing the veil, sees the face of her husband, similarly the seeker, by removing the veil of ignorance (duality) achieves communion with God by realizing oneness of Existence and God. This metaphorical use of bride's veil for ignorance or I-ness is also traditional. Kabir and Miran had used this symbol very freely:

Ni sayio main gai gavachi,
Khol ghunghat mukh nachi;
Jit val dekhan ut val so;
Kasam Use di hor na koi.
(Oh maids, I removed my veil (ghunghat) and danced. Bullha says : I have lost my I-ness. Whether I cast my glance I see God all around. Verily, there is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He.)

Kabir made popular this symbol of *Ghunghat* (Veil) for ignorance, through his following verse:

Ghunghat ke put khol re tohe piv milenge;
Ghat ghat men voh sain ramata,
katuk vachan mat bol re.
(Kabir: Remove the ghunghat (veil) and thou will meet the Beloved. God indwells every heart. Thou shouldst not speak harsh to any body.)

Bullhe Shah soars very high flights in the spiritual realm and his utterances discern many states of mystic experience. After killing the Idea of I-ness Bullah qualifies himself to be a lover:

Jo yad tusadi karda hai.
Uh maran toh agge marda hai.

The seekers who hesitates to kill his I-ness should not claim to be lover:

Uh vi ahhaq na kaho, sir denda uzar kare.

As soon as, there is the first flash of the vision of God, Bullha is immediately robbed of his reason and knowledge:

Buhe te unhan nad vajaya,
Aql fiqr sab cha gavaiya.
(When the Beloved blew His trumpet, I lost my all reason and knowledge.)

He loses even the consciousness of his self and body:

Apane tan di khabar na koi,
Sajan di khabar liyave kaun.

When the veil of I-ness is removed through remembrance of God's name and through God's Grace the words are hushed to silence, life becomes death, explanations come to an end and signs are effaced.

In the states of *Uns* and *Qurb* Bullhe Shah says that he will now live near God, will not run away disappointedly and will expose His secrets:

Hun pas tusade vassange,
Na bedil ho ke nassange,
Sabh bhed tusade dassange.

In the state of *Qurb,* though Bullhe Shah has attained communion, yet under the influence of *Qahr* (omnipotence) and Jalal (Awe) of Almighty he finds himself in the grip of *Haibat* (awe), and prays for mercy:

Jo yad tusadi karda hai,
Oh maran to agge marda hai,
Oh moiyan bhi taithon darda hai,
Mat moiyan nun mar Mukai da.

In the state of communion he is so intoxicated in love that he loses all consciousness, becomes mad and the Essence and Attributes of God go beyond his comprehension:

Lag giya mast piyala hath,
Mainu bhull gai zat sifat,
Diwani ho rahi.

The states of contraction *(Qabz)* and expansion *(Bast)* have been beautifully expressed in a simile of beating a rubber ball:

Tusan moiyan nun mar na mukde si,
Nit khiddo vangon kutade si.

Bullha admits his inability to express the true nature of the communion. When he is conscious of his entity, he is not in communion with God, and when he is in communion with God, he has no separate entity to realize and express.

The expression of the state is possible only when both the conditions self consciousness and communion are met. But this is not possible. Bullha describe his inability in an objective and personal style very successfully. He says that God choked his throat whenever he made an attempt to say something about the state:

Gal karde sau,
Gal ghuntade sau.

As regards the nature of the enjoyment caused by the communion, Bullhe Shah likens it, in the words of Kabir and other Hindu bhaktas, to the inability of a dumb to express the taste of Gur (sugar):

Jad vasal vasal banaiaiga,
Tan gunge ka gur khaiaiga,
Sir pair na apna paiaiga;
Eh main hor na kise banai
Main vich main nahin rahia kai.

Pointing out to the trap which God plays with His lovers, as explained by Junaid in his *Kitab-ul-Fana,* he expresses his fear and surrenders to the will of God:

Tusan chhapade si,
Asan pakare ho.
Tusan aje vi chhapan nun takare ho.
(Thou didst conceal Thyself in the universe, I strove hard to unveil Thee and reached Thee. Thou still canst conceal Thyself).

The union in essence is no doubt attained in the heart, but the knowledge of essence is realized externally as well. Bullhe Shah realizes oneness of essence in the heart and unity in the multiplicity of the external universe:

Heer Ranjha de ho gaye mele,
Bhulli Heer dhundhendi bele;
Ranjha yar bagal vich bole;
Mainun sudh budh rahi na kai.

In the above verse Bullhe Shah realizes union with God in his heart. As regards the external world, it has totally been eradicated from the mind though it continues to exist externally as a separate and extinct entity. In the following verse Bullhe Shah realizes unicity in the multiplicity of the external world:

Aa hun bhado bhag jagaya,
Sahib kudrat seti paya;
Har har de vich ap samaya;
Shah Anayat ap lakhaya.
(The month of Bhadron brought me good fortunes and I saw my Beloved. He is indwelling each and every body and Shah Anayat, my guide, helped me to see Him.)

His description of internal and external states of Fana is very vivid and artistic. Bullha is purplexed in this state. What has happened to him ? He has lost himself from himself. He does not find himself in himself. From head to foot and inward and outward it is all God :

Mainun ki hoiya maithon gai gavachi main.
Kiyon kamali akhe loka, Mainu ki hoiya;
Main vich vekhan tain, main nahin banadi,
Main vich vasana en tain,
Sir te pairin tik vi tun hi,
andar bahir hain.

The verse illustrates the internal union in essence. In the following verse, he expresses the external unity of essence in a very imaginative but figurative description. He illustrates that there is a rivulet and there is a boat in it. One person is on this side of the rivulet and the other is on the other side. He says that when unity is realized the rivulet and the boat disappear:

Ik par ik urar suninda,
Ik beri ik nain;
Chhut paye urvaron paron;
Na beri nan nain.

Like his realization of the identity of essence, Bullhe's realization of identity of will is also of the highest stage. He narrates that it is God Who caused Mansur to say *an al Haq* and it was He Who hanged him thereafter. God hanged His Ownself :

Mansur piyare kahia an al Haq;
Kauh kahaia kain;
Bulhe Shah use da ashiq;
Apna ap vanjaya jain.

God Himself caused Shamas to be flayed and Zakriya to be sawed:

Shah Shamas di khal lahayo;
Mansur nun cha suli divayo;
Zakriya sir kalvattar dharayo;
Ki likhiya reh gia baki da.

Thus, Bullhe Shah realized unitive experience of all types, that is of action, attributes and essence through self negation. He laid stress on saying that it is All God in Essence and Will, that pervades in the visible universe. After traversing the valley of *Fana* (Annihilation) he reached the state of *Baqa* (subsistence). Here, he does not say that he is non-existent, but affirms that he is one with God and has become God:

Ranjha Ranjha kardi ni main ape Ranjha hoi;
Saddo nin mainu dhido Ranjha Heer na akhe koi.

Bullhe Shah's experiences of pain caused by separation do not surpass those of Shah Hussain. Like Shah Hussain he too alone is lamenting in grief. The surroundings do not share their grief and are functioning normally. Such a grief is neither deep-rooted nor emotional.

Bullha is no doubt wailing and weeping in the pain of separation, and does not enjoy full sleep. He has also lost his appetite and has become careless for the social approval about his dress and behaviour. The fire of homesickness is burning and baking the flesh and the blood of his body. The bones too are roasting though the flames are not visible.

But it is not only the poet who is suffering from separation. The whole universe is longing for reunion with God and is burning in the fire of severance. From a pantheist Sufi like Bullhe Shah it is expected that in his own wailings and lamentations caused by separation he should express the griefs and glooms, the groanings and moanings of each and every particle of the universe.

In the state of communion, he realized God not only internally in the heart, but externally also in the Mullan and the Pandit, in the guide and the disciple and in the saint and the astray. In the state of separation he failed to share the experience of sufferings of all those who like him are separated from the source and longing to return to the original abode. Nothing in the universe gives pleasure to a separated lover and the things, which are ordinarily pleasing, appear in this state as agitating and irritating.

The moon, which ordinarily gives coolness, turns out to be a ball of fire and spits out flames for a heartsick. The sandalwood which gives solace ordinarily, burns the limbs of the body, where applied, in the state of separation. A separated lover feels terrified from the clouds and lightning. The clouds appear to him as mad elephants causing turmoil and bewilderment all around. The flowers in the gardens and flowing waters irritate him. But to Bullhe Shah all these agents of nature are functioning normally and Bullha alone is burning in the fire.

In the month of *Phagun* and *Chait*, the fields, the gardens and the jungles have become green and the flowers are blossoming. Every body is dancing with joy. They are not feeling any separation from the Beloved and are not wailing. In *Padmavat* by Mallik Mohammad Jayasi, Ratansen leaves Nagamati, his first wife, and becomes a yogi for Padmavati. In persuit of her Boloved (husband) Nagamati wanders in the jungles and deserts, weeping, and wailing, asking every tree and plant, every bird and beast, every pebble and stone, of the whereabouts of her Husband.

At that time every thing and everybody, animate and inanimate, is burning in the fire of separation. The cuckoo and the coal turns black, as if they are burnt by the fire of separation. Her lamentations caused to moan and weep every inert and living being, man and women, bird

and beast and plant and pebble. The separated *gopis* of Surdas and other Saguna poets take the thundering clouds as trumpeting elephants and the rain as the flowing down of the fluid from their foreheads.

There is one more shortcoming in the description of separation in Bullhe Shah's verse. Bullhe Shah poses to be a female lover, who is shedding tears and is feeling fire burning all the time. But the poet does not describe elaborately other aspects of a female life. From Bullhe Shah's eyes tears flow in such a quantity that he is having a bath in them. There is no contingent effect. But the eyes of the *gopis* shed tears like incessant rain and the collyrium thus washed out from them, blackens their cheeks, and their bodices are drenched in tears and they never dry up:

Nisi din barkhat nain hamare;
Sada Rahat barkha ritu ham par, jab tain Syam sidhare;
Drig anjan na rahat nisi basar, kar kapol bhaye kare;
Kanchuki pat sookhat nahin kabahun, ur vich bahat panare;
Ansuan salil sabai bhai kaya, pal na jat ris tare;
Surdas Prabhu yahai parokho Gokal kahe bisare.

Bullhe Shah depicts himself as a female lover and describes the wailings of separation like those of *gopis* of Sagun Krishna Bhakti. His God plays hide and seek game with her as Lord Krishna plays with *gopis*. Sometimes, He does not cast a glance on her and because of this, she is heavy hearted.

Main dukhiari dukh savar;
Meri khabar na lainda yar.

She is engulfed in the whirlwind of woes and He is enjoying her pitiable condition standing at the shore. She is looking to Him with eagerness that He may take pity on her and come to her help:

Main ghuman gheran gherian;
Uh vekhe khala kinar;
Kandhe vekhe khala tamasha, sadi marg unhan da hasa;
Mere dil vich aya svasa, vekhan desi kade dilasa.
Nal piyar de.

It seems essential to make it clear that the seeker may become one with God in his ecstatic condition and may realize unity in the multiplicity of the visible universe and claim that he has become the very Beloved Whom he was searching for, but he cannot and Bullhe Shah does not claim that he has exalted himself to the position of the Worshipped, the Creator and the Almighty.

The Reality as *Will* which governs the universe, the Readlity as *Jalal* which causes havoc to the sinful, the Reality as *Jamal* which manifests itself in each and every particle of the universe, the Reality which is the First and the Last of the universe, is still centered in God in His Transcendental aspect.

Bullhe Shah has killed his I-ness and has become one with God, still he fears from God and prays that atleast those may not further be tortured who had killed their I-ness. He claims to have attained God, yet, he fears that God can again conceal Himself from him.

Bullhe Shah has delineated his spiritual journey of a Sufi through various stages as known to his times in his poetry, these being; *Shariat, Tariqat. Haqiqat* and *Marfat.*

He started his spiritual journey as a conformist. Most of the seekers do so.

Shariat is the preliminary stage when the Salik conforms to the Sharia or the code of conduct as dictated by Islam. It is saying prayers five times a day, observing fasts during the month of Ramzan, besides faith in the supremacy of God and Prophet Mohammad as His Messenger. It is said that Bullhe Shah knew the text of the Holy Quran by heart. The way he quotes the Islamic scriptures in his verse speaks volumes for it. Says Bullhe Shah :

Understand the One and forget the rest.
Shake off your ways of a non-believer
Leading to the grave and to hell, in quest.

Tariqat: If Bullhe Shah's verse is any guide, he did not take long to leave *Shariat* as a spiritual path behind. At best, he employed it as a stepping-stone. He moved on to *Tariqat*, which is an important landmark in a Salik's career. The cardinal feature of this stage is the assistance provided by the Murshid or Guru.

In fact what *Sharia* does in the life of a common devotee, *Tariqat* does in the case of a Sufi. The literal meaning of *Tariqat* is manner or observance. Tariqat according to Bullhe Shah is the Purslat of Baba Farid, the bridge which helps the seeker pass the arduous path of hard spiritual exercises with the help of the Murshid.

The Guru or Murshid is like the philosopher's stone which converts metal into gold. Good deeds are the dowry that the bride collects at this stage and then qualifies for union with the lord. In the first instance, Bullhe Shah discards the rituals and the ceremonials prescribed by the Shariat :

Burn the prayer mat, break the water pot.
(Quit the rosary and care not for the staff.)

Having done that he surrenders to the Murshid who is going to hold his hand and cruise him to his destination. Bullhe's love for his Guru is like that of Heer for Ranjha or Sohni for Mahiwal. It is physical love sublimated into spiritual love.

Why must I go to Kaaba
When I long for Takht Hazara ?
People pay their homage to Kaaba
I bow before my Ranjha.

Haqiqat: The third stage of his spiritual journey to which Bullhe Shah refers time and again in his verse is *Haqiqat* or the realization of truth. The devotee understands and accepts the existence of God. God is truth. God exists in everything around us. This concept has been described in the Sufi idiom as Hamaost. When the Salik comes to realize it, he no longer discriminates between the Hindu and the Muslim, the temple and the mosque. He hears the call of the Muezzin in the flute-strains of an idol-worshipper:

Pour not on prayers, forget the fasts.
Wipe off Kalma from the sight.
Bulleh has found his lover within.
Others grope in the pitchdark night.
What a spark of knowledge is kindled!
I find that I am neither Hindu nor Turk.
I am a lover by creed;
A lover is victorious even when swindled.

At this stage Bullhe Shah has little use for books and learning:

The rest is all but idle talk.
What counts is the name of Allah, it looks.
Some confusion is created by the learned.
And the remaining mess is entailed in books.

Marfat: This is the last stage of the spiritual evolution of a Sufi. It is the merging into Divine Reality called Fana and thus attaining the life eternal known in the Sufi idiom as *Baqa*.

The Murshid helps the seeker arrive at this stage but it is the grace which makes possible the ultimate union. The moment this happens, caste and creed cease to have any meaning. The *Atma* (Soul) and *Paramatma* (God) become one. When Bullhe attained this stage, the entire world appeared to him as a reflection of the Divine Reality. Bullhe has merged in God:

Remembering Ranjha day and night,
I've become Ranjha myself.
Call me Dhido Ranjha,
No more I be addressed as Heer.
I abuse Ranjha but adore him in my heart.
Ranjha and Heer are a single soul,
No one could ever set them apart.

Be that as it may, Bullhe Shah's Sufism is Quranic Sufism. At least to start with. When he breaks this code, he hardly ever goes beyond the limits laid down by his tribe earlier. However, later in due course, he is influenced by the Sant tradition prevalent in the Punjab during his times. Like a practising Yogi, he advocates Habs-i-dam or Pranayam which leads to union with God:

Heer and Ranjha have already met,
In vain she looks for him in the orchard;
Ranjha rests in the knots of her net.

Similarly, he refers to the ten Dwars of the yogis:

It's for you that I am imbued with greed.
Closing the nine Dwars, I went to sleep.
I come to the tenth and ask your leave.
My love for you is ever so deep.

The place Bullhe Shah gives to his Murshid in his spiritual evolution reminds one of the importance of the Guru in the sikh faith as obtaining in the tradition of the Bhakti Movement:

Leaving my parents I am tied to you,
O Shah Inayat, my beloved Guru!
Keep the promises made,
Do come to me.

The immortality of the soul is indicated thus:

I was in the beginning, I'd be in the end.
Who could be wiser than me?

In the tradition of the saints of the Bhakti Movement, Bullhe Shah styles himself as the bride. God is the bridegroom :

How many knots should I tie for my wedding?
My learned friend, advise!
The marriage party must come on the prescribed date.
Will forty knots be wise?

Unlike the general trend of the Sufi poets, Bullhe Shah is humble. He finds faults in himself. He has faith in his Master's mercy. It is the grace of God which will eventually cruise him across :

I'm a poor scavenger of the court of the True Master.
Bare-foot, unkempt hair, I have been summoned from beyond.

In order to kill one's ego and cultivate control over all temptations, unlike his contemporaries, Bullhe Shah does not prescribe Zuhd and torturing the body to submission. On the other hand, like the *Sants* of the Bhakti Movement, he believes in love and devotion. At the most, he is seen suffering the pangs of separation and no more:

In my passion of union with him.
I've lost all count of form;
I laid my bed in the public park
And went to sleep in my lover's arms.
I am broken, I am bent,
Tell him how I am pining for him;
My dishevelled hair, with the tying band in my hand,
Feel not embarrassed, do go and tell him oh messenger!

Bullhe Shah goes a step further. He seems even to have been influenced by what is known as the *Bhagwat* tradition. He is enamoured of Krishna's flute. The flute notes seem to have a peculiar pull for him:

Bulleh Shah was captivated
The moment he heard the flute,
Frenzied he ran towards the Master
Whom and how should he salute?

The tilt Bullhe Shah's Sufism has more particularly in the later period towards the *Sant* tradition belonging to the Bhakti Movement could also be due to his having belonged to the Qadri cult of the Sufis. The Qadri cult is close to the Nirgun Bhakti Mat, akin to the Sikh faith. Its founder was Abdul Qadir Jeelani of Iran. Bullhe Shah's Master, Inayat Shah, was also a Qadri. Says Bullhe:

Come Inayat Qadri!
I long for you.

Bullhe Shah was no less conscious of reforming his society. He was a severe critic of the clergy whether Islamic or Brahminic. He ridicules them for the way they exploit the people and mislead them with false promises. He calls them thugs :

The thugs with their mouths full of froth
Talk about life and death
Without making any sense.
The lovers show them the true path.
With the fundamentalist, he is more severe;
If you wish to be a ghazi,
Take up your sword;
Before killing the Kafir
You must slaughter the swindler.

Bullhe Shah is credited with the following works:

Kafis	150,
Athwara	1,
Baramah	1,
Siharfi	3,

Deodh	49, and
Gandhan	40.

This is the whole lot that appears in his name in various collections published from time to time. A considerable part of it is unauthentic. The first time an academician in Dr. Mohan Singh 'Diwana' researched on Bullhe Shah's work, he seems to have found only 50 Kafis genuinely composed by the Sufi Saint. This was in the thirties of the twentieth century. Syed Nazir Ahmed of Lahore (Pakistan) compiled a fairly prestigious volume of Bullhe Shah's work in 1976 in which he has included 66 Kafis besides a few miscellaneous pieces. Interpolations have been galore. His Kafis at times seem to vary as they travel from Pakistan to India. (See Kafis nos 97 & 98).

Kafi has no specific mould called Chhand in Punjabi poetics. It has, however, a prescribed manner of presentation as light classical music. Rather than a Raga, some scholars have called it a Ragini. Long before Bullhe Shah, Guru Nanak wrote three Kafis. We have five more Kafis in the Holy Granth, one each of Guru Amardas and Guru Ram Das, two of Guru Arjan and one of Guru Tegh Bahadur. These Kafis are available in Ragas Asa, Suhi, Tilang and Maru.

Besides light classical musicians, Kafi singing is popular with Qawwals who make their presentations in choruses and carry the audience with them as if in a trance. Kafis, as text, sing the praises of the Murshid and the Divine Reality, refer to the transitoriness of the world and also describe the pangs of separation of the devotee from the Guru and seeker from God.

At times *Kafis* deal with social and political themes as well. Bullhe does it time and again. As regards the form, more often than not, Bullhe provides a refrain which provides relief as well as underlines the theme of the Kafi :

Strange are the times!
Crows swoop down on hawks.
Sparrows do eagles stalk.
Strange are the times!
The Iraqis are despised
While the donkeys are prized.
Strange are the times!
Those with coarse blankets are kings,
The erstwhile kings watch from the ring.
Strange are the times!
It's not without rhyme or reason.
Strange ar the times!

Athwara: Taking week days as the basisre,. Athwara is generally the expression of a love-lorn beloved (Soul) separated from the lover (God). The beloved expects the lover every day, waits for him but he is to be seen nowhere. As poetic form, the first couplet of the Athwara has a longer measure which is sung by the leader of the choral group.

It is followed by short-measure couplets sung by the rest of the party. Bullhe Shah's Athwaras are, in fact, Satwaras, starting with Saturday and terminating with Friday. Though, a rebel by conviction, Bullhe Shah follows the Islamic calendar in Athwaras and Baramah. A specimen:

I better have a look at my love on Saturday
Maybe I don't come home the next day.
What a Saturday it is !
Suffering from the pangs of love, I pine.
I look for you in dales and deserts,
It's past midnight, I hear the chimes.
I miss you.
Longing for you every moment,
Sleeping at night, I encounter tigers.
I cry for help at the top of my voice
Spears piercing my every fibre.
I remain yours.

Baramah as a poetic form is a great deal popular in the Indian languages. Like Athwara, in Baramah the poet makes every month a basis for recounting his woes in separation from his lover. An attempt is also made to depict the peculiar climatic features of the month, more often than not with a view to associating them with the emotional intensity of the lover pining for his beloved.

In a poetic form *Baramah* is also like Athwara with the first couplet in a larger measure to be sung by the leader, followed by short-measure couplets presented by the rest of the choral group. Baramah can be intensely passionate at times while describing the plight of the

love-lorn beloved in the rainy season or in the long winter nights. A specimen:

The month of Phagun reflects in fields
The way someone dresses in flowers.
Every branch is laden with blossoms,
Every neck has the look of a bower.
My friends celebrate Holi.
My eyes are a brimming trough.
Tears give me a miserable time,
I am torn with slings of love.
Whatever happens is ordained by Him.
His mandate none dare alter.
My pangs of agony cry out aloud
Someone should go and tell my Master,
For whom I pine.

Doha is a typical Punjabi poetic form though it has no prescribed measure as such. It is in fact a couplet that rhymes and is complete in itself. It reveals a fact of life or makes a telling observation. It can be an emotional outburst or a reference to a political happening or ridiculing a social foible. A few specimens:

Day before Bullhe Shah was an atheist,
He worshipped idols yesterday.
He had no occasion to commune with Him
Though he sat at home today.
Bullhe loves the Muslim
And salutes the Hindu lord.
He welcomes home all those
Who remember the Almighty God.
Bullhe treads the path of love.
It is an endless road.
A blind man meets the blind,
Who should wield the goad?

Siharfi or acrostic is another poetic form which was very popular with the medieval poets in the Indian languages. There was a time when every major poet tried his hand at writing a Siharfi. It is taking an alphabet from the script of the language and building the composition, followed by the next alphabet and so on.

Guru Nanak has a highly sophisticated acrostic called Patti to his credit. It figures in the Holy Granth. Bullhe Shah's acrostic is devoted *mainly* to man's yearning for union with the Divine. A specimen:

Alif - He who meditates on Allah
His face is pale, his eyes bloodshot.
He who suffers pangs of separation,
No longer he longs his life to last.
Say - Soulful is my love for you,
Whom shall I go and tell?
In the swelling waters of a river at midnight
A wailing swallow fell.

Gandhan or knots as a poetic form owes its origin to a practice prevailing among the tribals of the Sunderbans and Ganjibar of the Punjab (Pakistan) Who when they fix a marriage date, tie the number of knots and the bride's family would then untie a knot every morning so that the marriage ceremony is celebrated on the day decided upon earlier.

Bullhe Shah uses this device to depict his wait for his union with his Murshid. Every day untying a knot brings him closer to the long-cherished union with the Master. A specimen:

How many knots should I tie for my wedding?
My learned friend, advise !
The marriage party must come on the prescribed day,
Will forty knots be wise?
Untying the first knot I sat and cried.
Since I must go one day, better get the dowry dyed.

Bullhe Shah's language is Central Punjabi but when he is emotionally charged, he waxes eloquent into Lehndi, the South-eastern dialect. There are traces of other Punjabi dialects also in his poetry which could, perhaps, be attributed to interpolations and the fact that his work has travelled from mouth to mouth. While singing in chorus the *Qawwals* are known to deviate from the original text.

Bullhe Shah employs classical terms and phrases whether from the Persian or the Sanskrit according to the philosophic content of his verse. His language is replete with eternal truth, which are in common use in the Punjab in everyday life. As a poet, some of his expressions remain unsurpassed :

The sun has set; its flush only is left.
A peacock calls in the grove of passion

Mohammad Baksh, a great bard of his

time, writing in 1864, was perhaps, the first to recognize Bullhe shah's talent. Says he:

Listening to Bullhe's Kafis
Rids one of blasphemy.
He, indeed, has swum
God's ocean of eternity.

A question that nags a reader of Bullhe Shah's work is that if Sarmad and other Sufi saints who talked the way Bullhe talked could not escape theire of the fundamentalists and were done to death, how is it that Bullhe could escape this fate? More, when he spoke so endearingly about the Sikhs who were at logger heads with the rulers of the day. There appear to be two reasons for it.

Firstly, when Bullhe Shah was at the peak of his glory, Mughal rule was on the decline. The administration was much too preoccupied with law and order to take notice of such social aberrations.

Secondly, unlike Hinduism, Sikhism is close to Islam conceptually, though it is nearer Hinduism socially. Guru Nanak who believed, there is no Hindu, there is no Muslim was still venerated in the Punjab as 'Baba Nanak Shah Faqir; Hindu ka Guru, Musalman ka Pir' (Guru Nanak the great man of God! He is the Guru of the Hindu and Pir of the Muslim). Even Guru Gobind Singh, the reigning Sikh Guru, had a large number of followers among the Muslims like Pir Budhu Shah, Nihang Khan, Ghani Khan, Nabi Khan and others.

Writing in his book, *Sufis, Mystics and Yogis of India*, Banke Bihari says, 'It was a period when Mughal supremacy was fading out and the Sikhs were gaining supremacy. He (Bullhe Shah) met Shri Guru Gobind Singhji and others and heard to his great pain of the atrocious deeds of the Muslims in decapitating the heads of Hindu saints. It was a time when a few decades earlier Sarmad had been beheaded by Alamgir for his pantheistic leanings.

Bullhe Shah is classed with Kabir and is said to belong to the *Sant* tradition of the Sufis. Panjab witnessed the emergence of the two main cults of the Sufis: The Quranic Sufis and the Neo-Platonic Sufis. Amongst the Quranic Sufis in the Panjab are listed: Fard Faqir, and Ghulam Rasul.

Those listed as Neo-Platonic Sufis are: Hafiz Barkhurdar, Ali Hyder, Ahmed Yar, Muqbal and Waris Shah. Unlike all these Baba Farid, Shah Husain and Bullhe Shah are closer to the saint tradition of the Bhakti Movement. They seek union with the Divine on the lines of the Nirguna Bhaktas. Says Bullhe Shah :

I have wiped off the Kalma
And found my Lord within me.
The whole world is deceived.

Bullhe Shah's mysticism is the assertion of the soul against the formality of religion. He came to believe that it is possible to establish a direct link with God. His is the eternal yearning of the human soul to have direct experience of Divine Reality.

Bullhe Shah's Sufism was no doubt Quranic to start with. But the Shariat has relevance as long as duality persists; the moment duality disappears, one is liberated from all bonds. This is exactly what seems to have happened with Bullhe Shah. He qualified himself to Tariqat. He became leberated. He became a part of the Divinity. He sees himself in everything around him.

There are a few contradictions in Bullhe Shah's thought. Bullhe Shah is not only pantheist, but some of his sayings betray pantheism. He says that God, the Ranjha, is in him and he is in Him.

Ranjha main vich, main Ranjhe vich,
Hor khyal na koi,

Thus he sees one reality everywhere:

Jit val vekhan ute val soi;
Kasam use di hor na koi,
(Whither I see, I see Thee. Verily, there is none but He.)

In another verse he says:

Ape mad ho ape pinde ho.
(Thou art the wine and Thou art the Drinker.)

But in a few utterances some sort of difference has been made between the matter and the spirit, and Bullhe Shah lays emphasis on the

spiritual element as the reality. He affirms whatever speaks in him is his essence. When tree is perished, the reality, the seed, which is formless still exists.

Admitting the quality of fromless reality and the gross matter, he says that God pervades every heart in the same way as salt is dissolved in wheat flour. He considers the matter as *hijab* (veil) which conceals the reality. The divine element makes the material mound to dance.

Similarly, Bullhe Shah failed to determine precisely the scopes of man's will and God's Will. On the one hand, he admits that the saints and thieves and the right and the astray are all God and all that happens is in the will of God. On the other hand, he asserts that man reaps the harvest of his own deeds. Farid and Bullhe Shah, the two great Sufi poets of Panjab, differ only on the degree of emphasis. Farid lays stress on the responsibility of man, but admits the supremacy of God's Will.

Bullhe Shah talks much of God's Grace and His Will, but does not free the man from his responsibility of adopting the right path. Thus both fall victim to the quandary.

To sum up, Bullhe Shah is a liberal Sufi and in his works are assimilated various thoughts like Neo-Platonism, Nathism, Vedanta and Vaishnave Bhakti. As regards his borrowings from the literary tradition he accepted many ideas from Kabir, Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu and the Bhagawat cult poets. Dr. Lajwanti pays a great tribute to Bullhe Shah when she writes:

> "He is universally admitted to have been the greatest of Panjabi mystics. No Panjabi mystic poet enjoys a wider ability and a greater reputation. His *Kafis* have gained unique popularity. In truth, he is one of the greatest *Suffis* of the world and his thoughts equal that of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and Shamas Tabriz of Persia."

In Islam, unseen fate or destiny is to be considered the guiding force of man's life. According to Encyclopaedia Britainica :

> "In Islam, fate is an absolute power known as *Kismat* or *Nasib* which is conceived as inexorable and transcending all physical laws of the Universe."

Thus, an oriental may believe that he is fated to die on a particular day, he believes that whatever he does and inspite of all precautions, he may take, nothing can avert the disaster.

Bullhe Shah, Shah Hussain, Sheikh Farid, and Sultan Bahu; they are the main *Sufi* poets in Panjabi language. Sheikh Farid, Shah Hussain, Sultan Bahu and Bullhe Shah they were not against the Islam. Sheikh Farid never condemned Islamic traditions, extremist *Sufi* poet like Bullhe Shah though condemns fanatic traditions of Islam, yet he was convinced by the religious philosophy of Hazrat Mohammad. Bullhe Shah in his poetry is shown sometimes, pining for the Holy Mohammad. Bullhe Shah wrote:

> I need thy grace O' Lord
> for all the times, in all the circumstances,
> Holy Lord Mohammad is my Saviour.

So, I mean to say basically *Sufi* saints were mystics, they never revolted against the Islam, rather Bullhe Shah gets his literary vision from the teaching and preaching of Hazrat Mohammad. So, it is not exaggerated to say that Bullhe Shah's mysticism is derived from the original concept of Islam, but he awakened the inner silence by his forceful voice. Prof. Puran Singh says:

> "Bulleh Shah awakens the eternal silence by his tremendous voice. As he begins, the drums beat, the bugles blow, the *cymbals* clash, the muezzin joins him and the dancing girl forgets herself. All grow one as Bulleh Shah pours out flood upon flood. He is a poet, a disciple and a man of renunciation in one".

Islam is quite scientific religion but its followers have built the walls around this religion. These walls are made of many ill-logical traditions and misconceptions. This type of attitude more prevalent in the faith of Hinduism also. So, Bullhe Shah condemns both:

> "So, Bullhe Shah openly asserts that

spiritual attainment is not to be found by the recitation of holy scriptures like Vedas and Qurans."

Bulleh Shah is an exponent of true Islam, when he sees that people bowing before the shrines in mosques and temples, without realising the true religion, it pains him. He says: Ideas of Islamic mysticism echoes in the *Sufi* literature popular in the Punjab. The religion of the lover of God is nothing but 'love'. So, Bullhe Shah's philosophy of spiritualism is the reconciliation of faith derived from orthodoxy and love the essence of true devotion.

In the words of J.S. Grewal, "It has been observed recently that in India, because of the challenge the risk of disintegration into Hindu mysticism, Sufism took special care to resolve its differences with orthodoxy. In Islamic religious history the tension between the religious assertion of the transcendence of God and the mystical aspiration for His immanence was perhaps nowhere more thoroughly resolved to a middle of the road position than in India."

Total submission to get is the true spirit of love for Him. Qutbuddin Bakhtyar was so much affected by the Sufi philosophy of submission, that he died on the recitation of the verse. Those who are killed by the sword of submission (to God).

Receive every moment a new life from Him, A Sufi has nothing to teach of religion except the under-standing of true love and they realise God in terms of Love. The attitude of the Sufis towards the non-Muslims was generally marked by tolerance. To make the intensity of feelings in love of God, some of the Sufis have been using some intoxicants.

Bulleh Shah like all the other Sufi poets used to sing in the streets. Many a time he was seen in the intoxicated position also. His intoxication was only to enrich the spiritual delight.

Concept of God

Like other *Sufi* mystics, Bullhe Shah believed in the omnipresence of God. The conception of God as the One in All, 'the All in All' or 'All is He' was familiar to almost every *Sufi*. So was the tradition about God as 'the hidden treasure'.

It is true that the Sufis occasionally used expressions suggestive of their belief in predestination or at least in the omnipotence of God. It is said in fact that a person was fortunate or wretched already in the mother's womb. However, the idea of predestination did not restrain the Sufi in acting 'as though he believed in free will'. It was generally believed in fact that it was for a man to strive and for God to give.

Sufis they believe in the trinity of love, Lover and Beloved. This trinity is most obviously linked with the mystical experience of unification. This link is only a little less apparent in the theosophical structures based on the Divine Attribute of Light. Bullhe Shah exclaims:

Muslims, they go to Makka for pilgrimage,
My Makka is the dwelling place of my Lover.

These material eyes are not meant for looking at the Lord. That grace of God can only be seen with the inward eyes. Utterance of al-Hallaj justifies the *Sufis* philosophy of Love:

I saw my Lord with the Eye of the Heart.
I said, 'Who art Thou ?' He answered 'Thou'

According to Bullhe Shah, Remembrance of God is the greatest thing in life without doubt. Seek help with patient perseverance and prayer, for God is with those who patiently persevere. Bulleh Shah exclaims:

I am He whom I love and He whom I love is I,
We are two spirits dwelling in one body,
If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And If thou seest Him thou seest us both.

Perhaps, the most important feature of Bullhe Shah's poetry is music. Bullhe Shah sings and dances filled with the poetic frenzy of his inner-passion.

Love and thought are the mystic realm, for *Sufis*. Love is the preception of beauty. The basis and causes all love is Beauty that is the beauty of God. Bullhe Shah says that God is all Beautiful and His reflection makes the worldly things beautiful.

In the words of A.J. Arberry, "Rukh (face,

cheek); the revelation of Divine Beauty in Attributes of grace, Sharab (wine), ecstatic experience due to the revelation of the True Belove." Writer further says: "The marriage of romance to mysticism took place early in the history of the Sufi-movement ; the language of human love was used freely to describe the relations between the mystic and his Divine Beloved."

His Love for Murshid

All the *Sufis* believe that truth is recognised by the guideline of Murshid. Murshid is the ladder, he is the boat through Murshid, it is only possible to attain the realm of God's grace. None can know God without Guru. He gives the blessing and shows the path for the spiritual realisation.

The Guru alone reveals that without the Name the attainment of God is not possible. Bullhe Shah's love for Murshid was a stormy emotionalism which compells Hazrat Bullhe Shah to dance and sing in the streets in bazaars. He can not tolerate the separation from his Murshid.

Bullhe Shah has left his sayings in such perfect Panjabi that one can hardly detect his foreign origin from his language. Probably, this was owing to the fact that he came to the Punjab while very young.

Actually, Bullhe Shah never belong to any foreingn land, he originally belong to the rural background of the Punjab. We find in his poetry the true spirit of Panjabi culture and convention. Bullhe Shah understands the deep spirit of Panjabi language. We find a storm of emotions and feelings in his poetry.

His language is not bound to any particular style or pattern. It is spontaneous flow of his unending hidden fire. The concrete and artistic expression of Bullhe Shah's mind is in emotional and rhythmical language. In the words of Mill, "All deep and sustained feelings hastened to express itself in rhythmical language and the deeper the feeling, the more characteristic & decided the rhythm."

Poetry of Bullhe Shah can be compared with the dancing feet of a beautiful girl, who attracts the attentions of all minds. Bullhe Shah's poetry is music in words and words in music.

> "If poetry comes not as naturally as the leaves to a tree it had better not come at all."

In the case of Bullhe Shah, his ideas moves faster than words and he becomes helpless to control the stirring movement. He is concerned with the truth carried alive into the heart by passion.

Bullhe Shah is the painter of soul. He expresses very subtle, synthetic and spiritual synopsis in a simple, straight forward, and symbolic language. Bullhe Shah is the poet who loves, feels truths and tells them.

> "In Croce's philosophy art is nothing but intuition, or the expression (within the mind) of impression."

The intuition becomes art when the spirit persists in its intent only upon the activity of perfect expression.

Language of Bullhe Shah gives the thunder of shower, roar of clouds, music of melody and outlet of deep hidden feelings.

Language of Bullhe Shah has undoubtedly adopted so many outward linguistic impacts like that of *'Persian, Arabic* and *Hindwi* etc.

Bullhe Shah acted as the bridge between Islamic mysticism and Hindu religion. So, naturally we see vastness of the language in the poetry of Bullhe Shah. The Universe is but one vast symbol of God, nay if thou wilt have it, what is man himself but a symbol of God. In the words of Arthur Symons:

> "Symbolism began with first word uttered by the first man, as he renamed every living thing, or before them in heaven when God named the world into being."

We see the exhibition of symbolism in the poetry of Bullhe Shah. Symbolism had become almost a style in the poetry of *Sufi* and spiritual saints. Bullhe Shah's verse runs in two different meanings outward and inward. This outward is apparent (evident), the inward is real (natural).

Poetry means the distant echo of the primitive words behind our veil of words. Bullhe Shah signifies uncommon imaginations in the variety of words. Dugals Steward says, "an uncommon degree of imagination constitutes poetical genius".

So Bullhe Shah is the master of poetical words. His poetic act in language words are the only true reality in his hands. These words depict the musical nature of Hazrat Bulleh Shah, the symbol in which his imaginative mind seeks self-expression and wells up the real gems from the depths. So, this was the Bullhe Shah with whose poetry *Sufi* philosophy in Punjab touches its climax.

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Cha'in Laddah, Shaikh (d. 1590 A.D.)

Shaikh Cha'in Laddah of Suhna (some twenty-five miles from Delhi in Rewari) was another *khalifa* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz. He was a keen lecturer on the *Fusus al-Hikam* and its commentary to student sufis. Impressed with his spirituality and reputation.

Akbar invited him to his court at Fathpur-Sikri and assigned him quarters near the 'Ibadat-Khana. In return for these privileges, prayers for the success of the imperial policies were requested. Occasionally, the Emperor would hold private discussion with him in the night and witness his *namaz-i ma'kus*.

In 998/1590, Shaikh Cha'in fell seriously ill. Before his death, he summoned Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam (the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l Aziz) who was then employed in Delhi's army, and handed him the *khirqa*, staff and other insignia of Shaikhdom, inherited from his father.

Shaikh Qutb-i 'Alam promptly resigned his military post and settled in Delhi, where Akbar assigned him the position of caretaker of the shrine containing the Prophet Muhammad's footprint.

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Chand Khan (14th Century)

Chand Khan is who calls for our attention commonly known as *Chandsai*. He was one of the well known men of Assam. It is said that he was tailor by profession. Being influenced by the miracles of Shankaradeva he turned to be a disciple of his. He was also called Kabir. It is said that the composed a number of religious songs. He is also said to be the author of the biography of Gopal Deva. We have come across many miracles and stories about the divine power of the saint. But as there is no authenticity in these stories mentioned of them will be of no use.

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C

Chandan, Shaikh (16th century)

Shaikh Chandan, a saint of the sixteenth century belonged to Lahore and was originally a soap-dealer. Impelled by the mystic urge he gave up his business and migrated to Burdwan (in West Bengal) where he settled near the tomb of Shaikh Bahram Saqqa. He led a pious life and never asked for charity. It is said that when he was offered any gift by his admirers, he immediately distributed it among the poor.

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D

Danishmand, Shah Muazzam (1519A.D. — 1532A.D.)

Maulana Shah Muazzam Danishmand, popularly known as *Maulana Shah Daulah*, was an important spiritual figure of Bengal. According to a local tradition, he was a descendant of the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid. He came from Baghdad and settled at Bagha (in Rajshahi district, East Bengal) during the time of Nasiruddin Nusrat

The king and the nobles had great respect for him. The king of Gaur had profound respect for him. He requested him to accept some *jagir* but Shah Daulah declined. It was then offered to his son, Hazrat Hamid Danishmand who accepted it. An inscription dated 930 A.H./1532-34 A.D. shows that Sultan Nusrat Shah had built a mosque in his honour.

Allah Bakhsh Barkhurdar Lashkari, a local noble, was so impressed by his ancestral background and spiritual attainments that he gave his daughter in marriage to him. This social bond made him settle permanently at Bagha. His descendants are still traceable at this place. He probably died and was buried at Bagha.

His son Maulana Hamid Danishmand and other descendants remained in the scholarly profession and established *madrasahs* for the promotion of learning. Abdul Latif, a traveller, who visited Bengal in 1609 reports that he met a descendant of Maulana Shah Daulah, who looked after a madrasah where people came from far and near to acquire knowledge.

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Dawud, Shaikh (16th Century A.D.)

Of all the successors and disciples of Shaikh Hamid, the most outstanding was Shaikh Dawud, who came from Chati in the Mughal province of Lahore. His ancestors were Arabs; Shaikh Dawud himself had been born at Sitpur in Multan. His father died before his birth, his mother soon afterwards. The child's upbringing was entrusted to Miyan Rahmatu'llah, Dawud's elder brother. Later, he was to study under eminent scholars in Uch, Multan and Lahore.

Passionately devoted to sufism, Shaikh Dawud was constantly in a state of ecstasy and was to be found wandering deliriously through Ajodhan (Pak-Pattan), in the nearby desert of Dipalpur and the remote, unpopulated region of Shergarh, close to Jheni. After the expiry of 20 years in this state, he was suddenly inspired through a dream of the Ghausu'l-A'zam to seek

Shaikh Hamid Qadiri as his *pir* and to adopt the sedentary life of a *khanqah*.

During the reign of Islam Shah Sur (952\1545-960/1552) the Makhdumu'l-Mulk, Mulla 'Abdu'llah Sultanpuri, the controller of all religious affairs, summoned Shaikh Dawud to the Sultan's camp at Gwalior. There he demanded an explanation of the rumour that the Shaikh's disciples periodically invoked the name, Dawud. The Shaikh answered that in fact his disciples repeated the words, 'Oh *Wadud*, (Loving), one of the 99 names of God. The Makhdumu'l-Mulk was suitably convinced with this reply.

Once or twice annually Shaikh Dawud would distribute the gifts he had accumulated, retaining for himself only an earthen pot and a remnant of ancient bed-matting. On the birth and death anniversaries of Ghausu'l-A'zam, some hundred thousand people would assemble near his Shergarh *khanqah* to share in these gifts.

After hearing first-hand information of the Shaikh's fame, from dervishes travelling in the *Panjab*, some time about 981/1573-74 Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni visited the Shaikh at Shergarh. These are some of his impressions.

Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or a hundred, more or less (on each day), did not come with their families and kindred to pay their respects to that holy man, receiving the high honour of conversion to Islam, and obtaining instruction in the faith. I found the gates and walls and trees and dwellings of that delectable town filled with the sound of the telling of rosaries and the reciting of God's praises, and the *Shaikh* bestowed on me his auspicious cap, saying: "Be thou my deputy to thine own people, for (thus to appoint a deputy) is my wont"....I represented, through Miyan 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, one of the Shaikh's sincere companions, (to whom is applicable the text) "Blessedness awaiteth them and a goodly home', that a report was current among the holy men of Hindustan that the time for the rising of a religious leader was at hand, that most of that body, (i.e., the holy men) concurred in fixing on one of the Sayyids of that country, whose ancestors had formerly been seated on the throne of empire in Delhi and Badaon for some time, that they were engaged in making preparations for a holy war and in collecting arms, that they professed to have received directions from the holy Ghaus-i A'zam (may God be pleased with him!) to engage in this affair, and that they had implicated with themselves some of the *Amirs* on the frontier and that some of them professed to have received supernatural encouragement during their assemblies and when they were in difficulties, and purposed to bring the object of their desire to an issue. The *Shaikh* asked me, "What is that *Sayyid's* mode of life, and condition?".

I said, "He is a man who lives a retired life, in holy poverty, conformably to the sacred law, a recluse and an ascetic who has resigned himself to God, passing most of his days among the tombs (of holy men) and his nights in his cell in worship and submission to God, but he is a man of good family, unrivalled and incomparable in his knowledge of the military art, of excellent moral character and following a most worthy mode of life."

The *Shaikh* said, "The members of that body (i.e., the holy men) are no true *darvishes*, in that they so traduce the holy Ghaus, and do him violence now that he can no longer help himself, and those spiritual encouragements and signs are all part of the delusions of Satan, for how could the holy Ghaus (may God be pleased with him!) countenance such matters as this, he whose rule it always was that the people should expel the love of the world from their hearts, and, in all candour and sincerity, should set their faces towards the love of God, the Most High, abandoning vain desires and lusts, and not that one should turn aside from the path of worship, asceticism and holy endeavour to fall again into the net of the world, which is the enemy of God? Say to that *Sayyid* from me, "May God the Most High vouchsafe to you grace to stand fast in the path which you hold. If the least suspicion of any desire for evanescent delights remains (in

your heart), it behaves you to strive to overcome it, and not to be beguiled by the impostures and misrepresentations of a bewildered band of know-nothings, thereby straying from the path.

Though, the lover of the world should attain to kingship ,-the supreme object of worldly men, and the seeker after the (sensual) joys of paradise should reach the rewards bestowed by the Everlasting God, that is, the maidens and mansions of the next world, and the lover of God should die of grief from the utter hopelessness of attaining his object, yet is the disappointment of this last a thousand-fold better and more happy than the fruition and attainment of desire experienced by the former two classes of poor-spirited men.

Although, the number of Hindus mentioned by Bada'uni as converted by Shaikh Dawud is palpably exaggerated there seems little doubt that the miracles attributed to him prompted a number of Hindus, as well as some members of tribes close to the newly settled town of Shergarh, to embrace Islam. In 981/1573-74 Emperor Akbar sent Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, an orthodox Sunni, to invite the Shaikh to his court.

Shaikh Dawud's successor was his nephew and son-in-law, Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali (b.961/1553-54). Having a good literary and religious background, the Shaikh began writing poetry under the name of Ghurbati. In his verses, he was wont to pun on his *pir's* name. Here is an example,

> How can this frozen heart be warmed by the speech of all?
> Nay, it requires the breath of Dawud, which can soften even iron. And again he played with the word 'Dawud' in these verses,
> I sit on the throne of poverty, now that I have attained my desire,
> I reign like Sulaiman (Solomon), for I am heart and soul the slave of Dawud.
> And although I be not worthy of this high fortune,
> Grant to me one atom of the love of Shaikh Dawud.
> Of the ecstatically mystical verses of Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali quoted by Bada'uni these are worth noting,
> 'Ghurbati' speaks in his religious ecstasy,
> An ecstasy which is indeed altercation without speech.
> It were impossible to describe the condition of his love,
> Yet to refrain from doing so is another impossibility.

The Shaikh refused however, arguing that his secret prayers for the Emperor were sufficient for his spiritual welfare. Shaikh Dawud died in 982/1574-75 and was buried in Shergarh. Although, Bada' uni incorrectly attributed to him the founding of the Qadiriyya order in India, it was the impact of Shaikh Dawud's personality and his individual spiritual achievements that swept Qadiriyya influence from the Panjab to Delhi and Agra.

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Dawud, Shaikh Muhammad (1683/84 A.D.)

Shaikh Muhammad Dawud was succeeded in 1648/49. According to one story, the latter was summoned to Delhi during the early years of Aurangzib's reign to answer charges relating to his fascination for *sama*. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qawi, a well-known enemy of mystics, was sent to discuss the question of the legality of *sama*. The Shaikh argued that according to the Shari'a it was legitimate only for those who were competent and merited such a privilege, and among these he included himself.

His qawwals were promptly ordered to sing and the music was so effective that the

Mulla was spellbound and even went to the extent of begging the Shaikh to make him his disciple. Shaikh Muhammad Dawud died in 1095/1683-84.

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Diyaud-Din, Shah

Shah Diyaud-Din, another companion of Shah Badar, whom Shah Jalal Mujarrad had especially sent to this place to impart education and training among the people, was a sufi of high rank and position.

He acted upon the order of his Shaikh and propagated Islam among the people till his last days. A madrasah and a mosque founded by him near the Khadiman village of Badarpur was swept away along with his tomb by the waters of the Barak river.

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Farad Faqir (1720 — 1790)

A prominent Sufi poet of later Nanak age was Farad Faqir. History of literature does not know much about this poet, we simply know that Farad Faqir belonged to the eighteenth century. According to Bawa Budh Singh: "Faqir was the saint who raised his voice against injustice of the contemporary rulers."

Farad Faqir is generally known as *Fard Fakir*. No biography of the Sufis or the poets known to us contains any description of his life and beliefs. Oral tradition is also silent. It may be that in some secluded village of the Gujrat district there is some tradition relating to this Faqir, but our efforts have not had any success.

Born in 1704 AD (according to Maula Bakhsh Kushta) or in 1720 AD (according to Dr. Lajwanti Rama Krishna), Farad Faqir lived in the town of Gujrat. He refused to be influenced by the later developments in Sufi thought. Composition of Farad Faqir is as follow:

1. Si-harfi
2. Kasb Nama
3. Bashindgan
4. Roshan Dil
5. *Barah Mah*

The works in Panjabi ascribed to him are Qasb Nama Bafindgan, *Qasb Nama Hajaman, Siharfi Nasihat, Baramaha* and *Roshan Dil*. In his works dominates the traditional warning of the Ijadists that God would take accounts of the deeds done in this life and would throw the defaulters in the fires of Hell.

Akhar rosan zar zar hosan mande hal;
Farda lekha laisia rab qadar jal jalal.

He enjoins upon the Muslims to please God by saying prayers five times a day, observing fasts, performing pilgrimage to Mecca observing strictly the other religious obligatories:

Re-razi kar tun rabb nun roza haj zakat;
Kalma Taiyab akhana panje vakat salvat;
Karni tarak haram thin khavan dhundh halal;
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jal jalal.

He condemns the Hindus:

La-Lamon lanhat kafaran hor karara dih.

and the Hindu incarnations-Rama and Krishna:

Jehre ism khudaye de likhe ander nass;
Uhe na bhulavana Ram Krishan sir bhass.

He urges the Hindus to accept Islam as all other paths are false:

Mann Mohammad mustafa, langhin pahile pur;
Chahun yaran di dosti mann Nabi di al;
Farada lekha laisia rabb qadar jal jalal.
(Accept Mohammad and his path, if thou wantest to cross over to the Paradise. God would take account of thy deeds and put thee in the Hell)

However, he recognises all the four stages of Sufism, namely *Shariat, Tariqat, Haqiqat* and *Marfat:*

Avval qasab vich shara de khadi qadam tikae;
Rah tarik qasab da jane, tan hatthe hath pae;
Chasham haqiqat de val rakhe, ture na ulti chale;
nal marfat dil nun dho ke hove jan sukhale.
(Firstly, one must be steadfast on the path of Shara. Secondly, the path of Sufism must be learnt well, before stepping on it. Thirdly, the mind should be fixed on haq and the seeker should purify his heart with Marfat (gnosis). In

this way the salvation is attained.)

He urges for the performance of obligatories with sincerity and not in a mechanical way:

Lam-lakhan parhade adami dangran wang Quran;
Tasbi khirqa makar da, agge andar jal;
Farada lekha laisia, rabb kadar jal jalal.

He condemns the worldly pleasures as fleeting and futile and advises to renounce the world and to do good deeds :

Alaf-Allah bin ghafala phirion sara jag;
Rah bhulaio haq da duniya pichhe lag;
Duniya kuri char din, rah shara da bhal;
Farada lekha laisia, rabb qadar jal jalal.

(Thou art wandering aimlessly without the name of God. Following the path of the worldly people thou hast lost the way to God. The pleasures of the world are temporary and illusory; Knowest the path of Shariat. God would take account of thy deeds and put thee in the Hell.)

Under the impact of wifely devotion of the vaishnavism, he wrote a *Baramaha* which portrays him quite a different man from the author of *Siharfi* Nasihat. In his Darya-i-Marfat he condemns Mijazi love as a sin :

Kar toba ishq mijaz thin, parh sabak haqqani raz thin.

(Resolve consciously to abandon thy love for the phenomenal beauty and repent over thy past conduct and learn the secrets of the Truth)

In *Baramaha*, he contradicts his previous views and accepts the Mijazi lover Yusuf Zulaikhan as ideal lover :

Main vang Zulaikhan puchhadi gal Yusuf misar bazar di.

(I am making enquiries about God in the same way as Zulaikhan made for her Beloved Yusuf in the bazars of Egypt.)

The loose and sex exciting description of the female lover in his Baramaha presents a contrast to his puritanical approach in his equally important work *Siharfi Nasihat*. Wifely devotion itself is antagonistic to Shariat and the Ijadist concept of soul of man. The contradiction indicates that either the poet himself has no deep understanding of the subject or he is not sincere in his convictions and changes his attitude quickly according to the change of circumstances.

Dr. Lajwanti Rama Krishna, in his work *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, comments on the inconsistency that Sufis like him were dangerous equally to Islam and Hinduism. To the Hindus they preached the Quran and the superstitions of Islam while to the Mohammadans they preached the popular beliefs and superstitions of both.

Farad, nevertheless, gives enough information about himself in his works. Though, he does not give the date of his birth, yet, he tells us in his *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* that he lived in the eighteenth century A.D.

Yara sai trai satth barsa san nabi da aya
eh rasala kamil hoya hukam dhurao aya.

(The eleven hundred and sixty-third year of the Prophet's era has come, and this journal is complete according to the order that had come from the start.)

This shows that when he finished the book in A.H. 1163 (A.D. 1751) he would already have been a man of thirty or forty years. We do not mean to say that a man below this age was not allowed to write a book, but because as he had disciples when he wrote the *Kasab-nama*, and the *Kasab-Nama* was written at the request of a weaver disciple, in all probability he had attained that age.

A faqir cannot have disciples at an early age, because almost all his youth passes in study and in discipleship. We can therefore safely say that Fard Faqir lived, preached, and died between the years A.D.1720 and 1790.

He was a resident of the Gujrat district in the Panjab as is stated at the end of his *Bara-Mah*. Whether he was an inhabitant of Gujrat town or of some village in the district of Gujrat, it is impossible to say. He was a Sufi, as he reproaches those who are not true to their Sufi professions:

Bahir bana sufia andar daga kamay.

Outside the guise of a Sufi and inside they earn deceit.

And again

Mim mimo mull vakaudi ajj fakiri hatt
ikk paise di unn lai gall nu seli vatt
geri rang lai kapare khol sire de val
farda lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.

(Mim : the faqiri is sold today in the shop ; buying one piece worth of wool (thread) the seli (Seli is a twisted woollen thread tied round the neck of the Sufis, especially the popular ones, to indicate that they are mystics. The Sufis in India do not put on woollen clothes. Seli is a remnant of the woollen garment) is twisted round the neck; with geri the clothes are coloured and the hair is let loose, Fard, the mighty radiant and glorious God will take account.)

His title Faqir also indicates that he was a *dervish.* Fard was a Sufi of the popular school. From his own account, it is clear that he was a pir of the lower classes such as the weavers and the barbers. His imagination, his low and vulgar thought, so conspicuously shown in his *Roshan dil,* his lack of personality and his strong fanatic convictions so clearly manifest in his poetry, support our view.

The times during which he was born and lived and the political circumstances of the province were detrimental to the growth and development of art. Since, the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Panjab had been a stage for dissensions, and from 1739 to 1770 it witnessed no peace at all. The invasion of Nadir in 1739, the successive raids of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the first of which began in 1748, and the desire of the provincial ruler to become independent of both Durrani and the weak Mughal court at Delhi, all contributed to create trouble and confusion.

This was an opportunity for the suppressed Sikhs, who began to assert themselves by devastating the country and thereby creating trouble for the rulers. The Marathas for a short while entered the arena and were proclaimed masters. But the Maratha sovereignty dissatisfied Durrani, who returned once more.

The Marathas retired in 1761, but henceforward there was a constant state of war between the nominees of the Afghan and the rising Sikhs. It was only in 1770 that the Sikhs finally deposed and repulsed the Afghan officials and occupied the Panjab. It took them some years to establish a strong government in the province that had long been a prey to the ambitions of different claimants.

Poetry naturally could not flourish in such a state of affairs. Nor could there exist amicable feelings and tolerance between members of the various communities, certainly not in the followings of the popular *pirs.* These pirs, moreover, were often utilized to preach the cause of one or the other party. To protect themselves against the ever hostile *ulama* and to save themselves from the fury of the powerful they had to adhere to the cause of one of the contending parties.

Their popular Sufism, therefore, often turned into fanaticism. Yet, in all fairness to them, it should be stated here that in their private lives they tried to please and respect, as far as possible, the beliefs of people belonging to different religions. In public, they preached the beliefs of the political party to which they gave allegiance. Fard was a popular Sufi, the outcome of these circumstances, and therefore we can easily forgive him his fanaticism and other shortcomings.

Fard seems to have had a good knowledge of Arabic. His *Roshan Dil* abounds in words and quotations from the *Qur'an.* About his knowledge of Persian we do not know anything except that in his *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* he says :

Nasar farsi nu chadd asa ne hindi nazam banaya.

Abandoning Persian prose we have made it in Hindi poetry.

To him Panjabi was Hindi as it was the language of the Hindustanis or the Indians. Mussulman writers of the Panjab often called Panjabi, Hindi. It might be that originally it was called Hindi but later on when the language of Delhi and of the United Provinces was called Hindi it came to be termed Panjabi. Muslim tradition, however, continued to call it Hindi.

Whatever the name he gave to his mother-tongue, the above indicates that he was accustomed to write in Persian prose. His Panjabi verse is more or less rustic in expression but lacks that sweet flavour which rustics impart to it. It is all a sort of *bail* which is abrupt in itself. Its flow is not smooth ; it is, however, powerful and emphatic. The following are his works:

Bara-Mah or *bara-masa*. MSS. of this are very numerous and are found in different libraries and with private individuals. They differ slightly in minor details. These differences, occurring mostly in words, are due to the fact that the copyist was never the same person. Apart from this, they are all the same. There is one such MS. in the India Office Library. Fard's *Bara-Mah* has many a time been published in the Panjab.

Siharfi. This is very popular with orthodox Mussulmans and the lower orders of the community and has had various editions.

Kasab-nama Bafindgan. a treatise on the profession of weavers, was completed in 1751. This describes weaving on spiritual lines, praises the weavers, and condemns the rulers who tyrannized over them. It was published two or three times at various places in the Panjab.

Of all the editions, the one published by the Muslim Steam Press, Lahore, and also containing the other two works, the *Bara-Mah* and *Siharfi* and entitled *Darya-e-Ma'rifat* is the best. We have therefore utilized this for quotations.

Roshan Dil is a manual of instruction on dogmatic religious duties. The work is very popular and has been frequently published. There are many MSS. Two are in the India Office Library. In one of these the author is said to be Fard Faqir but in the second copy the scribe Murad 'Ali in the appended verses ascribes the authorship to Maulvi Abd-Allah.

After a careful study of *Roshan Dil* we come to the conclusion that it could not have been written by an open-minded Sufi. We believe that, under stress of circumstances, Fard was either forced to claim authorship of this work or was made to write it. There are two reasons for this belief.

First, that his name rarely occurs in it while in his *Siharfi*, *Bara-Mah*, and *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* his name occurs at the end of every few lines. Second, that in one place in the *Roshan Dil* he says:

mai darda gall na akkhda mat maran ulmah,
ehse karap rakkhia farda bhed chupa.

For fear I do not say the matter, lest the *'ulama* should kill me, therefore Fard (says) I have kept the secret concealed.

Roshan Dil is a great favourite of the *'ulama*, so the secret must have been considered a great heresy, punishable by death, which the unfortunate poet could not freely express.

These two facts therefore make us believe the either he was forced to write the book, or at least some parts of it, or he was compelled to accept its authorship. Of all the printed editions of the *Roshan Dil* the one published by Abdul Rashid is the only well-printed edition : we have referred to it in these pages.

In his *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan* Fard tells us how the rulers at that time ill-treated the artisans. They exacted forced labour whenever it pleased them, without considering how the arts, crafts, and industry, and consequently the poor artisans, would suffer.

Hakim ho ke bain galice bauhta zulam kamade
mehantia nu kami akkhan khun uhna da khade
phar vagari lai lai javan khauf khuda nahi
fard fakira dard manda dia ikk din pausan ahi
kasabia nu maihar mukaddam jabran catti pade
bhar gariba da sir laike ape dozakh jade.

(Being rulers they sit on carpets and practise tyranny ; artisans they call manilas and drink their blood. By force they take them to work without fearing God, Fard. the sufferer's sighs will fall on them one day. The artisans have (to pay) the first tax and they have to suffer this loss. Carrying the load of the poor on their heads they (rulers) themselves go to hell.)

Fard is very bitter against the Hindu *avataras* and goes out of his way to curse them:

Jehre ism khudaye de, likkhe andar nass
uhe na bhulavana, ram kishan sir bhass.
(Those names of God which are written in the veins, do not forget those, and ashes be on the head of Rama and Krishna. (The ordinary simple-minded Panjabi Muslim faqirs of all denominations believe that the Islamic names of God, being true, are written inside the veins of man and so he should repeat them.)

A new convert to Islam is ever welcome among the Muhammadans, but he is looked down upon by those Muslims who uphold their pure Islamic origin, for his non-Islamic descent. Considering him to be by origin a descendant of the *kafirs,* they sometimes give him the same treatment as is given to non-Muslims.

Major Abbott puts this Muslim sentiment clearly: 'All converts to Islam are ashamed of that page which preceded their conversion. They cannot bear to think themselves the sons of Kawfurs (infidels). As the strongest expression of scorn is not "you dog" but "you son or grandson or great-grandson of a dog", so to be a remote grandson of a Kawfur' is more terrible to an Asiatic than to be merely himself a Kawfur. Farad, however, does not approve of this and advises them to be more benignant :

Jo koi hindu ayke hove musalman
mal na ghannan os da na kar bura guman
kaid na karna katal bhi ada os iman
bajho hujat shara de diyo na azar.
(Any Hindu who comes and becomes a Mussulman, do not take away his wealth nor harbour evil thought, do not imprison or slay him, for faith has brought him (to Islam); without the permit of the shari'at do not give (him) trouble.)

In spite of his orthodox beliefs, Fard could not help believing in the *karmas* and he often enjoins upon his followers the duty of doing good actions. One specimen will sufice here:

Ghain garurat na karo, rovo dhai mar
bajho amala cangia kaun langhasi par
chadd dunia de vahde kaul khuda da bhal
farda lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.
(Ghain: do not bear pride but wail bitterly instead, (because) without good actions who will see you across ? Abandoning the prosperity of the world understand the word of God. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take *account.*)

In the following he speaks like a free Sufi:

Sin sunaye khalak nu kar kar masale roz
loka de nasihata andar tere cor
ki hoya je laddia gadha kitaba nil
farda lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.
(Sin : you preach to the public, treating problem after problem each day, (you) give instructions to others and inside you is the thief ; what avails it if the ass is loaded with books ? Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.)

Here, Fard Faqir demonstrates his anxiety to hide his knowledge of things :

Zal zikar khuday da nakar zahir khalak dikhay
andar kar tun bundgi bahar parda pay
mul na veci ilam nu na kar kisse saval
farda lekha laisia rabb kadir jul jalal.
(Zal : discuss not God openly showing to the public ; inside (in the heart) you should pray to Him and outside put the veil; do not in the least sell your knowledge nor question any person. Fard, the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.)

Such pious ideas of the poet are strikingly in harmony with his repeated orthodox injunctions. With all his prejudices against the *kafirs* (Hindus), Fard did not hesitate to state the efficacy of the pandits' knowledge with regard to the future, as:

Mai vedi pas parosia nit pucchdi pandit joshia.
I see near ones and neighbours and ever consult the pandits and jotashis (astrologers).

Again :

Rahi dhund kitaba phol ke sabh pothi pandat khol ke.
I am engaged in search, turning over the books and opening all the pothis of the pandits.

The following verse depicts well how the very popular Sufi imagines his union with the Beloved:

Ajj hovan lef nihalia kol niyamat bharia thalia
bauhnal payare khaviye, hor mushk gulab lagaviye.

(Today (there) should be covers and mattresses and plates full of rare preparations; sitting with the Beloved should I eat (them) and should apply the scent of roses.)

Farad Faqir condemns false concept of worship. He believes that devotion should not be an exhibition. God accepts the silent prayer. Some people wear the garments of Sufi but they deceive others, because actually they are wolves in sheep clothing. Like other Sufi saints Farad Faqir also condemns the contemporary rulers.

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Farid, Baba Shaikh

In the spiritual experience of the great saint Sheikh Farid, who for eight centuries has drawn the veneration of vast multitudes - Muslims as well as non - Muslims-in India and some of its neighbouring lands. His early biographers writing in Persian have related him to the thought and tradition of Sufism, particularly as these formed the basis of the belief and practice of the great Chishtiya order to which in the famous words of his Master Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, of Ajmer, he was 'as the refulgent lamp'.

In this context his great scholarship in the various branches of the theological learning of his day and his great penance, culminating in the famous Chilla-i-Makus or fouty days' silent prayer hanging head downwards have been prominently mentioned. This last, a rare test from which only the greatest among the Chishti Sufis could obviously come out successfully, is stated to have drawn on him Divine benediction in the form of a celestial Voice. This early excruciating penance also drew from his Master Khawaja Qutbuddin and the great Khwaja Muinuddin great ecstatic praise and blessing.

In several places, including the town of Faridkot in Punjab, which is stated to be named after him and in Hansi, sites are shown as marking the place of his Chilla. Obviously, his devotees in different places erected monuments to the great spiritual achievement of this eminent Saint whose blessing they have so greatly valued.

His disciples carrying on his name and tradition are spread all over the length and breadth of our country and Pakistan, where he spent some sixty years of his life at Ajodhan, now known as Pak-Pattan - 'sacred ferry'- in his honour. This is a vast spiritual movement, of course within Islam, whose fundamentals Baba Sheikh Farid emphasized all his life in his teaching.

Owing to his great learning and piety he was known as *Sheikh-i-Kabir* (The Supreme Divine). But Sheikh Farid, notwithstanding this great veneration from Muslims was not of Islam or the Muslims only. Non-Muslims have since his day claimed him in a unique manner, reflecting the literal meaning of his name, Farid which means 'Unique'. Of this mention will be made below. This feature as a matter of fact, is the main burden of this paper.

In the course of the narratives of Sheikh Farid, mention is made of his voluntary poverty, embraced in the way of God as a dedication and repudiation of the pleasures of his world, and of the noble quality of forbearance and forgiveness, which following the great divine commandant of the Koran 'wa Allah mai-as-sabirin' (And verily Allah is with the forbearing) the Sufis adopted as the cardinal guiding principle of their creed. Of his forgiveness, asceticism and voluntary poverty a number of

anecdotes are narrated as also of the miracles attributed to him.

All this is part of the traditional lore of the Chishtiya *silsilah,* and may be met within the writings of the hagiographers belonging to that order. This aspect, however, is well-known to the Muslim scholars and to devotees of the great Sheikh, lovingly known as *Baba* or *Father*, a title reserved in our own country and over the Muslim world in general for saints who have drawn to themselves the hearts of the masses as healers of their life's sorrows rather than as mere scholars or divines. This feature again has a remarkable uniqueness about it.

Among the great features of distinction attaching to the name of this eminent Teacher, Baba Sheikh Farid is the fact of his *Bani* or Sacred Word available in his native Multani-Punjabi dialect being preserved in the holy scripture of a faith other than Islam, the Sikh faith. Muslims all through these centuries, by a strange historical oversight have somehow continued to be silent about this *Bani,* the most valuable relic and heirloom coming down from the Master. I am aware of a controversy that has been in existence for nearly seventy years now, as to the authenticity of the authorship of this *Bani*. The proper resolution of this issue would require a detailed discussion involving a study of history and the linguistic developments in the Punjab.

Suffice it to say however, that Guru Nanak and his spiritual successors who studied and preserved this *Bani* and inculcated the duty of a reverential study of it by their own followers accepted this as the statement of the spiritual experience and moral teaching of Baba Sheikh Farid Shakarganj, the greatest Muslim saint of the Punjab and one who was no narrow theologian, but a teacher of vast humanitarian sympathies, whom the people loved. The holy Gurus gave to this *Bani* the same status as to their own spiritual outpourings, that is, as God's inspired Word.

In that great spiritual movement, originating in the vision of Guru Nanak, constricting theologies of whatever creed were denigrated and mankind exhorted to seek communion with the Supreme Being and to establish an intimate coordination between the spiritual and moral life to embrace Duty in the widest sense. In the tradition set up by them, an inevitable concomitant was a People's Bible which should be of no exclusive creed, but be a guide to the higher life. In this Bible, the Guru Granth Sahib, thus, have figured holy men of several creeds including Islam.

One of the most illustrious of these is Sheikh Farid, to whose Word every Sikh must show as great respect as to Word of Guru Nanak himself. This aspect of the Sikh creed, not known to non-Sikhs generally and obscured by much misunderstanding, needs to be emphasized deeply by all who study religion in its higher aspects as a force for the enlightenment of humanity and the broadening of its moral horizon.

There are two related aspects from which particularly in this paper, the life-work of Sheikh Farid may be discussed. One is the great teacher, whose spiritual and moral vision was shaped by his Sufistic ascesis and his individual meditation on the human problem in relation to the evil hidden in the dark recesses of the human personality, which manifests itself as temptations gross and subtle on the one hand, and callousness and inhumanity on the other.

Evil in the individual sphere of conduct and in the social sphere is the theme of the moral teacher, the prophet - and Sheikh Farid in seeking to cure these is in the highest traditions of religious and moral teaching. A few points on this aspect of the great Sheikh's work will be brought out below, as these are revealed especially in his *Bani* referred to above. Related to this aspect is the spiritual experience which is the state of cosmic awareness, of the supreme joy in God - the state wherein problems cease to exist and the soul disports in an atmosphere which transcends the social and human spheres of reference.

Of this too there are a few fleeting echoes in the *Bani*, which place Sheikh Farid in the rank of the great mystics. Hagiographers of the ear-

lier centuries have overlaid the entire experience of Sheikh Farid with miracle and have woven a myth round him, which obscures his real and total personality and presents a picture which has all the usual elements of obscurantism about it.

Should one seek to know the real Farid, the mystic, the moral preceptor, the holy Father or Baba loved by the people of the Punjab, one must seek him in the brief testament of his *Bani* found in Guru Granth Sahib and preserved with such loving care for humanity by that great teacher, Guru Nanak, whose vision brought about such a transformation in the lives of millions and gave them a creed into which broad humanity and liberalism have been infused so as to become a way of life.

The *Bani* of Sheikh Farid in Guru Granth Sahib, therefore provides the corrective and the complement to whatever has come down about him from other sources. While those who have written about him in Persian had allowed the traditional hagiological imagination to build up the picture of a saint not greatly different from so many others, and ascribed to him sayings and verse pieces about the authenticity of which the historical conscience may be left doubting, here in his native Panjabi accents may be heard the very voice of the man, in its true modulations and in its deeper moods of compassion, rejection of the lure of the world and the exalted experience of joy in God and in the sheer abandon of love of all creation.

This *Bani*, therefore, is truly a blessing for which mankind in general and the Punjabi-speaking people in an especial measure must be grateful to Guru Nanak. It brings us in touch with the warm feeling heart of Farid for which in the second-hand exposition by hagiographers anxious to present pictures of him in colouring of their own making may only look in vain.

Before dilating even though briefly on the theme of the spiritual end moral-experience of Sheikh Farid. I may seek leave to say something about him as poet, since our entire approach to him would be based upon his own recorded word, which in form is poetry and is like all great poetry untranslatable in its total meaning and appeal.

Nothing short of a study of it in the sweet, musical Multani-Punjabi in which Sheikh Farid wrote, may be expected to bring the reader close to the vibrating heart of this great man. A rendering, however conscientious, must fail to catch these subtle aspects of appeal which set poetry apart from its mere semantic rendering into good prose or even verse.

This language of western Punjab is made as though expressly for poetry and song, and to this day the sweetest folk and other poetry of the Punjabi-speaking people is found embodied in its fairy sounds. Analysis would not catch the secret of its spell over the mind.

Guru Nanak himself in his most deeply human outpourings, adopts as if by an inevitable urge, this very dialect of Punjabi, although in his philosophical and intellectual phases of experience he uses either a variety of Hindi or his native idiom of central Punjab.

As poet Sheikh Farid may be seen to be deeply sensitive and with a vibrating imagination which is responsive to pity, to the tragic waste of the precious years of life by thoughless man, whom he constantly warns both by raising the pointing finger to the consequences and by the deeper method of arousing him to search himself, to find that pity whose touch he has lost.

With this, the poet Farid warns man against the subtle attractiveness of sin, stealing unawares into the soul and in the words of one of the couplets making a forfeit of him to Satan. The total effect of this poetry is what in the native Indian spiritual tradition is called *vairagya* or 'dispassion' for which attitude the Muslim theological term is *tauba* or 'turning away'. This step, known by whatever name, is the beginning of that steep ascent which may lead a man to turn mystic, yogi or saint. With all in Sheikh Farid's poetry is found expressed the pure spiritual vision untrammelled by our References to the problem-ridden world of human relationships.

In places it is such poetry as is transmuted into symbols, dumb yet eloquent, signifying little in terms of the usual framework of logical thought, but standing for deep experience which can in no other way be expressed except through symbol. This quality is found only in the greatest poets of the world - in Shakespeare, Hafiz or others of their stature. Persian is particularly rich in this mode of poetic expression, but in Punjabi Sheikh Farid is perhaps unique in practising it. That itself is an argument to beat the erroneous belief that anyone other than Sheikh Farid could have composed the poetry known to be his.

It would be contrary to all human probability to ascribe poetry of such power to any but a personality endowed with the highest spiritual experience and a genius capable of rendering into language the sbutle states of the mind, ranging from the haunting sense of tragic waste through the grasp of the moral truths to the attainment of peace and joy in God. All these themes find expression in Sheikh Farid's couplets, each of which is charged with tremendous power to touch the heart and to move the soul.

The Spiritual Experience

In the poetical compositions of Sheikh Farid, a few themes stand out prominently, which can by careful study be grasped and stated. The *Bani* or composition is not thematically arranged, but is the outpouring of the soul in moments of inspiration or communion and like all poetry, its essence has to be caught and studied by the analytical process.

On a study these compositions may be seen to be the work of a man who has entered upon the period of life when the body grown feeble in its functions, mind and soul are in that mood of meditation wherein the ordinary concerns of the world and demands of daily life are reduced to the minimum. This state is both serene and tragic.

Its tragic tone is provided by the contemplation of the spectacle of man's way of life, wherein the urges of the flesh and of acquisitiveness have constantly the upper hand. When middle age is past and death is seen to be approaching, there is little left except regrets for lost time - time never again to be recalled. This regret is not for the pleasures of life missed as in the case of the hedonist who sees the faculties losing the capacity for extracting pleasure from the objects of which the world is so tantalizingly full, but for time wasted in pursuits which keep man away from devotion, from attachment to the way of God.

This is the reverse of the mood of the hedonist whom the spectacle of passing life spurs on the seek vainly though, more and more of such pleasure. With this kind of mood the readers of poetry such as that of Omar Khayyam would be familiar. As a matter of fact, all romantic poetry carries some colouring of it.

The death-theme affects the hedonist and voluptuary on the one hand and the devotee on the other, in different ways according as either understands the fulfilment of life to consist in what he has been seeking. For the life centred in the senses, the decline of the power of the body to cope with the sources of pleasure is a haunting regret, which makes not only approaching old age, but even the moments of surfeit of pleasure an unbearable terror.

To the devotee on the other hand, whose life is centred in self-denial and disciplining the demands of the ego, pleasure is of little value. He seeks from life something higher -joy in God-consciousness which transmutes even sorrow and suffering into peace and communion with God. In Sheikh Farid, Death is seen with the eye which beholds the underlying law of the universe, in which all that is created is seen to be in a state of flux and subject to annihilation under the operation of the inexorable law of Time.

To some whom God has endowed with such vision, such as the great teacher Farid, Death is a visible presence, not to be ignored in the course of the daily round of life. In one sloka or couplet, built on powerful imagery as is usual with him, he has seen the face of Death thus:

Farid Death is visible as the opposite bank of the river:
Beyond is said to be flaming hell, resounding with ear-piercing shrieks.
Some there are who have realization of this:
Others go about thoughtlessly.
Know that the deeds done in this world will bear witness against us in the next.

Not only is Death a visible presence, so very frightful to the ordinary mortal, but as a suddenly swooping bird of prey whose possibility man forgets while engaged in his daily round of evanescent pleasures:

Farid, life is like a crane sporting on the river's bank:
Suddenly on it hath swooped the swift hawk:
As comes this hawk from God, all sporting is forgotten.
God sends on man what never he thought or imagined.
Life is like a tree growing on the river's bank - how long may it last?
How long may the unbaked pitcher retain water?

For man's state his heart is full of compassion and pathos, such as only the greatest and noblest among mankind feel. To thoughtless man he speaks as the great teacher, the awakener: Life, warm, pulsiting and beautiful must end. This is said through imagery which is powerful and grips the heart:

Farid, lofty mansions have been deserted-
Their inmates gone to occupy abodes under the earth;
In the lowly graves abide the dead.
Tell the proud ones of the world: Engage in prayer, for the Departure is at hand.
This body weighting three and a half mounds is sustained by food and water;
Man comes into the world with a vast store of hopes;
As visible Death approaches, smashing through all doors,
Those loving friends and brothers perforce surrender thee to him.
Behold Man, deparing this world borne on shoulders of four pall-bearers;
Farid, only the good deeds done in this life stand by us in the next.

Consider Farid, where are thy parents who begot thee?
Gone on a never-ending journey-yet, still is thy heart unmoved to see they own end.
Farid, the beautiful pitcher of the body is broken.
The firm cord of breath is snapped:
In what home Izrael, Angle of Death
Finds entertainment tonight?
Farid, such is the end: the beautiful pitcher will break; the firm cord be snapped:
To what end were born those who were merely a burden on earth?
Farid, once these frail legs of mine scoured over hill and desert;
Today the prayer-jug at hand is removed a hundred miles.

Compassion for man's state is the theme of the very first of his slokas in Granth Sahib, wherein Death is figured as the bridegroom who must carry away on the appointed day, his betrothed Bride, loth to leave the parents' home like the typical Indian bride.

In the imagery of this sloka is woven great teaching, through the attendant pathos of the bride's departure, for whom leaving the parents' home would be leaving it for good. The sands of life run out.

In the Indian imagery which comes to the mind of the great Sheikh, life is like a slender store of sesame, not to be scattered wide. Vanity and pride in a frail being like man are evidence of folly, which leaves only a crop of regrets behind:

Farid, had I known the store of life so slender, sparing would I be scattering it about;
Did I know the Beloved so indifferent, less would I show of woman's vanity.
Did I know the knot of love so frail firmer would I tie it:
Lord, none to me is dear as Thou - thus have I determined after life's sojourn.

As said earlier, unlike the regret of the hedonist for lost time, the ascetic-devotee's regret is for a life passed without devotion to God:

The crop destroyed by water will not revive if

soaked in water.
Saith Farid: As this, one bereft of God will find no respite from sorrow.
Farid, how long this play of thoughtless pleasures?
Wake up to serve the Master!
Thy few days of life are fast slipping by.
Farid, one part of the day didst though waste in wandering, part in sleep;
When God asks these to render thy account,
What wilt thou say was they life's aim ?
Farid, thy long life hath thus been passed:
Thy days sorrow-filled, thy nights lying on thorns!
Now towards the close the Pilot shouts:
"Thy boat's in jaws of storm"
Saith Farid, in youth this life-female loved not the Lord:
Grown in years, she died:
In the grave her soul waileth;
Lord! Thee I failed to meet.

He exhorts man, while lasts, to taste of what he has called the dates and honey of divine love:

Farid in this life is God attractive like the ripe dates and rivers of money of paradise:
Realize these, since with each passing day the grip of Death tightens.

In a whole lyric, called shabda in Sikh parlance, this vision is expressed through a pageant of images, in poetry which is of the very highest in its sheer appeal to the imagination. The exhortation is addressed to man to stop making waste of his limited moments of life before 'life's swan makes his reluctant flight.' This short beautiful lyric will bear being reproduced here in full.

It may be mentioned that Guru Nanak composed a lyric in the same measure, Suhi, as Sheikh Farid, with the imagery of the original harnessed to express the vision of a life anchoring itself to divine grace through practice of austerity and meditation. Thus would be equipped the boat of life, against the ruin of which Sheikh Farid warns, as a boat without tackle and rudderless. Sheikh Farid's lyric is reproduced here:

Listen O! Man, thou didst not look to the tackle of thy boat when it was yet time.
In the lake swollen with tempests, how shall it float?
Fugitive are pleasures like kasumbha, burning away at a touch:
Touch it not beloved, lest it wither away.
This frail life-female is a tremble under the Mater's stern accents.
Past is youth; never will the breast be brimful again of milk; never again the love embrace!
Saith Farid: Listen, sisters of my soul !
One day life's Swan shall take his reluctant flight;
This frame will turn a dust-heap!

Sheikh Farid was one of the early Fathers of the great Chishtiya *silsilah* of the Sufis in India. This *silsilah* attained great influence and power in the life of the Muslim people, so that the most important twin centres of Muslim pilgrimage in India are the mausoleums of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer and Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya at Delhi, who helped to establish this order in our country and set the general trend of the life of the Sufi.

This *silsilah* also helped to obtain or the general principles of Muslim piety and belief considerable acceptance among non-Muslims, of which the most important example is Sheikh Farid, veneration for whom has been woven into the sentiments of the people of the Punjab. Living at that time eight centuries ago, when the tradition and system of thought of Sufism were still in its earlier phase before the great exposition of Rumi, he embodied, in his life and teaching the best traits of the Sufi's life.

Abstinence, penance, devotion forbearance, subduing the senses to make the mind free for the higher spiritual experience, Divine love and joy in God - these are intensely reflected in what we know of him and in his poetical work which is extant. Like every claimant to the Sufistic state he calls himself repeatedly 'dervish' (the later abandon had not yet entered Sufism).

Moreover, in sloka numbered 50 in Granth Sahib, he sets the seal on the definition of the

Sufi, which is there in seen to be derived from sufi or coarse woolen wear. This sloka reads thus, in English rendering:

Farid, those who carry the prayer-mat on their shoulders and wear rough wool,
But bear daggers in their hearts and utter falsehood with glib tongues -
These are bright outside but have the dark night in their hearts.

The sufi's life must pass through the stages of strenuous self denial and self-purification, so that the true vision of God be attained and man find fulfillment in the higher wisdom which penetrates to truth. He must live at the height of morality of which humanitarian feeling and universal love are the essence, and find joy and fulfillment in God.

Above all passionate love of God, peace and joy, inexpressible except through the medium of symbol, are essential features of that spiritual fulfillment which is the crowning attainment of the life of the Sufi. The vision of the Yogi, the mystic, finds expression in the poetry of Sheikh Farid recorded in Granth Sahib.

Not here the later phase of the Sufistic experience, taking the form of an abandon, an ecstasy and even a kind of antinomianism, but the earlier phase of it in which austerity, meditation and devotion were emphasized - the path of *sahv* rather than of *sukr*. The latter phase mentioned here came into vogue during the centuries following after the age in which Baba Farid lived.

True religion for the Sufi is not formal orthodoxy, but realization and sincerity in the quest:

Farid why wanderest thou over wild places, trampling thorns under they feet ?
God abides in the heart: seek Him not in lonely wastes.
Farid, those who carry the prayer-mat on their shoulders and wear rough wool,
But bear daggers in their hearts and utter falsehood with glib tongues.
These are bright outside but have the dark night in their hearts.

Against the narrowness of creeds, the religion of the man of God must be vast, with universal principles and appeal. Through the contrasting symbols of a vast lake and a muddy pond, Sheikh Farid exhorts man to seek the former and discard the latter.

Farid, seek a vast lake wherein thou mayst find what thou seekest - God's Name;
Why seek a filthy pond, muddyng thy hands ?

The man of God must conduct himself through life in the spirit of patience and resignation. He must be like the grass trodden under feet and bear up all suffering like trees which bear with equanimity the severities of weather and the sharp blows of the axe:

Farid wouldst thou seek Master of All,
Look to the grass under thy feet:
Be like it cut and trampled.
Farid, serve the Master, throw all doubt from thy mind:
Men of God need to be forbearing like trees.

What are the characteristic qualities of the man of God ? Baba Farid answers this query, in words saturated with spiritual experience and charged with great power. They are the birds who skim over the surface of the world, without touching it, bear hardships and complain not, sticking fast to their devotion to God. Through such symbols this theme is repeatedly adumberated:

Farid 'I am a sacrifice to those birds who pass their days in solitary places,
Picking pebbles, living on sandy mounds, yet turning not away from God.
On the merge of the pool of the world have alighted Swans:
They did not their beaks in it,
Spreading their pinions for flight ever. (64)
The Swan hath fighted in the field of chaff;
People scare it away;
The ignorant multitude not knowing,
The Swan pecks not at chaff.

Patience is the armour and secret strength of the devotee Sheikh Farid's words while dwelling on the theme of patience, get charged with irresistible power like the very arrows to which this spiritual quality is compared. In a

remarkable trio of couplets, this theme is thus developed:

Make forbearance thy bow and bow-string;
The arrow too of forbearance -
God will not let it go off its mark.
Those who adopt forbearance and take upon themselves suffering -
Such alone will be near God: Their secret strength none will know.
Make forbearance thy life's ideal; learn hard this lesion; .
Thus wilt thou become a mighty river, not a petty channel.

What are the moral qualities with which the life of devotion endows the seeker? These are forbearance and a vast, limitless spirit of humanity.

Farid, return thou good for evil; bear no revenge in thy heart:
Thus will thy body be free of maladies,
And thy life blest.
Farid strike not back those that strike thee;
In utter humility and forgiveness turn towards thy home.
Speak never a rude word to any - the Lord Eternal abideth in all:
Break no heart - know each being is a priceless jewel.
Each heart is a jewel; evil it is to break any;
Shouldst hou seek to find the Beloved, break no one's heart.
This is the testament of this great saint, who however, has warned man against indifference to the cultivation of the moral qualities. As the great Rumi, a contemporary of Sheikh Farid has said:
Be not heedless of the consequences of thy deeds:
Wheat shall sprout from wheat, and barley from barley.

So Sheikh Farid, in a figure drawn from his native Punjab, says:

Farid, the ignorant peasant seeks luscious grapes while sowing thistles;
And seeks to wear silk while carding and spinning rough wool.
Lesten Sheikh Farid, union with Allah may come about,
Shouldst thou restrain the cries of these cranes of desire, frisking about in thy mind. Worldliness is a hidden fire clouding thought and vision:
I think the Master for this gift of indifference;
Else would it burn me through.
Farid, the world's pleasures are poison-shoots coated with sugar:
Some there are who spend their days cultivating these;
Others uproot them from the field.

We should like to conclude this brief discussion of the spiritual experience of Shaikh Farid with the manifestation in it of the love of God. Love is at the centre of high Sufistic experience, as of Bhakti with which it holds numerous parallels. Like to mundane love, love of God too has it moods and phases, when it has become for the devotee a cherished value.

In the later phases of Sufism and Bhakti, the love theme is presented with an abandon and elaboration in some of the great Poetry of the world, in Persian and numerous Indian languages. In the earlier phase, to which Sheikh Farid belongs, while this passion is still an integral part of the Sufistic experience, its expression is terse and intense, owing to the predominance of asceticism in the way of Sufism. For the cherished Beloved there is passion, yearning and the sorrow of separation.

In the symbol of the Indian koel, yearning in love is expressed as the sovereign quality of the devotee. This theme is expressed in words which bear close affinity with the style and symbology of Indian mysticism.

Thou koel sable-winted, what hath darkened thee?
Sorrow of separation from the Beloved hath singed my wings.
To one separated from her Lord, what comfort?
Through His grace alone may she find union.

To yearn in longing and to feel the separation from the master is itself a high value and spiritual attainment. Thus is this theme developed:

Farid, anguish is my bed, suffering the bed-strings, separation from the Beloved my bed-sheets:

Such is my life;
Cast Thy glance of compassion on it, Lord.
Sorrow of the Beloved's separation is the Lord of Life;
Saith Farid: Like to the cremation-yard is the heart that knoweth not such sorrow.

In a verse celebrated for its power and a parallel to which is reproduced in *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, a Persian work of Jahangir's time, the devotee's long, yet unavailing penance is thus expressed as in a cry:

Farid, penance hath left my body a skeleton; crows peck at my soles;
God still hath not revealed Himself-such is my destiny.

As in the poetry of Bhakti, the seeker is figured as the yearning female, seeking fulfilment in the spouse, the Beloved Lord. This mood has given rise to great poetry in Bhakti no less than in Indian Sufism. Says Sheikh Farid in this figure:

Farid, in separation from the master the nights seem endlessly long;
My sides are burning in pain:
Cursed is the life of those that have sought other than Him.
This night I couched not with my Lord.
My limbs are all in torture with unfulfilment:
I ask the woman cast off,
In what agony must thy nights be passed?
I fear not loss of youth were not the Beloved's love lost;
Many a youth hath withered away for lack of love's sustenance.

In a related mood, is expressed the regret of the seeker-female at not winning her Lord's love through foolish vanity, while He must be won by humility:

Farid, had I known the store of life so slender, sparing would I be of scattering it about;
Did I know the Beloved so indifferent, less would I show of woman's vanity. (4)
Did I know the knot of love so frail, firmer would I tie it:
Lord, none to me is dear as Thou-thus have I determined after life's sojourn.(5)

Amir Hasan Sijzi records in the Fawaid-ul-fu'ad an occasion when Baba Farid was offered a pair of scissors. "Give me a needle," said Baba-Farid, "I sew; I do not cut." It is an anecdote which effectively expresses the primary significance of the man in whose honour we are gathered here today. Whereas scissors cut and divide, a needle draws together and unites.

There are many reasons for the importance of Sheikh Farid, but one of these, I submit, stands out above all others. Sheikh Farid has come to symbolize understanding and tolerance between men of different beliefs and different traditions.

It is a symbol which we badly need today and it is the pressure of this contemporary need which above all else justifies a gathering of the kind which has brought us all together at this time. It was, I believe, an admirable decision which led to the organising of this seminar. I should like to add my own word of praise for those who first envisaged it and for those who have in various ways made it possible.

I should also like to add a word of personal thanks to the organisers of the seminar for the gracious invitation which I received to be present at it. In a sense it is an invitation which should properly elicit disapproval, for only the worthy deserve honours of this kind. In another sense, however, it is an invitation which, if one ignores personalities, merits the warmest approval. It was an awareness of this latter aspect which made it possible for me to accept the invitation.

In explaining what I mean by this latter aspect I find myself immediately involved in the first of the two points which I wish to make during the course of this paper. My first point concerns the importance of Baba Farid for areas beyond his own homeland. For too long the message of Farid has been contained within the confines of India and its neighbours to the immediate west. This ought not to be the case and if the presence at this seminar of a foreigner serves to represent this need, I am only too happy to be present in such a role.

I shall, if I may, speak in somewhat personal terms while dealing with this, the first of my two general points. As some of you may know, I spent nine years in India, living with my family in the Punjab. When the time came for us to leave in 1969, my family shared with me the wrenching experience of departure, and it was then that we discovered what many others have learnt. India, we now know, is an extremely difficult country to leave.

It grips one with bonds of ever-in-creasing interest, fascination, personal benefit, and affection, and only when the break has to be made does one realise how strong those bonds can be. The sole consideration which reconciled us to the break was an assurance that it would in no sense be permanent. India would be ever with us, and opportunities to return would certainly recur.

Since leaving I have endeavoured to analyse my response on that occasion and a number of conclusions have emerged. Some of these were easily reached. Plainly we were lamenting the loss of places we had come to know and love so well, an autumn climate which so abundantly compensates for anything the summer may inflict; friends who had shown such understanding towards us, and that splendid generosity which no other part of the world can equal.

This much was obvious - but there was more. I had been studying and teaching Punjab history during my years in India and I subsequently realised how meaningful this teaching and research had been in terms of my own personal growth in understanding. This may sound trite. After all, if teaching and research are not meaningful, then why pursue them? It is, however, much more than a mere truism. It is more than a trite commonplace because there is, as I see it, something very special in Indian history.

Let us be clear what we mean by history in this context. There are those who maintain that the only valid reason for a study of any history is the interest which it provides. Respectfully, I must disagree. History, as I understand it, has a profound meaning and importance for our own contemporary situation. I am certainly not going to suggest that a study of history will provide us with neat models which we simply apply to our contemporary situations, solving thereby present problems with precise prescriptions conveniently served up by the past.

What I do suggest is what we can certainly learn from the experience of the past and that the variety of understanding which derives from a study of the past is an essential part of any adequate understanding of the present.

India's history provides us with something special. Because her history is uniquely different the ideals generated by that history are correspondingly unique. Nowhere else can one find the same range and content. This can, of course, be said of any history, but I persist in my insistence that there is nevertheless something of unique value emerging from the history of this particular part of the world.

The declaration towards which I am so ponderously moving is one which many of us hesitate to make because it must so obviously present a target to the scoffer and the cynic. Nevertheless it must be made. It must be made because ideals are, I believe, essential and because we have before us today, in the person of Baba Farid, a particular ideal which the world badly needs. I refer, as you must all by now realise, to that concept of tolerance which emerges in such prominence from successive periods of the Indian historical experience.

Having said this I immediately expose myself to attack from two directions. First there are those who insist that ideals are all very well, but that in practice they are too easily evaded to serve any useful purpose. They serve instead as cloaks to conceal violence, fraud, and ordinary human weakness. No one doubts that ideals provide convenient garments for hypocrites, but all men are not total hypocrites and human experience plainly demonstrates that many do in fact respond to high ideals.

They who protest the futility of ideals may also include such as respect their noble intention, but who despair of their fulfilment. To

them we must reply that partial fulfilment, however qualified it may be, justifies the existence of an ideal and the efforts which men may make to inculcate it.

The second line of attack will come from those who question the special claims made on behalf of the Indian ideal. After all, tolerance is to be found amongst European ideals and if Europeans have done violence to this particular ideal, so too have the people of India. The answer to the latter accusation has already been indicated in the claim that an ideal retains its value so long as it secures a partial fulfilment.

It is the assertion that European history proffers the same notion of tolerance which constitutes the substance of this second objection. The answer is, I believe, that the western theory of coleration tends to be an essentially negative concept, one which generally assumes the rightness of one's own beliefs and behaviour but which perforce lets the other man go his own way because experience shows that the attempt to impose correction will only lead to conflict.

This is distinctively different from what may be called a theory of positive tolerance and it is, I suggest, the positive theory which one finds enshrined in the Indian ideal. This above all else is what I have in mind when I refer to the special quality of Indian history. It may sound old-fashioned and some may brand it naive. I adhere to it nevertheless.

Let us now take the discussion one step further and ask ourselves how such ideals are in fact communicated to successive generations. The answer is, of course, that they are personified. They are communicated through the lives of men and women who can be seen to express particular ideals in their own lives.

Many of these exemplars will be one's own contemporaries, but not all. We also need acknowledged exemplars from the past, men and women who serve as symbols of what a society believes to be good and true.

So we must ask ourselves who are these individuals who symbolise for us the vital concept of positive tolerance? In this respect I have to acknowledge a particular affection for Guru Nanak, but there are others with special claims and amongst these we must certainly include Baba Farid.

It is, I believe, a fact that Guru Nanak is much better known to the world outside India than he was four years ago. The occasion of his birth quincentenary was effectively used to present the Guru and his teachings to a wide audience by means of publications, radio talks, and meetings.

It is entirely fitting that the same should now be done in the case of Farid, and that the message of tolerance which comes down to us in the person of Baba Farid should be promulgated as widely and as insistently as possible.

As with the message of Guru Nanak, it is something which ought not to be confined to that part of the world in which he actually lived. I do not doubt that the eirenic message personified in Baba Farid' is profoundly relevant to India's own needs and that this alone would justify the present seminar. It is not, however, my primary concern on this particular occasion.

My concern is rather with the universal quality of the message and with the consequent duty to make Baba Farid known beyond the confines of the Indian sub-continent. Many countries suffer the tensions and conflicts which result from mutual misunderstandings between differing groups of people. All such countries need the ideal so convincingly expressed in the traditions which cluster around Baba Farid.

I return again to my own personal experience and with this I conclude the first part of this paper. It is my firm conviction that India has a major contribution to make to international and intercultural understanding. This conviction it makes most effectively through those who personify the concept of positive tolerance - Gandhi, Akbar, Nanak - these names are already well-known. To this list the name of Baba Farid assuredly deserves to be added.

I proceed now to the second general point which I wish to make with References to the significance of Baba Farid as a symbol of hu-

man brotherhood. In this paper, I have hitherto been stressing the need for high ideals of human brotherhood and the role or function of Baba Farid as an exemplar of these ideals. I also mentioned, in passing, my belief that a sufficient understanding of our present situation necessarily requires a prior understanding of the history which lies behind it.

This exiom I now propose to apply to the history behind our present view and estimate of Baba Farid. For a thorough understanding of his contemporary role we need, I submit, an historical perspective. It must be, moreover, an historical perspective of a particular kind.

To some of you these words may sound ominous, coming as they do from one who was the unwitting generator of a recent minor controversy. Let me endeavour, with all speed, to dispel any such fear. It will, I trust, become evident that one result of the controversy has been a much-needed enlarging of my own understanding - a development which relates primarily to the meaning of tradition.

Once again I must apologise for resorting to personal experience and my own individual concerns. I do so partly by way of preliminary reassurance to those who read and remember my book on Guru Nanak; and partly in order to thank those of you who, by means of patient, friendly persuasion, succeeded in broadening a somewhat circumscribed point of view.

When my book *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* appeared five years ago it was criticised by some for its excessively narrow interpretation of historical significance. Tradition (so it was said) has not been accorded its due weight and importance. The biographical portion of the book was exclusively concerned with the factual accuracy of traditional narratives and the burden of emphasis was laid almost exclusively upon a rigorous definition of what "factual accuracy" means.

There is, a still believe, a place for this particular approach and even if *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* served no other purpose, it did at least stimulate much valuable comment from those who could perceive its shortcomings. It is, however, a comparatively minor role which it fulfils, one which does little more than prepare the way for studies of greater depth and value.

Let us now seek to define an approach to history and tradition more profound in terms of its understanding of the part and more relevant to our own contemporary situation. And let us do so with special References to Baba Farid.

You will, of course, marvel at the naive optimism with which I so grandly declare the intention of defining in a few short minutes, the meaning of history and tradition. Needless to say, one can hope to do no more than initiate a discussion. This is all I should want to do, for plainly I have neither the time nor the knowledge to provide anything resembling a complete answer to the questions which I pose. For your consideration I shall offer definitions of two closely related aspects of historical interpretation. Both aspects I shall seek to exemplify with References to Baba Farid.

The first of my two definitions can be covered quickly. It is, in a sense, no more than a statement of the obvious and yet it is one which assuredly needs frequent repetition. The actual pattern of so much historical research and writing makes this abundantly clear. Historical research certainly involves the uncovering of facts about the past, but no event, no episode, no statistic possesses any intrinsic importance. Events are important only in relation to other events.

This importance they manifest is the consequence of prior circumstance and the creators of the future. From this axiom many corollaries follow. The one which I am concerned to emphasise at this point is that history always has a future importance. In other words, the significance of a particular event concerns not merely the point in time at which it occurs, but also the future which it affects.

It is in this sense that all periods are the products of their past and precisely in this sense that any understanding of our own present cir-

cumstances demands a requisite knowledge of the past which pas produced them.

All that one may say about events in this respect must also be said about historical personages. Whatever interest any particular person may possess when studied within his own period, and however vital this may be for any understanding of that person, his actual importance - his impact - is always a future phenomenon. This claim is, I fully recognise, open to both historical and philosophical objections but these can, I believe, be answered.

Baba Farid and our presence here today serve to illustrate my point. Most assuredly an understanding of Baba Farid, involves a careful investigation of the man Shaikh Farid in the twelfth and thirteenth century circumstances of Delhi, Hansi and Pak Pattan. One must investigate the economic, social and political conditions of northern India during that period.

One must acquire as deep a knowledge as possible of the Sufi beliefs and customs of the period; and having sought to authenticate works atributed to Shaikh Farid, one must carefully scrutinize those which survive the process of authentication.

All this is absolutely vital and may the work begun in these areas be pursued with all possible vigour! It is not, however, the end of the historian's responsibility as far as Baba Farid is concerned. It is merely the beginning. It does no more than provide essential basic knowledge for research of greater significance.

What was the impact of Farid upon subsequent generations? And (most important of all) how are we to interpret his impact upon the present? This is the obligation imposed by the first of my two definitions, the claim that historical importance always has a future References and that in consequence the historian's responsibility always stretches forward to the present.

Many historians dispute this concern with the present, insisting rather that history must be studied "for its own sake" (whatever that means) or simply as a humanitarian discipline. I fully and vigorously support the value of history as a humanitarian discipline, but with equal vigour I should dispute any suggestion that its justification proceeds no further.

It has, I maintain, a direct and vital relevance to the present and all competent historians, whether consciously or not, are serving this need. One should add, of course, that those who serve it consciously, normally increase thereby their effectiveness as historians. It is this dual approach which should, I submit, inform the historian's interest in Baba Farid as in other historical personages possessing this future significance.

It may be noted at this point that the case of Baba Farid convincingly demolishes the claims of those who maintain, directly or by obvious implication, that the needs of present relevance are sufficiently met by studying only the recent past. Our present situation is not the creation of the past hundred years alone and any decision to concentrate largely upon this period must distort our understanding.

To understand the present, one must pursue stands which stretch well beyond the last century, and it is one such strand which leads us directly to the person of Baba Farid. A pursuit of this kind can communicate very little if we sever the strand at an arbitrary mark labelled 1850 or 1800. I speak at this point not so much with References to India as to some other countries where the entirely proper notion of relevance has been misapplied by exponents with little understanding of what history really means.

We come now to the second of the definitions which I wish to offer with regard to historical interpretation in general and Baba Farid in particular. The first definition concerned the future importance of men and events in history. The second concerns the manner in which past events and personages are apprehended by future generations, and the historian's responsibility as an interpreter of this ever-evolving apprehension.

The past does not operate mechanically

upon its future, at least not in the sense which assumes a progression of simple cause and direct effect. The past is subject to constant evaluation and interpretation by each succeeding period. It is refracted through the understanding of successive generations, and in the process is inevitably distorted by whatever is meant by forty days; whether his performance extended over the complete period or was limited to the hours of darkness; whether it was in fact *namaz-i-makus* lasting six months or even ten years; or whether the story is a pious legend with no factual basis.

The debate is legitimate and indeed necessary, but it is not the principal issue of importance. The principal question concerns the belief of subsequent generations. Was this story generally believed or was it consciously circulated by the authors of *Malfuzat* as a known legend? There can be no doubt that many successive generations genuinely believed one or other of the *makus* traditions and that we can in consequence affirm the following important fact: many generations of admirers of Baba Farid believed that he performed the discipline of inverted meditation in an Uch well.

In one sense this statement may possibly incorporate a falsehood. This would be the case if someone could demonstrate that Baba Farid never went near the Uch well. It would not, however, affect either the truth or the importance of the statement itself, and having ascertained its truth we must proceed to elicit its importance. In general terms the importance is, I suggest, the testimony which the tradition bears to the value so insistently attached to ascetic observance. In specific terms it affirms the authority accorded to Farid by future generations as a master of the ascetic discipline.

Because this particular episode commanded such interest it attracted to itself other traditions, an interesting example being the story of how the Bhandari Khatris received their name. According to Lepel-Griffin's account a wealthy adventurer visited Pak Pattan to seek from Baba Farid the blessing which would bring him a son.

When he arrived there, he found that the Shaikh had been hanging suspended for so long that his followers (who depended upon his miracles for their sustenance) were all starving. Rai Bhag Mal provided both food and housing for a period of nine years until eventually Farid terminated his *namaz-i-makus* and emerged from the well. Because Rai Bhag Mal had proved to be such a devoted provider, the name *bhandari* (steward) was bestowed upon him.

It makes little difference whether Rai Bhag Mal ever visited Shaikh Farid, and if so, whether the well was in Uch or Pak Pattan. The importance of the tradition lies in the implicit conviction that Baba Farid was a master-ascetic. It is indisputably a fact that this and other allied traditions have been widely believed for many centuries. With equal firmness it can be affirmed that the traditions which concern Farid's ascetic prowess demonstrate widespread popular support for a continuing acceptance of the merit of asceticism. At the same time, they serve to sustain that acceptance.

On the basis of the Uch anecdote, we may thus affirm a brief series of important facts concerning subsequent generations. Its value as a conveyor of accurate information is not, however, limited to later generations. With due caution it is possible to work back from an anecdote of this kind to an affirmation which concerns the historical Farid rather than his later image. Let us assume what is, I believe, entirely amenable to historical proof, namely that Baba Farid was in fact a true ascetic.

This fact has depended for its preservation upon the form in which it has been transmitted. Who can doubt that it would have been forgotten had it been confined to a simple statement, a disembodied affirmation. It has not, however, been transmitted a mere declaration. It descends to us embodied in a cluster of anecdotes.

It was, I suggest, only the anecdotal form which could discharge the essential preservative function for most of those who over so many generations have cherished the name and reputation of Baba Farid. The sophisticated may

scoff, but if so, they betray a lamentable want of understanding.

The fact must be personified that this function the anecdote form serves with unique success. The actual story need not be historically accurate in order to communicate an authentic fact (in this particular case an affirmation of Baba Farid's ascetic achievement). The form within which it is expressed is at once its vehicle and its protection. As an anecdote, pithy and memorable, it is afforded a permanence which it would otherwise lack.

Having thus introduced questions of truth as opposed to falsehood, or accuracy as opposed to error, let us return to the question for a second definition. This definition, you will recollect, is to discern the apprehension of information derived from the cause, the manner in which it is perceived and expressed by people as social groups rather than by fastidiously academic historians.

During the last few minutes, I have been suggesting, with References to the Uch anecdote, that truth can be communicated at two different levels regardless of whether or not the story of Baba Farid's inverted sojourn in the well is factually true. It is precisely this kind of claim which can, I believe, be explained and justified by the definition which I am about to offer. Before offering it, however, I must cause yet another brief delay by introducing a keyword. The word is one which properly explained and understood can, I believe, greatly aid our grasp of historical meaning.

It is however, a word which runs obvious risks of misunderstanding. For this reason I have hitherto hesitated to use it in anything I have written, and for the same reason I preface its introduction with this elaborate warning.

The word is "myth" and having thus introduced it, let me plead with you to suspend as far as possible, whatever associations it may have evoked Let me insist at the very outset that I do not use "myth" as a synonym for "legend" nor for anything resembling it. In the usage which I observe they are plainly distinct in nature. The word "legend" designates, as I understand it, a story which is not true.

It may be popularly creadited with factual truth, but upon examination it turns out never to have happened. Let it be clearly understood that when employing this term "legend" we are concerned with the actual events recorded by the narrative which we label legendary, not with its meaning nor with its function. It is unhistorical narrative as opposed to historical.

Myth represents something distinctively different from those two opposites, and it is a declaration of the difference which brings us, at long last, to the definition I have been promising. For historians, I suggest, the term "myth" may properly be used to designate an interpretation of the past based upon the needs and understanding of the present. For its actual content it may draw from either legend or from authentic factual history.

Most myths generated within societies which are at least partially literate, partake of the two and offer blends of both the legendary and the factual. There is, however, no reason why a myth should not be wholly based upon fact. It is the interpretation or message which constitutes the myth, and for this purpose the actual components may come from either source.

The two essential qualifications are first, that the resultant myth should be functional; and secondly, that it should command acceptance. A myth forfeits a significant measure of its strength when it loses its historical credibility. It becomes instead a fable and although fables may be used to communicate important truths, they lack the compelling power of the accepted myth. This is particularly the case in literate societies.

The meaning which I here attach to the word "myth" is well exemplified by the Black Hole of Calcutta. In this famous example we have all the important components of a historical myth. We have a situation which gives rise to the myth, we have the blending of both fact and legend; we have a credibility extending over

a period of one hundred years; and we have the eventual lapse of the myth as it loses its function.

The situation which gave it birth was not that of the mideighteenth century, but rather that which obtained almost a century later. British activities in India had grown from peripheral trade to extensive conquest and as Britain moved into its Victorian period there developed an increasing need to legitimize the British presence in India. Legitimacy could no longer be justified in terms of the essential imposition of order by a civilized nation upon an area which would otherwise be rent by disorder.

It was to this need that the myth of the Black Hole spoke with such insistent relevance. Siraj-ud-Daulah represented the forces of barbarism and the episode of June, 1756, exemplified the violence which was its inevitable outcome. Bereft of British authority and administration India would be a prey to disorders of this kind. Englishmen believed this to be a fact because such episodes as the Black Hole seemed to prove it.

Incidents of this kind have occurred hundreds of times without securing more than a footnote in history. The difference is that they did not serve the same compelling need as the Black Hole and in consequence were never elevated to the status of myth. It is highly significant that this particular incident went largely unnoticed for half a century and did not achieve real prominence until another half-century had passed. The later situation produced a particular need and a grossly exaggerated account of a comparatively minor event helped to meet the need. Further assistance was provided by eliciting the same myth from the events of 1857-58.

Later, still under appropriately altered situations we have the growth of a counter-myth in which the roles are reversed. This finds its most convincing expression in the Jallianwala Bagh episode. The facts may or may not all be true. For the future what really matter is the interpretation, an interpretation which emerges unconsciously.

Let us now return to Baba Farid and see if this model aids our understanding of the Farid of history. I submit that it does. It helps us to see that the future impact of Farid is to be understood in terms of the myth which he has generated. Were this myth to be weak or totally absent it could only mean that this impact had been negligible beyond his own immediate environment and we should not be gathered here today.

We know that the myth has been drawn from the authentic life of Farid, and we know also that it incorporates legendary elements. Neither is critical. An excess of legendary content may damage the credibility of the myth, but it does not affect its meaning and it leaves open for each succeeding generation the question of whether that meaning is true or false, relevant or irrelevant. Later, generations have remembered Farid not because he worked wonders or because he enjoyed a considerable following during his own day.

They have remembered him because the message which he has come to symbolise is one which speaks to the needs of every generation. It is for this reason that it survives today. Far from being the transient interest of a foreign conqueror it is the universal and permanent concern of all mankind which finds expression in the remembered person of Baba Farid.

Is the myth true? In an ultimate sense, it depends upon the judgement of each man. We know that it has drawn substantially from the authentic life of Shaikh Farid and we know also that it incorporates legendary elements. Together these impart a credibility and a vigour which do much to explain its later impact, but they neither prove nor disprove the ultimate truth. The answer to this question is one which each of us must give within the context of our own contemporary society.

Personally I believe that its truth and its continuing relevance is plainly stated in the quotation with which I began and with which I now conclude. "I sew, I do not cut." Who can doubt that in a world sundered by distinctions of race, custom, and belief the message of posi-

tive tolerance is absolutely vital. Baba Farid embodies that message and it is a message which must be heeded if there is to be healing amongst men.

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Farid Chachran, Ghulam (1841A.D. — 1901A.D.)

Ghulam Farid was born in Chachran in Bahavalpur state. He belonged to the Chisti Order of Fariduddin Shakar Ganj. He composed as many as 272 Kafis of Sufi leanings which have been published under the title *Israr-i-Faridi* and *Divan-i-Faridi*. No other Panjabi Sufi poet has touched this figure so far. His *Kafis* are of highly literary merit and are as good as those of Bullhe Shah.

So far as his internal as well as external mystic experiences of oneness with God are concerned, he is unique in the description of lover's wailings caused by the seperation from the spouse. His compositions have been very popular in Multan Division as the language of the compositions is mostly Multani.

As a poet, he deserves much space, but he cannot be discussed here comprehensively, because he did not contribute any new idea to the thought.

A few lines are quoted here below which will illustrate the pantheistic characteristic of his works:

Hun main Ranjhan hoi, Riha faraq na koi,
Jain sang dilari pit lagai, akhar ban gai soi.
Sej suhag suhais thin khush sham Sunder sang soi;
Nal khial anade jain ne, mail dui di dhoi,
Sare jag vich ik main fahi gai, na toi na ui;
Thia Mansur Farid hamesha, jain raz ladhoi.
Kadi Masjid hun, kadi Mandir hun
Kithe gumrah haun kithe rahbar haun.
Tatti ro ro vat niharan, kadin Sanval mor muharan.

(I have become Ranjhan (God). There remains no difference between Him and me, With Whom I fell in love, I became the same. She, who washed away the dirt of duality from the mind, verily slept with Sham Sundar. In the whole universe, there remains no He or Thou but I, Says Farid : He is always Mansur who has realised this secret. Sometimes I am a mosque and sometimes, I am a temple. It is I, who is sometimes the guide and sometimes the astray. O Sanval, kindly do come. Burning in the fire of separation I am looking for Thee).

He believes that devotion should not be an exhibition. God accepts the silent prayer. Some people wear the garments of Sufi but they deceive others, because actually they are wolves in cheeps clothing. Like other Sufi saints Farad Faqir also condemns the contemporary rulers.

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Farid Sani (1450A.D. — 1554A.D.)

The earliest Panjabi Sufi literature are the verses which are included in the *Adi Granth* under the same name de plume of Farid. Some couplets under the same nome de plume are in-

cluded in *Sufian De Kalam* by Dr. Mohan Singh. A few more have been given by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami in his work 'Life and Time of Farid-ud Din Ganj-i-Shakar'.

There is a hot controversy in regard to the authorship of these verses Eminent scholars like M.A. Macauliffe, Bhai Kanh Singh, Dr. Lajwanti Ramakrishna, Bawa Budh Singh, Dr. Gopal Singh, Surinder Singh Nirula, etc., hold that Farid Sani is the real author, while others like Parminder singh, Kirpal Singh, Chander Kant Bali ascribe them to Farid ud - Din Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265 AD).

There is no unanimity over the time of Farid Sani. Dr. Lajwanti asserts on the authority of *Jawahar-i-Faridi* that Farid Sani, a spiritual descendent of Ganj-i-Shakar, lived from 1450 to 1554 AD. According to Surinder Singh Nirula, his period is from 1450 to 1575 AD. Chander Kant Bali fixes his period of *Khalafat* from 1553 to 1614 AD. Dr. Mohan Singh says that Ibrahim Asghar, who was contemporary to Shah Jahan is the real Farid Sani.

As a matter of fact, no authentic history of these saints is available. The writers of today have to depend on the works like *Jawahare-Faridi*, *Gulzare Faridi* and *Janam Sakhis*, which hold no historical value and have been fabricated by the devotees of the respective sects to prove the superiority of their own saints over those of others. The sayings and the incidents of penitences contained in the verses ascribed to Sheikh Ganj-i-Shakar, are also of legendary nature.

Legends are sometimes developed on the basis of the metaphorical sayings and sometimes the current legends are poetically used by the poets of later periods. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, an authority on the Chishti saints of Pre-Timur period affirms that the picture of Sheikh Farid that emerges from these *shlokas* is more akin to the Sheikh Farid of the fabricated *malfuzat*.

So far as the authentic works and the *malfuzat* written by Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya and his successors are concerned, they contain no evidence of Farid's writing these verses. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami further adds that the nome de plume used in these is Farid, but the Sheikh used to refer to himself as 'Masud' and not as Farid. The language, idioms and expressions used in these verses are also of a much later date.

Those who ascribe these verses to Ganj-i-Shakar quote *Siyarul Auliya* which says that 'Farid ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar wrote verses in Multani. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami forms *Siyurul Auliya* as one of the basis of his work *Life and Time of Faridud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar* and concludes that the *shlokas* are certainly not the compositions of Ganj-i-Shakar.

Such works remained in the hands of the sectarian propangandists and unless there are special arrangements for and insistence on keeping them free from interpolations, there is every possibility of inclusion, by the devotee copyists, of new ideas and compositions of others.

Dr. Lajwanti points to a couplet in which the author himself admits that he is the successor of many others in the same line. The couplet is as under:

Sheikh hiyati jag nan koi thir rahia,
Jis Asan ham baithe keti baisi gia.
(O, Sheikh, no one liveth for ever in the world; For the seat now I occupy, it many have occupied.)

The use of the word *Asan* (seat) is not without significance. A king can refer to the throne in this sense, that many have occupied the throne before him. But an ordinary man cannot refer to his ordinary bed or chair that many have occupied it before him. The couplet refers to the long line of succession on the same (spiritual) seat of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and the name of the author comes in the long line of succession after many others.

Besides, the verses betray the influence of Vaishnava Vedantic Bhakti movement which became popular amongst the Sufis only in the post Timur period. The *shlokas* contain some Ijadist elements on the one hand, and some doctrines of Vaishnava Vedantic Bhakti on the

other. It seems certain that the works belong to a period when the Sufis had adopted only the first phase of influence of Vaishnava Vedantic Bhakti.

Further the influence of Kabir is also discernible in these compositions. Kabir's period is fixed from 1398 to 1520 AD. Thus the compositions belong to a period which begins from the middle of the fifteenth century AD and the view of Dr. Lajwanti that the author, Farid Sani, lived from 1450 to 1554 AD seems almost certain.

Farid Sani's works contain one element of Ijadists that he lays emphasis on the fear of death, God and the Hell. But his belief in the basic doctrine of identity of the individual self and God brings him in the category of the Vedantic Sufis.

concept of God

His God is Transcendental as well as Immanent. His Transcendental God is Personal and of the concept of the Ijadists. He sees our actions and knows our deeds. He is the Lord of the Day of Judgement, the Awarder of the recompense of good deeds and Executioner of the punishment for the sins :

Farida mautai da banna evai disai jiu dariavai dhaha ;
Agge dozak tapia suniai hul pavai :
Iknan no sabh sojhi ai iki phirde veparvaha;
Amal ji kitia duni vichi so dargah ugaha.

(The shore of death is like eroded river bank; And beyond it the fire of hell burneth strong, and men cry and wail. Some have known this, while others, being careless, mind it not. But the deeds one does in the world alone stand a witness unto our life.)

Like a true Vedantist, Farid Sani believes in the immanent aspect of God also. He seeks Him in every body. He advises 'not to speak sharp to any one as God dwells in every creature.'

Ik phika na galai sabhana main sachcha dhani.

He asks, "Whom do you search in the jungle ? When God resides in the heart". These utterances maintain that Farid is a Pantheist. Wifely devotion in itself implies belief in the oneness of man and God.

Communion with God

Farid talks of communion with God in a number of his sayings. He says "I have slept not with my Spouse tonight, and my limbs ache; go and ask the deserted ones how they pass their nights awake. He refers to the enjoyment also which he derives from the communion and likens it to the taste of sugar, honey etc. He says, "Sweet are candy and sugar, honey and the buffalow's milk; Yea, sweet are all those, but sweeter by far is God". He repeats the same idea in another verse, saying, "God is like the ripe dates, like a rivulet of honey..."

This is the same enjoyment which the Indian yogis and the Bhaktas describe as *amrit* (nectar).

This communion is inner and results from the concentration of mind and consequent absorption of the consciousness in the idea of God. This realization is confined to the self of the *salik*. His belief in the immanence of God is not self realized. He has known it only through the views of others. There is not a single saying which tend to maintain that he realized the unitive experience of the One in the multiplicity of the universe.

However, it is interesting that unlike Ijadist Sufis or non-Indian Sufis Farid describes the communion in the vocabulary of sugar or honey. It is purely Indian influence.

Love and Separation

Love for God or aspiration to attain nearness to God has been described by Farid by the word *birha* which etymologically means 'separation'. Farid says, "Every body talks of *Birha*, but for me it is all-in-all; for the body which is devoid of *Birha* is like a burning hell. This separation or love causes pain and Farid counts it amongst the sorrows and anxieties. He says, "Anxiety is my bedstead, strung up with sorrow, and the bedding and the quilt are of yearning for my Lord *(Birha)*. This, yea, is my whole life. See Thou, O my Lord."

Farid enjoys communion with God daily. But separation even for one day becomes unbearable for him. Expressing his pain of separation he says. "I have not slept with my Spouse tonight, and my limbs ache; Go and ask the deserted ones how pass they their nights awake?" Love in the beginning burns the infirmities from the heart and thereafter it causes immense pain and restlessness. This fire of separation burns the flesh and blood after burning the impurities of the mind.

He was prepared to burn his body and the bones in the fire of separation in a bid to have communion with God. Depicting a similar state of determination Farid says. "I would burn my body like a furnace, and feed the fire by my bones; Yea, I shall walk on my head if the legs tire, only if I were to meet my Beloved. Farid knows that God resides in every heart and that he is not to go out anywhere to meet the Lord. But the above expression is indicative of his resole to sacrifice his everything to meet God.

The pain of separation in these verses is of very ordinary type. The maximum that he feels is that his limbs ache in separation. This is the expression of a very ordinary type of depression. He has the determination to sacrifice his everything, but his experiences of the pain of separation do not cover the comprehensive life. Though he sees that the cuckoo has been burnt black by the fire of separation, but the external world does not share grief with the poet. Keeping in view the beginning of Pantheism in the Panjabi Sufi literature the two verses should be considered adequate.

Wifely Devotion

In Farid, there are both types of wifely devotion, Vaishnavist as well as Ijadist. As a Vaishnavist Farid posing himself as wife, sleeps with the Lord, the Husband, daily. Her limbs ache on the day she misses the communion.

In search of Husband, the wife takes off all the costly attires and puts on ascetic's blanket. To please Him, she is prepared to do every thing. The wife asks what words who should utter, what merits she should gather, what precious charms she should master and what wears she should wear, that the Husband may be pleased with her.

The other type of wifely devotion is that of the bride and the groom who have yet to meet. This type represents Ijadist view, according to which the meeting with the Lord is held only after the death. Their marriage has been fixed or solemnised and the life after death would be with the Bridegroom.

Farid urges to prepare the dowry and earn all merits and qualities so that God, the Husband, should accept her in the next life. The bride is no doubt yearning to meet the bridegroom but is suffering from fear of uncertainty, whether the Husband would accept her or not. The Husband of Farid and other mystics and Bhaktas is of the concept of the medieval king, who had innumerable wives and concubines.

It is the wife who needs Husband's favour but the Husband having countless wives show favour with a few and remains indifferent to others. It is at His sweet will whom. He favours with his Grace. The bride, therefore, fears that she is ignorant, does not know how to please the Husband, and does not possess any good qualities with which she can attract and please him. Farid says that she, who is cared for neither at her parents' nor at her in-laws and of whom even the spouse does not take care, is doomed. Farid accepted both types of devotion from Kabir.

God's will versus Man's Will

Like all other Sufis, Farid Sani is also a victim of the quandary of God's Will versus Man's Will. He urges the man to remain awake, to take the initiative and to be active to say prayers, to remember God's name, to do good actions or he will be doomed. He warns and points out, "What has happened to the cotton and the sesame seed and to the sugar cane, yea, and to paper and to the kettle and the coals? For they who commit evil are punished thus. He advises." Abandon the deeds that yield not good; so that thou mayest not be put to

shame in the Lord's court. His following couplets also maintain man's responsibility:

Farida man maidan kar toe tibbe lahi;
Aggai mul na avsi dojak sandi bhahi.

(O farid, even up the ups and downs of thy mind; And then the fire of Hell toucheth thee not in the world of God.

Farida rati kathuri vandia sutian milai na bhao;
Jinha nain nindravale tina milanu kuau.

(In the Night God showerth luck; but they who are asleep get not the share; Yea, they whose eyes are heavy with sleep; will they partake of it, O dear.)

Farida tina mukh daravane jine visarionu nau;
Aithai dukh ghaneria agai thaur na thau.

(Dreadful are the countenances of those that forsake the Lord's name; Here, they writhe in pain, and hereafter they find no refuge.)

On the other hand he refers to the Will of God:

(O river, break not thy banks, for thou too hast to render account: Go slow thou as is the Lord's will.)

If Lord's Will is to reign supreme, how the man can violate it and commit otherwise, Man's Will should not be stronger than God's. Practice of Humility and Surrender to the Will of God and Farid's failure in it.

Farid urges to practise humility and complete surrender to the Will of God, if one wants to see God in every body:

(Be, O Farid, like the straw of the way;
If thou seekest to find the All-pervading Lord:
First it is cut and then crushed under the feet.
And then alone it enters the God's door, fresh and neat.)

Sufism consists in complete surrender to the Will of God. The persons who complain when some calamity falls, are not the true devotees of God. But when God actually put Farid in a position of misfortune, he finds it unbearable to reconcile with it and cries out:

Farida bari praiai baisana sain mujhe ne dehi;
je tun aivain rakhasi, Jiu sariahu lehi.

(Let me not sit at another's door, O Lord, I pray; And if I am to be kept thus, then take my life away.)

Farid is in a straitened condition and is to look to some one else for his daily necessities. Now when the actual occasion to practise humility has been granted to him by God, he is failing to accept it. He fails even to see God in the man at whose door he has been put by God to sit. Farid prays for the change of the situation for the better.

Ijadic Characteristics

The insistence on the performance of religious obligatories and the deeds and arousing of the fear of death and reminding of the Day of Judgement are some of the characteristics of Ijadic Sufism which are found in Farid Sanj.

The poet reprimands those who do not say the regular prayers. He says, "O prayerless cur, this is not good for thee. Thou never comest to the mosque to say prayers at all the five times a day."

Farida be nivaja kutia eh na bhali rit;
Kadhi chal na aia, panje vakhat masit.

He is ready to chop off those heads which do not bow to God and offer prayers :

Uth Farida uj saji, Subha nivaj gujari;
Jo sir sain na nivai so siru kapi utari.

(He suggests to use as fire wood beneath the cooking pot, the heads that do not bow to God.)

Jo sir sain na nivai so siru kijai kai;
Kunhe heth jalaiai, balan sandai thai.

Reminding of death and Hell, he emphasises that the man should earn sufficient wealth of good deeds before the death approaches or if he dies without gathering merit, he will be doomed for Hell. On the Day of Judgement he has to render account of his actions done in this world.

In an imaginative and artistic style he points out to the fate of the evil doers like the cotton, the sesame seeds, the sugar cane, the paper, the kettle and the coals. For they who commit evil are punished thus. He urges to even up the ups and downs of the mind to escape from the fires of Hell. He gives a horrible picture of the hell saying that the shore of death is like the eroded river bank beyond which the fire of Hell burns strong and men cry and wail.

He adds that the deeds done in this world alone stand a witness to us. The man quits the world and the four persons carry him on their shoulders to the graveyard. But hereafter only the deeds, he has done in the world, are of any avail to him. The appearance of those who forsake the Lord's name is dreadful to Farid who sees them graoning in pain here and refueless hereafter.

Farid fore-warns that the day of death is predetermined and that day the Angel of Death would suddenly appear and would carry the life with him. He rebukes the careless saying, "When there was time for thee to earn, thou indulged thyself in the worldliness. Now the call from God has come, thou hast to leave the world empty handed". According to Ijadist Sufism man has been sent to this world to remember God's name.

Farid repents that he has wasted days in the toil and nights in the sleep. Now he is worried what he would say to God when He would ask, "wert thou sent to the world for this?" the worldly life has been presented artistically as horrible in the traditional manner of the Ijadist Sufism.

The persons, as hanker after the worldly fortunes, have been bitterly bullied. They have been characterised as fools who waste their life in the pursuit of fleeting, shortlived and illusory pleasures of the world at the cost of the permanent bliss of God's pleasure.

Symbolism

Farid describes God as Husband and the human beings as many wives of God. In a few couplets the relationship is of bride and bridegroom and the time of death has been conceived as the wedding time. The state of communion with God is linked to the state of cohibition of wife with husband.

The relationship of bride and bridegroom is the most befitting one to depict the Day of Judgement and rendering of accounts of the deeds. The Angel of Death is not God. But in a verse Death has been fancied as husband who comes and takes the bride with him without caring for her will:

Jindu vahuti maranu varu, lai jasi parnai.

Farid denounces the worldliness in a number of ways. He likens the worldly enjoyments to the sugar which turns out to be poison. The pleasures, he says, are the poisonous sprouts coated with sugar's paste:

Farida e visu gandala dharian khandu livari.

He describes the hardships and obstacles as the rain-water and the mud which spoil the blanket of the ascetic life. He is determined to attain his Beloved, and so he takes the mud and the rain water as gifts of God. Caring little for the mud he advances on the path will all steadfastness :

Chalan te bhijjai kambali, rahan ta tutte nehu;
Bhijjau sijjau kambli Allah varsau mehu;
Jai milan tinhan sajanan, tutte nahin hehu.

To creat hatred for the worldly life he presents a horrible picture of it. He writes, " I saw today those eyes which once bewitched the world and did not bear the streak of collyrium. Today they are the nests of the birds."

Farida jin loin Jagu Mohia so loin main dithu;
Kajal rekh na sahidia so pankhi sui bahith.

His Influence on the later Sufi Poets

The sway of the influence of the Indian Bhakti movement was so strong that Farid's compositions get hardly any chance to influence the Sufis of later period. The later Sufis like Shah Hussain and Bulhe Shah accepted influence direct from the Bhakti movement and its literature.

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Faridud-Din Shakarganj, Baba (1177A.D. — 1265A.D.)

After attaining the traditional knowledge Baba Farid renounced the world to have divine knowledge. When he returned home after twelve years his mother told him that he was still lacking perfection. He spent another span of twelve years as an ascetic. Then he was asked by his mother to bow to Abu Ali Shah Qalandar.

Baba Farid went to Hazrat Qutbud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki where he serving for a long time, received Khirka-i-Khilafat and spent his life in preaching Islam and its doctrines. Baba Farid was contemporary of Shah Bu' Ali Qalander (d. 1324 A.D.) and a disciple of Khawaja Qutbud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (1142-1236 A.D.).

It might have been that had Baba Farid once came to Bengal, and propagated Islam in Faridpur and Chittagong. The name of Faridpur district is named after him. But we do not find any historical record about his arrival in Bengal. So the people made a mausoleum to commemorate his name at Faridpur.

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Fathe Ali Waisi, Hazrat Sufi (1825 A.D. — 1886 A.D.)

Hazrat Sufi Fathe Ali Waisi was born at Chittagaon in 1825 A.D. and died in 1886 A.D. in Calcutta. In the district of Howrah, P.S. Jagatballabhpur, there is a village, Dahsa, where Fathe Ali Waisi studied in a madrasah, which is now extinct. Within a short time, he attained proficiency in Islamic learning. He was well versed in Arabic and Persian, besides Urdu.

He attained spiritual knowledge from Maulana Sufi Noor Muhammad Nizampuri, who became his religious guide in Sufism. He belonged to the Sufi Order of Naqshbandiya, Mujaddadiya, Qadiriya and Chishtiya. In the Naqshbandiya order, he was third from Immamul Hind Shah Waliwullah Muhaddith Dehlavi.

Beyond the seventh line his religious order reaches to Hazrat Shaikh Khan Yusuf Zaffarabadi and beyond the eleventh, he is connected with Shaikh Nurul Haq Noor Qutab-i-Alam Panduwi. He became Private Secretary to Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Matiya Burj and then became the Superintendent of Political pension office. He married Bibi Fatima of Punasi in Murshidabad where he settled after resigning his government post. He visited the tomb of Shaikh Hamid Danishmand Bangali at Mangalkot in Burdwan.

After propagating the teachings of Islam for about nineteen years Sufi Fathe Ali Waisi died in Calcutta at the age of sixty and was buried at Maniktallah graveyard.

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Fazal Shah (18th Century)

In the words of Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana, "Fazal Shah was born at Navankot in the district of Lahore in 1244 A.H. wrote his Sohni in verse at the age of 20 and followed it up after 20 years with his poetical version of Hir; also did Laila Majnu (1288 A.H.) and Zulaikhan (1331 A.H.) and Tuhfatul Zulal".

Prominent ballad of Fazal Shah is Kissa Sohni-Mahiwal in this ballad the language of the poet is so lucid, simple, sweet and penetrating that Fazal Shah ranks himself in the comparison of Bullhe Shah, Varis Shah and Hashim. Especially when Fazal Shah creates the environment at the time of Sohni's death. This description makes Kadar very much popular among his rank and file and the readers.

By the painting of words the poet has created heart melting scene. Death was calling Sohni to grasp her in the fatal lap. When Sohni leave to meet her lover that night is shown quite terrible, full of horror and terror, even the trees and plants lok like witches, ghosts and super natural giants, but true love is always tested at the critical juncture. So, poet exclaims :

Not to talk of going back,
Even a single step cannot be retreated.
If I think of it even, at the,
Time of judgement, I shall be defeated.
If my name identify the beauty,
I should do something of beauty,
Otherwise like an ugly woman,
I shall be always treated.

When Sohni for a while thinks of going back the above mentioned couplet strikes her mind and she at once drop the idea of going back. She becomes ready to face the challenge of death. Because she knows that the death cannot end her love.

Conclusion of the romantic ballad is so much impressive that the tragedy at the time of Sohni's death stands very much vivid before the eyes of readers.

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Fazil, Shah Muhammad (d. 1705A.D)

Another distinguished immigrant to Kashmir was Shah Muhammad Fazil (d.1117/1705) a descendant of the Ghausu'l-A'zam. He reached Kashmir about 1090/1679-80. During his lifetime he supported about a hundred people including family members, servants and assorted visitors.

However, any gifts would be immediately disposed of either for the benefit of the poor or of travellers and nothing was saved for his family's future use.

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Gada, Shah
(1455A.D. — 1505A.D.)

Dada Shah, an eminent Sufi, was a descendant of an ansar of Madina, who had helped the Prophet there. Shah Sultan Ansari's (alive in 1540 A.D.) was his father according to a popular belief, His father's family came to Manghlkot about the year 900 A.H./1498 A.D. Shah Sultan was born after a few years of his settlement in Mangalkot.

He was a great Darwish and had missionary zeal. A scion of this saint, Maulvi Muzaffarur Rahman was in the service of Maharaja of Burdwan in 1931 A.D.. He was of the 17th generation from the line of saint Shah Sultan Ansari.

He is buried in the vicinity of Gaur and Pandua (old Maldah). There are few inscriptions in Arabic attached to his shrine, which record the building of a mosque during his life time. The mosque was built by one Hilal, a servant of the Dargah, in the year 859 A.H./1455 A.D. From this we may deduce that Shah Gada died prior to this date.

The Shrine of Shah Gada is said to be situated at Mughaltoli in the district of Malda. Two inscriptions, dated 859/1455 and 911/1505 respectively, reveal that he might have lived and worked in the 15th century A.D.

There are two inscriptions bearing different dates attached to the shrine of Shah Gada at Mughaltoli in Malda. The first inscription dated 899/1455 consists of two lines in Arabic. It records the building of a mosque during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah by one Hilal, calls himself a slave of the dargah of Shah Gada. The second inscription dated 911/1505 consists of three lines in Arabic, recording the erection of a mosque by Sultan Husain Shah himself.

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Gagan Shuryani, Shaikh Hajji
(17th Century)

Shaikh Hajji Gagan Shuryani, one of the descendants of the *Pir-i Kibar*, was an eminent Chishtiyya sufi saint. He reportedly made seven

pilgrimages to Mecca and on one was divinely inspired to become the disciple of Shaikh 'Isa Mashwani who lived the life of a *malamati.* Finding a jar of wine in the cell of Shaikh Isa, the Hajji was scandalized but the Shaikh, catching hold of him poured the wine down the Hajji's throat.

Immediately Shaikh Isa became a *majzub* (ecstatic) and gave up wearing clothes, rarely performed *namaz* and shaved him head, beard and eyebrows in the style of a qalandar, professing facial hair to be a wordily decoration. By nature a withdrawn ascetic, after an exhibition of his ability to perform miracles, his devotees began lighting fires in his honour, fire being a symbol of the Divine Majesty.

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Gesudaraz, Syed Muhamad Husayni (1321A.D. — 1422A.D)

The Chishti movement in the Deccan received a great impetus with the arrival of Syed Muhammad Husayni Gesudaraz 724-825/1321-1422) at Gulbarga in 803/1400. He was a disciple and *khalifah* of Shaykh Nasir ad-din Chiragh of Delhi. He was a saint of high spiritual attainment, a scholar of great repute who was popular among the masses.

He, after spending twenty-one years (736-757/1335-1356) in the service of his *Pir* in Delhi, and after holding the *Sajjadgi* for forty-four years (757-801/1356-1398), left Delhi for the Deccan in 801/1398. He was the first among the great saints of the Chishti order in India who became an erudite scholar and prolific writer. He was deeply versed in Qur'anic studies, Prophetic traditions, Fiqh, theology and Sufism. A linguist, with an extensive knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Hindawi and Sanskrit languages, he could converse with all sorts of people.

By the time of Gesudaraz, all medieval Sufi classics and theological literature had reached India. The controversy of the pantheistic theory of *Wahdat al-Wijud* was being debated at difference levels.

The religious atmosphere of Delhi during the times of Muhammad bin Tughluq had changed drastically due to the Sultan's orthodoxy, creating a strong rift between the upholders of *Wujud* and the orthodoxy. This rift, it appears, led to a rapprochement. We find Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Chiragh of Delhi adopting a more orthodox approach in such controversial matters as Sama, and Sajda e-Ta'zim.

Nursed in this atmosphere of great orthodoxy at the *khanqah* of Shaykh Nasir ad-Din Chiragh, Syed Muhammad Husayni Gesudaraz became the first Sufi of the Deccan with anti-*Wujudi* tendencies. He even went to the extent of saying, "If he (Ibn 'Arabi) were alive during my age, I would have made him 'conscious' of 'beyond,' by taking him up (into the spiritual reals), and would have revived his belief *(Iman)* and converted him into a Muslim."

Rizvi is of the opinion that Gesudaraz was influenced by the teachings of 'Ala'ad-Dawlah Simnani through his meeting with Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, when the latter came to Gulbarga. However, Khusro Hussaini, while discussing this aspect, concludes that there was no such influence. The fact remains that Gesudaraz Propagated *Shuhudi* tendencies in the Deccan for the first time.

This appears to be a distinct departure from the long-held views of the Chishti Shaykhs of India. By the time of his arrival in the Deccan, Gesudaraz professed a distinct ideology, attempting at all times to bridge the gulf between the *Ahl e-Zahir* and the *Ahl-e-Batin* which had broadened at that time as a consequence of the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud.* It can, therefore, be said that long before Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi, who was reported to be the propounder of *Wahdat ash-Shuhud,* Gesudaraz had already laid a foundation for this doctrine. This makes Gesudaraz the first Sufi of the Chishti order, and, perhaps the rest of the orders in India, to preach

this doctrine. These findings demand a systematic reanalysis of the thought of the earlier Indian Chishtis of the first cycle.

By the time of his departure from Delhi, he was a saint popular among the masses. In his journey southward, he was received with great enthusiasm at different places by huge masses, a majority of whom were to be enrolled into the Chishti fold through Gesudaraz. There is a difference of opinion among authors on the exact date of his arrival at Gulbarga. *Burhan*, p. 44, mentions 802/1399. TH. p.91, gives 804/1401. Briggs, Vol. II, p. 388 mentions 815/1412. Malkapuri, Vol I, p. 285, states 815/1412. Bilgrami, p.38. states 815/1412. *Waqi'at*, p.532, gives 804/1401. *Bahmanis*, pp. 173, 151, n.20, p. 151, gives 815/1412. Samani only mentions his departure in 801/1398, from Delhi Samani, p. 29. Syed Minallah statis that Gesudaraz spent 22 years in Gulbarga, *Tkh*, p.102.

The year 815/1412 is obviously wrong as Samani informs us that in 806/1403, Ala ad-Din Gwaliori, a senior *khalifah* of Gesudaraz, came to Gulbarga to read *Fusus al-Hikam* under his *Pir*. In 812/1410. Syed Akbar Husayni died at Gulbarga and is buried there. Gesudaraz must have reached Gulbarga either at the end of 803/1400 or in the beginning of 804/1401.

On his arrival at Khuldabad, he was invited by the Bahmani ruler to move to Gulbarga and bless it by settling down there which he did in 803/1400, receiving a royal welcome by Firoz Shah Bahmani and his brother Ahmad Khan. Since, there was no Sufi of high spiritual and academic standing at Gulbarga then, the king was keen to use his services for the spiritual and intellectual upliftment of the people of his state and perhaps also get benefit by associating himself with a Sufi of his merit with such a large mass following.

These were the ideal circumstances for the saint to work in and organise the Chishti order in the Deccan in a more profound way than was possible for the early Chishtis in the Deccan. The stature of Gesudaraz as an academician, a spiritualist and author was well known; he had already compiled a number of works in Delhi.

Most of his time in journey southwards was spent in the compilation of works of high intellectual and mystic standards. After settling down at Gulbarga, Gesudaraz not only established a Madrasuh of advanced learning at his *khanqah* but also compiled more books than what he did at Delhi or during his journey.

While at Gulbarga, he admitted a large number of people into the Chishti order. Ghulam Ali Shah informs us that Gesudaraz drew his followers not only from among Syeds, nobles, princes and Shaykhs but also from among tailors, cobblers and iron smiths. This leads us to conclude that he had a very wide circle of followers, drawn from all sections of the society. He conferred *khilafah* of disciples of high moral and academic calibre, including the members of his family.

A certain number of these *khulafa* were at Gulbarga, and others became active in different parts of the Bahmani kingdom and outside, in Gujrat and other places. The personality of Syed Muhammad Husayni Gesudaraz stood at the apex of this vast Chishti organization, dispensing spiritual guidance and religious direction from Gulbarga. A large number of his disciples remained in touch with him either by visiting Gulbarga or through correspondence. Samani tells us that his *khulafa* from Gwalior, Irach, Chatra, Ajodhan, Kalpi and Delhi visited Gulbarga often to seek spiritual and academic guidance from him.

Besides his disciples, other eminent Sufis also visited him at Gulbarga. One of them was Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, a well known disciple of Ala ad-Dawlah Simnani, a Kubrawi saint of Iran. The former had his initial spiritual training under Simnani before settling down in India. Ashraf Jahangir Simnani visited the monastery of Gesudaraz at Gulbarga twice. However, he met Gesudaraz only once, as Gesudaraz was dead by the time Ashraf Jahangir visited Gulbarga for a second time.

This is evident from one of the letters of Simnani. In his only meeting with Gesudaraz, they seemed to have discussed the subject of Sufism, especially the concept of *Wujud* and

Shuhud. In *Lata-if e-Ashrafi*, it is stated that some disciples of Ashraf Jahangir Simnani also visited Gulbarga, but in all probability, these visits took place after the death of Gesudaraz.

The *Maktubat* of Gesudaraz contain letters addressed to Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani, certain nobles, his *khulafa* and disciples; these letters indicate that his followers were spread in the greater part of India, at places like Gujrat, Bharuch, Kalpi, Irach, Chatra, Daulatabad, Patna, Lucknow, Baroda, Chanderi and Bahadurpur.

His senior most *khalifah* was Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din Gwaliori, who was under his spiritual guidance for almost ten years while the saint was still in Delhi. At Delhi, Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din studied *'ulum e-Zahiri* under Mawlana 'Abd al-Muqtadir and Shihab ad-Din 'Ali. He held the office of *Fatwanawis* at Gwalior. The offices of *Qada* and *Ihtisab* were also under the charge of his family. After his association with Gesudaraz, he resigned from his post and spent most of his time in seclusion and meditation.

Gesudaraz had great love and affection for Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din. Prior to the attack of Mughals, Gesudaraz left Delhi for his journey south. On reaching Bahadurpur, he wrote a letter to Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din, informing him of the circumstances under which he had left Delhi and asking him to receive him at Gwalior. On reaching Gwalior, Mawlana 'Ala'ad-Din received him with great honour and presented him all that he had in possession, but Gesudaraz accepted only a part of grains, a few horses and some cash.

While in Gwalior, the saint bestowed *khalifah* upon Mawlana Ala'ad-Din. Abu al-Fath Rukn ad-Din, son of Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din, was initiated into the order for a second time. A large number of people from all walks of life became his disciples. After Gesudaraz's settlement at Gulbarga, Mawlana 'Ala'ad-Din Gwaliori visited him in 806/1403 to study *Fusus al-Hikam* of Ibn 'Arabi.

It is not known how long he stayed at Gulbarga; however, he died at Kalpi before 814/1411 as he had left Gwalior when it was annexed by non-Muslims. There are no less than thirteen letters in *Maktubat* addressed to Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din Gwaliori, indicating the close relationship between them.

Samani informs us that while Gesudaraz was at Gwalior, he had instructed Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din Gwaliori to draft a *khilafat nama* on his behalf and dispatch it to Qadi Nur ad-Din Ajodhani and Mawlana Mu'in ad-Din Tohani, as the saint had already granted them *ijazah* and *khilafah*. If this statement is true, then they were the earliest *khulafa'* of Gesudaraz and it has to be presumed that both were in Delhi with Gesudaraz till his migration to the Deccan. These are events of 801/1398.

In 810/1407, when Shaykh Sadr ad-Din Khondmir visited Gulbarga, he was honoured with a *khilafatnama*. Shaykh Sadr ad-Din was a resident of Irach, where his grand-father held the post of *Shaykh al-Islam*. Samani informs us that Shaykh Sadr ad-Din and his brothers were admitted to the Chishti order when Gesudaraz reached Irach on his way to the Deccan. It can be in feared that the family of Shaykh Sadr ad-Din had a reputation for scholarship and saintliness. The same year, Qadi Ishaq and his brother, Qadi Muhammad Sulayman, came to Gulbarga.

Qadi Ishaq was a jurist by profession and held the post of *Fatwanawis* in the district of Chatra. His grandfather was a Mufti. Both were given *khilafatnama* at Gulbarga. Syed Kamal ad-Din Qazwini, who belonged to the line of Gesudaraz, settled at Bahruch. In 811/1408, Gesudaraz gave *khilafah* to Qadi 'Alim ad-Din bin Sharaf, Syed Akbar Husayni, his eldest son, and to his brother-in-law Syed Abu al-Ma'ali, son of Mawlana Muhammad Maghribi.

Of these men, Syed Akbar Husayni was deeply versed in *'Ilm e-Zahiri* and *'Ilm e-Batini* and was the author of a number of works on Sufism, theology, Arabic and Persian grammar. He also compiled two *Malfuzat* (discourses of his father. He studied different Islamic sciences under scholars like Qadi 'Abn al-Muqtadir, Mawlana Khwajgi Nahwi, Mawlana Muhammad Baghra and Mawlana Nasir ad-Din Qasim. He

gained the knowledge of mystic stages from his father who held him in high esteem and used to say:

> "No Murid has surpassed his Pir, but only two men: Qutb ad-Din overtook Mu'in ad-Din Chishti and Akbar Husayni has surpassed me".

Gesudaraz, it appears, was planning to pass on his institution to Syed Akbar Husayni, but that was not to be, as Akbar Husayni died during the lifetime of his father, in 812/1409, seven months after receiving *khilafah.* Syed Akbar Husayni's son, Syed Shah Safirullah Husayni joined the government service, contrary to the family tradition, obviously to the great displeasure of his grandfather who accorded him *khilafah* few months before his death only on the condition that he resign from the government service.

However, we do not find him resigning the job; in fact, rose to the position of a *Risaladar* of one thousand armed men at Bider. When his younger son, Syed Asghar Husayni, assumed the *Sajjadgi* on the death of his father, Syed Safirullah Husayni came to Gulbarga and claimed the *Sajjadgi* with force, leading to claims and counter-claims in the following years. This quarrel among the members of the family forced the Sultan to intervene.

The *Ahadnama* of the saint and the royal farman of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani, dated 882/1477, reflect the nature of this controversy. However, matters settled down with a compromise. The charge of the *khanqah* of Gesudaraz was given to the members of his younger son, Syed Asghar Husayni, and his descendants while the charge of the Saint's *Rawdah* was given to the descendants of Syed Akbar Husayni. Syed Safirullah Husayni who assumed the charge of saints *Rawdah* had ten sons and six daughters.

He was succeeded by his elder son, Syed Shah 'Askarullah Husayni, followed by Syed Shah 'Asadullah and later by Syed Shah Safirullah Jr. The latter's son, Syed Shah 'Abdullah, popularly known in the Deccan as Husayn Shah Wali, settled at Golkonda, the Qutb Shahi capital, where he held an important administrative position during the times of Ibrahim Qatb Shah. Another member of the family of the Gesudaraz, Shah Raju Husayni, also moved to Golkonda and the ruler, Abu al-Hasan Qutb Shah, became his disciple.

Khwaja Ahmad Dabir, an important official of the court of Firoz Shah Bahmani, who was entrusted with the task of judging the Islamic orthodoxy of Gesudaraz in 806/1403, became his disciple and received the *khilafatnama* from his master in 815/1412. Khwaja Ahmad Dabir probably held the post of *Munshī Dabir* in the court of Firoz Shah. In 806/1403, when Mawlana 'Ala' ad-Din, Gwaliori started to study *Fusus al-Hikam* under Gesudaraz, Khwaja Ahmad Dabir was deputed to the *khanqah* of the Shaykh to seek clarifications of such of those passages in *Fusus* which were apparently contrary to the *Shari'ah.*

Later sources state that he was also accompanied by Shaykh Minhaj ad-Din, alias Qadi Raju, who in all probability held a judicial post. However, on their meeting with the Shaykh, they fell under his spell and resigned. Both became his disciples first and *khalifah* later. Qadi Raju died at Bider and is buried on the Bider-Ashtoor road near the domes of the later Bahmani rulers. Presumably, he must have resigned his services from the court, as the issue of such a certificate, according to Chishti ideology, requires disassociation from mundane pursuits.

Another well-known *khalifah* of Gesudaraz was Abu al-Fath who, according to Samani, was a scholar and an author. Son of 'Ala'ad-Din Gwaliori and the disciple of Gesudaraz, he went to Gulbarga in 814/1411 to seek lessons in *Adhkar* and *Muraqibah* from Gesudaraz, and stayed there for four years. On his departure Gesudaraz blessed him with *khilafah* and honoured him by walking with him upto a distance, and also provided him the expenses of his travel.

Gesudaraz, a few months before his death, accorded *khilafah* to eleven more persons. Among them were his younger son, Syed Yusuf, commonly known as *Syed Asghar Husayni* or *Miyan Lahra,* his grandsons and others. As

stated earlier, Syed Asghar assumed *Sajjadgi* on the death of his father. He was a scholar and a pious person who soon developed a large circle of disciples around him and extended his hand for *Bay'at.* He also issued *khilafah* to a number of persons, including his own family members, and he died at Gulbarga in 828/1424. His mortal remains are buried close to Gesudaraz.

Syed Asghar Husayni was followed by his son, Syed Shah Yadullah Husayni, who was born in 803/1400 at Khambayat, Gesudaraz had great love for his grandson Shah Yadullah, and personally taught him Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar and mysticism and also blessed him with *khilafah.*

Shah Yadullah's *Malfuzat* were compiled by his *khalifah,* Syed Muhmud bin Syed Fadlullah Husayni. The discourse begins in 843/1439. Shah Yadullah Husayni died at Gulbarga.

Name	*Date of Birth*	*Date of Death*	*Place of Death*
Syed Shah Safiullah Husayni			Gulbarga
Syed Shah Abu al-Fayd			
Minallah Husayni	811/1418	879/1474	Bider
Syed Kalimullah Husayni		892/1486	Bider
Syed Shah Abual-Hasan		903/1497	Bider
Shaykh 'Ala' ad-Din Ansari		777/1375	Aland
Shaykh Piyarah			Maldah
Qadi Raju'			Bider
Shaykh Rizqullah			Maldah
Shaykh Muhammad Maldah			Maldah
Syed as-Sadat Syed Muhammad Hanif		901/1495	Bider

In a short span of twenty-two years (803-825/1400-1421) at Gulbarga, the dynamic mystic personality of Gesudaraz had inspired the spiritual and intellectual climate with such vigour that Gulbarga virtually became a great centre of Chisthi learning and his *khanqah* became a force to reckon with.

It was his unique combination of scholarship and spirituality that attracted a large number of masses to his fold and *khanqah.* Gesudaraz personally thought subjects like Qur'anic commentaries, Hadith, Faqh and the divergent aspects of mystic thought.

Though, he deviated in certain respects from his predecessors, he retained the essence of their doctrines. As long as he lived, Gulbarga remained the apex of the hierarchy of his disciples; his students living in different parts of the greater India kept drawing inspiration from his spiritual centre.

But with the death of Gesudaraz, the organisation slowly lost its vitality and never gained the same prestigious position. A number of factors could be attributed to the decline of his khanqah, the most prominent being the deviation of Gesudaraz himself with respect to opening his doors for the ruling classes and in nominating his own sons in his place. As regards the acceptance of *Jagirs* and cash grants, there are contradictory opinions in the historical sources.

However, the sentiments of Gesudaraz with regard to acceptance of land and grants are contained in *Ta'rikh e-Habibi.* As long as Gesudaraz lived, he could prevail over the ruling classes who came to him. But his descendants, who neither possessed his sound academic standing nor his spiritual values, were driven by worldly values of life. The sudden death of Syed Akbar Husayni, his eldest son, whom he was training to be an academician and a Sufi, must have shattered all his hopes of keeping alive the light of the order long after him.

With Gesudaraz's death, the era of a great Chishti divine of the Deccan was over. However, along with his descendants of Gulbarga and Bider, we do notice certain Chishtis working at Bider, Gogi, Maldah, Aland and, later, at Bijapur. Discussion regarding them will come later.

Most of the literature produced by this great Bahmani Sufi is now extinct, though References to a number of his mystic treatises are

available in later sources, particularly the hagiographa. As stated earlier, Rukn ad-Din bin 'Imad ad-Din Dabir Kashani, Khwaja Hammad Kashani, Khwaja Majd ad-Din Kashani, Syed Yusuf Syed Raja, Amir Hasan 'Ala' Sijzi, Syed Akbar Husayni, Syed Shah Yadullah Husayni, and Syed Shah Amin ad-Din Abu al-Fayd Minallah Husayni, all of them of the Chishti line, left behind one or more works in the field of Sufism.

Except a few, most of the works are not available now. Aynad-Din Ganj al'Ilm a Bahmani saint of Junaydi order, also authored one hundred and twenty five works in the different branches of Islamic learning, that he acquired the knowledge of *'Ilm e-Zahir* and *'Ilm e-Batin* under the latter. Syed Badr ad-Din was married to the daughter of Ibrahim Makhdum Ji Qadiri (d. 972/1564), the son of famous Qadiri saint of Bider, Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani.

Syed Badr ad-Din died at Wasil Ganj near Bider. His three sons Miran Shah Mustafa Qadiri (961-1069/1553-1658), Miran Shah Abu al-Hasan Qadiri (d.1045/1635) and miran Shah Qasim Qadiri (d.1032/1622) led a life of orthodoxy at Bijapur during the 'Adil Shahi period. The descendants of this family later spread into different parts of the Deccan and are found at places like Kampli, Malkhed, Gulbarga, Kan'al Jishitkal, Gangawati, Hyderabad, Hubli, Dharwar and Bagalkote. As mentioned earlier also some Qadiri Sufis of the Qutub Shahi kingdom trace their spiritual lineage to the *Sab'a Qadiri* group.

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Ghaus Bala Pir, Saiyid (d. 1551/52A.D.)

Another Qadiriyya branch in the Punjab flourished through the efforts of a aiyid Muhammad Ghaus Bala Pir, a grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani II. He, died in 959/1551-52, was the son of Saiyid Zaini'l-'Abidin. (himself a son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Sani). While travelling, Zainu'l-'Abidin had been murdered by robbers at Nagaur and the young Muhammad Ghaus was brought up and educated by his grandfather.

He first settled in Uch but later migrated to Satghara in the Punjab. Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus Bala Pir's son and successor, Saiyid Jiwan, was given the prestigious title of Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Qadir Salis (the third) in recognition of his piety and asceticism. After his father's death, he moved extensively throughout India before settling in Lahore where he founded a quarter called Rasulpura. He died in 1022/1613-14.

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Ghazi, Shah Ismail (1459A.D. — 1474A.D.)

Shah Ismail Ghazi was a 'warrior saint' of Bengal. He was of 'Arab origin and was a descendant of the Prophet. He came to and settled at Gaur in the reign of Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459-1474 A.D.). The Sultan in those days was busy in constructing a dam across the river Jhatiya Bahitya. All the engineers and craftsmen who were engaged for seven years could not complete the dam.

When Ismail Ghazi came to know about this, he approached and suggested a scheme to the Sultan for this purpose which proved successful. Barbak Shah was very much pleased with him and offered him a respectable post in the army.

Ismail's first campaign was against Gajpati, the Raja of Orissa. He defeated the Raja and

recovered from him the fort of Madaran or Mandaran. His second one was against Kameshwar, the Raja of Kamrup. The Raja was defeated and compelled to render allegiance to the Sultan.

Bhandasi Rai, an officer of the Sultan at Ghoraghat, became envious of the achievement and popularity of Ismail, and sent a fictitious report about his collusion with the Raja of Kamrup. Relying on report, Barbak Shah immediately ordered Ismail's execution. Ismail did not defend himself and was executed in 878 A.H./ 1474 A.D.

There are two tombs of Shah Ismail Ghazi, one at Kantaduar (in Rangpur) and the other at Mandaran (in Jahanabad, West of Hughly). Where Hindus and Muslims offer homage to him.

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Ghazi, Shah Ismail (d.1474 A.D.)

Shah Ismail Ghazi was born in the city of Mecca. He came to India to preach Islam and reached Gaur during the reign of Sultan Barbak Shah (1459—1474). The Sultan sent him as a general of the expedition against king Kans Verma of Kamrupa. Ismail Ghazi declared a crusade against the king and humbled the ruler of Kamrupa. The saint was appointed as the Governor of the newly conquered territory. He governed fairly and Muslim and non-Muslim subjects were satisfied.

There was a Hindu Governor named Bhandasi Roy under the Sultan Barbak Shah. Hearing the success of Sultan Ismail Ghazi he became jealous of him. He wrote to the Sultan falsely that Ghazi Khan had entered a treaty with the Raja of Kamrupa and that he was contemplating to revolt against the imperial authority. The Sultan became very angry and ordered for capital punishment with proper investigation. He was beheaded in the year 1474 A.D.

It is said that the different limbs of the body of the saint were entered at four places after its execution. Out of four tombs only one is situated at Kanta Daur or Chatrahata. It is famous among the people of the district of Rangpur. An ancient Persian manuscript written in 1633 A.D. is in the custody of the khadim of the shrine and the aforesaid accounts have been given from that.

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Ghulam Rashid, Shaikh Abul Faiyaz Qamarul (1685 A.D. — 1753 A.D.)

Ghulam Rashid was born on 8th Rabi'I, 1096/12th February, 1685, fourteen days after his birth, his mother died and on 20th Jumada II, 1096/24th May, 1685 his father, Muhibbu'llah, the son of Shaikh Arshad also died. Thereafter Ghulam Rashid was placed in the care of his grandfather, who educated him and later initiated him as a Qadiriyya.

Shaikh Ghulam Rashid wrote a commentary on his grandfather's Hidayat al-Nahw and a Persian commentary on a well-known Arabic qasida, the Qasida-i Ghausiya, devoted to eulogies to Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Succeeding to his grandfather's position, Shaikh Ghulam Rashid also taught through the use of parables and anecdotes.

He believed men were superior to angels, arguing that men had obtained ascendancy over their sensuality and having crushed the power of the devil, worshipped God and annihilated their individuality in the Reality, Angels, never being faced with such an obstacle, were therefore naturally inferior to men.

To support this view he quoted a story related by Diwan 'Abdu'r-Rashid. The Diwan had seen a blind man in Banaras and asked him how he had become afflicted by his disability. The man told him that he had once seen a beautiful Gujarati girl and had been overcome with sensual desire. So distressed was he that he blinded himself that he might never again be exposed to such a beautiful countenance.

Later, he decided that by depriving himself of his sight he had been distinctly cowardly and that he should have been able to see beauty as manifested by God and then ignored it for Reality.

On 5th Safar, 1167/2nd Dec. 1753, Shaikh Ghulam Rashid died. His disciple and successor, Ghulam Sharafu'd-Din was also a scholar and mystic. The descendants of Diwan Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid and Shaikh Arshad all made the claim that control of the spirituality and welfare of Muslims had become dependent on the Indian Qadiriyyas.

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Ghulam Rasul (1813A.D. — 1874A.D.)

Ghulam Rasul was born at Bhiwanidass district Gujranwala, he lived for some time at Lahore and for some time at Delhi. He got his education at Lahore from Maulvi Ghulam Muhiuddin. After his return from Hajj, he undertook a tour of Panjab for the propagation of religion.

During the mutiny of 1857 he was arrested and later on released. Besides some Persian works, he wrote in Panjabi as well. Like Farad Faqir, Ghulam Rasul remained a confusing personality. He accepted the influence of later developments in Sufi thought and became a Pantheist.

He wrote during that period *Sassi Punnu*. He adopted wifely devotion and gave precedence to Grace of God over Justice.

> *Nit vekhan khali rah tera, kadi sohna mukh vikhal mainun.*
> (I, the female lover, am looking for Thee all the time, Kindly showest me Thy Beautiful Face.)
> *Rabba puj Ke bahut kuchajari nun, bajho fazal tere koi vah nahin.*
> (O God, I am a confirmed sinful. I have no other refuge except Thy Grace.)

But later on, he shifted to the Ijadist school and repented over his past career. He then rejected *Mijazi* love and in repentence wrote *Hulia Sharif* and begged pardon for his going astray in the past. His verse composed in the later period, contains all the characteristics of Ijadish Sufism. He declares the path of Mohammad as the only true path and all others as false.

He insists on the performance of good deeds, observance of Shariat and condemns the worldly life and pleasures :

> *Se-Sebati nal tun pakar mian, daman pak janab rasul wala;*
> *Rat dadhi haneri hai biddatan di Sunnat Ahmadi da keha khub chala.*
> (Be firm on the path of the Prophet, so that thou mayst not be misled by the unscriptural and corrupt practices and other innovations, which

are storming all-round. The path of Mohammad is grand and true.)

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H

Hadait-Ullah (19th Century A.D.)

Hadait-Ullah was born in Lahore some time in the middle of the nineteenth century and died there in the twenties of the twentieth century. He was and is still believed to be a Sufi. Whoever, he may have been, his poetry is tinged with Sufi beliefs, but there is nothing new in it except the words and phrases. All else is the property of his predecessors.

He wrote a number of a *sinarfis* and a *bara-mah*. Below is a 'month' from his famous *Bara-mah*:

Magh mahine mahi bajho jo kujh
mai sang biti je
Shala dushman nal na hove,
jehi bichore kiti je
Kohlu vang jan tatti di
pirh ishk ne liti je
Jännan oho gall hidayat,
zahar ishk jin piti je.

In the month of *Magh* without the beloved what has happened to me? God grant it may not happen even to an enemy, what separation has done to me. As in the oil-press the life of this hot one has been pressed and taken by love. They alone know this state, Hadait, who have drunk the poison of love.

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Hajji Uwais, Shaikh (d 1608 A.D.)

In sixteenth century, Shaikh Hajji Uwais, a descendant of the Pir-i Kibar, rose to considerable spiritual eminence. He was a *hajji* and was believed to have obtained guidance from the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar. He died in 1016/1608.

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Hamid Husur, Shaikh Zahur Hazi (1431A.D. — 1523A.D.)

Shaikh Zahur Hazi Hamid Husur (835-930 A.H./1431-1523 A.D.) was the son of Maulana Zahur Ghaznavi, who had migrated from Ghazni to India and had settled at Gwalior. After completing his formal education Shaikh Zahur felt much attracted towards mystic discipline, and left his home in search of a spiritual guide.

Ultimately he reached Bengal, where he met Shaikh Qazin Shattari and became his disciple. Spending several years at the feet of his preceptor he received the *khirqa* and *khilafat* from him. After Shaikh Qazin's death, he remained with Shaikh Abul Fath Hidayatullah and received the *khilafat* from his also.

Later, he went on Haj pilgrimage and spent forty years at the mausoleum of the Prophet. On his return from Hejaz he went to Gwalior.

Here. Shaikh Bahlul and his younger brother Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus joined the circle of his disciples.

After a brief stay at Gwalior, Shaikh Zahur left for Bihar with both the Shaikhs Bahlul him. On the eve of his departure, Humayun requested the Shaikh to accompany him to Agra. The Shaikh set out with him, but owing to Sher Shah's attempt to block the Emperor's path, the Sahikh could not proceed further and stopped at Hajipur, in Bihar. He was so fascinated by this place that he decided to settle there. Shaikh Daulat, son of Shaikh Abdul Malik Maneri, is said to have joined him here.

After his death the Shaikh was succeeded by his son Shaikh Ruknuddin who worked for the spread of the *silsilah* like his father. Shaikh Kamaluddin Sulaiman Qureshi was the chief *khalifa* of Shaikh Ruknuddin. He was a native of Kalpi. After receiving *khilafatnamah*, he went to Mandu and settled there. He was the teacher of Muhammad Ghausi Shattari, the author of *Gulzar-i Abrar*. He died in 973 A.H./1566 A.D. and was buried at Mandu.

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Hasan Muhammad Chishti, Shaikh (d. 1522A.D — 1575A.D.)

The greatest Chishtiyya in the early sixteenth century in Gujarat was Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti bin Shaikh Ahmad. He was popularly known as Shaikh Miyanji. Born in 929/1522-23, he was only five or six when a sufi called Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din Jumman Chishti appointed him his successor. Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali, the son of Shaikh Nur Bakhsh initiated him into the Qadiriyya, Nur Bakhshiyya, Tainfuriyya and other orders.

He remained predominantly a Chishti, however, being initiated by his father into that order. Sultan Muhammad III (950/1543-962/1554) assigned him several villages, whose income the Shaikh invested in the construction of a mosque inside Ahmadabad city near Shahpur Gate. It took eight years to finish, was completed in 973/1565-66 at a cost of 100,000 rupees. He spent lavishly too during the *'urs* (feasts of sufi *pirs*). The author of a commentary on the Qur'an entitled the *Tafsir-i Muhammadi*, he also wrote notes on the Qur'anic commentary of Baizawi.

He was engaged in teaching and training sufi disciples for twenty-seven years during his father's lifetime and for fourteen years after his death. Survived by four sons and two daughters, the Shaikh died on 28th Zu'laq'da, 982/11th March, 1575.

Shaikh Hasan Muhammad's second son, Shaikh Muhammad Chishti (b. 956/1549-50), whom he trained, succeeded him. The occupation of Gujarat by the Mughals in 981/1573 had diminished the fortunes of the Shaikh's family but he refused to accept the old grants revived by Akbar and destroyed such *farmans* from the Sultans of Gujarat as were in his possession. Later Shaikh Muhammad Chishti began to live outside the city on the banks of the Sabarmati, coming to his *khanqah* only of Fridays to offer congregational prayers.

However after some years, he reverted to *khanqah* life, indulging in *zikr* and *sama* without the use of musical instruments. Returning from a pilgrimage to the tombs of Chishti sufis in Delhi, at Jahangir's request he went to see him in Ajmer and reluctantly accepted the grant of a village for his expenses in the name of his sons.

In 1027/1617-18 he again called on the

Emperor during a visit to Gujarat. On 29th Rabi'I, 1040/5th Nov., 1630, the Shaikh died. Of his four surviving sons, one died three days after his father, the second became a recluse and the third, Shaikh Siraju'd-Din (d. 1050/1640-41), in accordance with his father's will, relinquished his claim to succession in favour of his nephew, Shaikh Abu Yusuf Yahya, the son of Shaikh Mahmud and the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad.

Shaikh Yahya Chishti who from 1087/1677-77 on led the last fourteen years of a long life in Medina, came to be known as *Shaikh Yahya Madani* and was certainly the greatest Chishtiyya *pir* of his time.

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Hasan, Shaikh Muhammad (d. 1537A.D.)

Shaikh Muhammad Hasan, the eldest son of Shaikh Hasan Tahir, was initiated by his father into the Chishtiyya order. Before making a hajj to Mecca he also became a Qadiriyya, in Yemen. After his return from Arabia, he lived in Agra. Shaikh Muhammad Hasan appears to have migrated to Delhi sometime before his death as it is the place of his burial. However, it is also possible that his body was taken from Agra for burial in the Bijai Mandal bastion, near the site of his father's tomb.

In the *Akhbaru'l-akhyar* Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq asserts that Shaikh Muhammad Hasan had a charismatic spiritual influence over his contemporaries. When he emerged from his cell, anyone seeing him would automatically cry out *'Takbir'* (Allah is Great). Preferring to be in the company of God he would wait impatiently for dusk, then light candles for meditation.

He dictated some of his mystical thoughts although he later destroyed the drafts. Some of his letters, however, were put into book form and a number of his treatises, all compiled by his disciples, survived until the end of the sixteenth century.

From a letter quoted by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq we learn of Shaikh Muhammad Hasan's exuberant enthusiasm for the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. Nothing but the Essence (Zat) or Absolute Being existed, the Shaikh stated unequivocally. The external manifestations of all aspects were Attributes of the unknowable Essence. He reminded his disciples that although all manifestations were apart from essence and particular aspects of Reality, there was no duality and the reality of many (in terms of their substances or as opposed to the essence, such as Pure Light and unmixed darkness) was inconceivable.

What was visible, said the Shaikh, was a theophany which was mixed with darkness and was collectively known as *ziya* (brilliance). All manifestations (that is, the universe) were perishable. All intelligible forms of prototypes had originally been manifested through the Divine consciousness, the Perfect Light. The Shaikh also reaffirmed that the universe was a macrocosm of which man was the microcosm; man, created in the image of God, was the manifestation of True Unity and relative multiplicity.

On 27th Rajab, 944/30th December, 1537, Shaikh Muhammad Hasan died. Of his many disciples one was an uncle of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq : Shaikh Fazlu'llah, who was also known as *Shaikh Manjhu*. The most famous of all his disciples however was Shah 'Abdu'r-Razzaq of Jhanjhana.

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Hashim Shah
(1753A.D. —1823A.D.)

Hashim was only a Sufi poet who had no claim to saint-hood or *faqiri*. The biographies of the Sufi saints and *faqirs* therefore do not mention him at all. There are many oral traditions rich in information, but the only written account that we have found is a short sketch by Baba Buddh Singh in his *Bambiha Bol*. Mohan Singh, in his recently published *History of Panjabi- Literature* gives a few lines on the life of Hashim, but his information seems to have been taken from Bambiha Bol and does not show any research on his own part.

Unfortunately, this sketch, as we shall see later, is in no way better than the oral traditions. The only reliable sources of information were the narratives of some elders whose fathers or grandfathers had known the poet. After a great deal of correspondence one of my friends collected narratives from some old gentlemen of Jagdeo village, the birth-place of Hashim. The following is the sum-total of these narratives relating to the poet:

He was the son of Kasim Shah, a carpenter of Jagdeo village in Amritsar district and was born in A.H.1166/A.D.1753. He possessed a great love for knowledge and composed verse in his youth. God had conferred on him the gift of writing, and it was on this account that he surpassed the poets of his time. The Sikh chiefs esteemed him. He died at the age of seventy.

The above accords with the traditional accounts, save in the stories about Hashim's friendship with Ranjit Singh and about the patronage from his which the poet is said to have enjoyed. But before proceeding any further let us state here that all sources of information agree that Hashim was born in A.D. 1753 and died at the age of seventy, i.e. allotting him a life of seventy Panjabi years, he died in A.D.1823. The Islamic year is shorter than the Christian year which is as long as the Panjabi year. In the Panjab, all communities, save some religious heads of the Mussulmans, follow the Panjabi calendar.

Was Hashim a court-poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ? Baba Buddh Singh calls him raj-kavi, and Dr. Mohan Singh also speaks in the same strain. According to history Ranjit Singh assumed the title of Maharaja in 1801, some time after he had occupied Lahore. For the next ten years he was whole-heartedly engaged in consolidating the different constituents of the province and had little time for poets and poetry.

It was only after the year 1810, that he began to evince interest in arts other than the art of warfare. If then he ever made Hashim his court-poet it could have been only after A.D. 1810 when the poet was nearing his fifty-eighth year. But no history of the Maharaja written before or after A.D. 1810 speaks of the poet.

Our knowledge and study of the popular and oral narratives does not permit us to call Hashim a court-poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. What we believe is that Hashim had the patronage of Ranjit Singh when he was a territorial chief, and this patronage continued unofficially in the shape of small gifts of little importance, even after the latter had become Maharaja of the Panjab.

Baba Buddh Singh makes another statement regarding Hashim's position at the Sikh court and his intimacy with Ranjit Singh. He says that the poet recited his *Sassi-Punnu* to the Maharaja at a *dusaihra* darbar, and this so won him that ruler's love that he was called in spare moments to recite his verses to the Maharaja.

In all the well-known histories and popular narratives of the private and public life of Ranjit Singh no Reference is made to Hashim. Ranjit Singh's attachment for 'Aziz-ud-din who was his company in spare moments, his affection and childish talks with Hira Singh and other young boys, and his voluptuous love for dancing and singing are all recorded in detail; but

there is nothing about Hashim. Therefore we doubt if he ever lived in Lahore, or saw the Maharaja as frequently as the Baba states he did.

Baba Buddh Singh makes still another assertion, describing Hashim as an intimate friend of Faqir 'Aziz-ud-din. A direct descendant of the Faqir whom we approached for information concerning the poet told us that his ancestor never spoke of Hashim and that neither in his vast correspondence nor in his library was there anything relating to the poet. He doubted very much the correctness of the Baba's statements.

Hashim too, in his poetry does not mention Ranjit Singh or 'Aziz-ud-din, the minister. Had he been in the service of the Maharaja he would have told us so? On the other hand, he speaks against the kings of his times, as:

Kain sun hal hakikat hashim hundia badshaha di
julmo kuk gaye asmani dukkhia ros dila di
admia di surat diss di rakas adam khore
jalam cor palit zanahi khauf khudao kore
bas hun hor na kaih kujh hashim jio rabb rakkhe raihna
eh gall nahi fakira layak bura kise da kaihna.

(Say and hear the real description, Hashim, of the kings of the present time; through their tyranny the screams of sorrowful angry hearts have reached the heavens. Their faces are like those of men, but they are monsters, man-eaters, cruel thieves and impure adulterers, unmindful of God's terror. Enough! now say nothing more, Hashim; live as God keeps. It behaves not the faqirs to speak ill of any one.)

Hashim lived between A.D. 1753 and 1823-4, and this description may be of the Sikh Misaldars who became masters of the Panjab from A.D. 1769. We, therefore come to the conclusion that Hashim was neither a raj-kavi nor on intimate terms with Faqir 'Aziz-ud-din, and that if ever he received consideration from Ranjit Singh and his minister, it was during his *misaldari* before A.D. 1801.

Hashim, it appears, had a good education and must have studied Persian and Arabic. His knowledge of these languages, in the words of Sir Richard Temple, is apparent in his fondness for interlarding (and thereby spoiling) his poetry with Arabic and Persian words and phrases. Muhammadan belief in Hindu superstition.

The poet is absolutely silent about himself, and we have to remain content with the little we know. One thing that we gather from Hashim's verse is that he was an earnest seeker after God and was persuaded of the truth of Sufi doctrines by the condition of the world around him. It is a remarkable fact that all Sufis of the philosophic school who lived between 1740 and 1850 were pessimistic regarding material welfare and very anxious about the welfare of the soul. This pessimism, it seems was a natural consequence of constant warfare in the land.

Who was Hashim's *pir* and when he met him is unknown, though we read a few verses in his praise. Probably, he had recognized and praised as *pir* the person who had created his interest in Sufi doctrines.

In Hashim's poems, there is no exposition of any Sufi doctrines or allusion to his adherence to any particular sect. He had taken Sufism as an established belief. His reader is supposed to know it or his poems remain somewhat unintelligible or are mistaken for romantic or pious poetry. The poet, however, refers frequently to Mansur, and sometimes to others like Shamsi Tabriz.

His prosody is Panjabi throughout, though as stated above his vocabulary abounds in Hindi, Persian, and Arabic words. These words often occur in their original form, but sometimes also in their corrupted Panjabi versions. He wrote the following books : *Qissa Shiri Farhad, Qissa Sohni Mahival, Qissa Sassi-Punnu, Gyan Prakash,* and *Dohre.*

Of these, *Sassi-Punnu* and *Dohre* are his two master-pieces and have been issued in many editions in various scripts of the Panjab. *Sassi Punnu* was even transliterated in Roman characters with a *resume* in English by Sir Richard Temple.

Gyan Prakash is still wholly unknown to the public. But Lala Kali Das, a living Panjabi poet of Gujranwala, asserts that he possessed a manuscript copy of this work of Hashim, which

unfortunately was lost by a friend to whom he had lent it for study. According to him the work was purely philosophic and was in Hindi. We hope to trace it some day. The *Sohni* of Hashim is not very popular. This is the only work of which a manuscript has been found.

Shiri Farhad has also gained fame for the poet, but in popularity it stands nowhere near *Sassi-Punnu*. *Sassi-Punnu* and *Dohre* are his best works as regards sentiments and terseness and it is for this reason that they have attained unrivalled popularity.

Before we enter on the study of these two works, it would be only fair to say that there is no visible inequality in workmanship in the different works of Hashim. The only visible difference is in thought. We presume that he wrote his best works at an advanced stage when his thought had matured. This work is avowedly based on the Sindhi story of Sassi. The subject had been treated before by two Panjabi poets.

Hashim's work, however, differs from that of his predecessors, the main difference being that his central idea was to describe the true love of the hero and heroine, and so, unlike them, he very cleverly skimmed over local customs, class prejudices, and marriage, with its accompanying ceremonies. He concentrated all his thought on the description of their love and succeeded in relating it in a most impressive manner.

The work begins with the customary few lines in praise of God. These are followed by a couplet which explains the object of his writing this verse.

> *Sun sun baut sassi dia bata kamil ishk kamaya*
> *hashim jo satt thi att kita vahim utte vall aya.*
>
> (Hearing many tales about Sassi and the love she fulfilled, what was true and was truly upheld, Hashim became possessed with the idea (of writing the story).

The poet then opens the story by telling that Adam, the Jam of Bhambor, was a great and just ruler. He bestowed rich gifts on the poor and the holy for having a child. After long years a daughter was born to his wife and was called Sassi. Astrologers prophesied that :

> *Kamil ishk sassi tan hosi jab hogu juan siani*
> *mast bihosh thala vicc marsi dard firak ranjhani.*
>
> (Perfect love will come into Sassi's body when she grows and attains youth. Enamoured, fainting in the desert, she will die of the sorrow of separation's pain.)

And then

> *Hashim dag lage us kul nu jagg vicc hog kahani.*
>
> Hashim, (thereby) to her family will disgrace come (when) it (her love) becomes a public story.

The parents, anxious to save the family from this predicted disgrace, suppressed their sentiments and, tying a talisman round her neck, put Sassi in a wooden chest, inlaid with precious stones and filled with treasure, and launched it into the river. In the Sindhi story Sassi was a Brahmin's daughter. On her birth the astrologers foretold that she would marry a Muhammadan and would die in the desert pining for his love.

This version appears to be more comprehensible, but Hashim being a Sufi could not attach importance to trifling religious differences on the path of love. A washerman, Atta by name, was working on the bank of this river. He saw the box, and jumping into the stream he caught it and brought it ashore. Surprised at the sight of such a treasure, he opened it and was even more surprised to find it contained a baby girl.

He took her to his wife and they brought her up as their own child. Sassi grew up into a beautiful woman. Many a washerman suitor came to wed her but she refused them all. This enraged a relative of Atta who presented himself at the Jam's court and told him that Atta's daughter was worthy of him.

The Jam would have been a very old man and it is for this reason that the enraged relative, to revenge himself, wanted him to marry the youthful Sassi. The Jam sent a messenger

to bring Sassi to his court. Sassi did not go but handed him the talisman. When the Jam saw it, he and his wife were deeply touched. They invited Sassi to come back, but she proudly refused to do so.

Now it so happened that a rich man of Bhambor had made lovely gardens in which he hung portraits of kings and princes. Sassi along with her friends visited these gardens. Seeing the portrait of the prince of Kecem she became enamoured of him. She returned home sad and could neither sleep nor rest. She then wrote to her royal father to grant her lands at the spot where the Bilocis entered Bhambor and to give orders that none should pass without seeing her first. The request was granted and she built a garden house there.

It so happened that the Biloc merchants who came to trade from Keem paid their customary respects to Sassi. On inquiry she was told that hey knew Punnu, the Kecem prince who was their brother. Thereupon she imprisoned them all, letting two go back to their country. These two mounted their camels and reached the court of Ali the father of Punnu in all haste.

They told him all that had happened and demanded help. 'Punnu will not go whatever may happen to the merchants, said the Chief. Disappointed, the merchants waited on Punnu and related to him the beauty of Sassi and the interest she took in him. This made him curious and he left for Bhambor with his men. Reaching the city one night he entered Sassi's gardens.

Ordering the camels to graze in the gardens, he slept on the flower-bed which was always kept ready for Sassi. The gardeners informed their mistress of the destruction of the gardens and Sassi with her friends came to chastise the trespassers. But when she saw Punnu lying in her flower bed her anger turned to joy. Their eyes met and they fell in love. Punnu then lived happily with her and the prisoners and his companions were asked to return to Kecem. When 'Ali came to know of his son's behaviour, his sorrow was great and he was very unhappy. His other sons thought of a device to bring their brother home to their father. Taking sweet wine with them they came to visit Punnu at Bhambor. Sassi and Punnu arranged great festivities in their honour.

After dinner the guests offered them wine, which had its effect and they fell fast asleep. The brothers thereupon mounted their camels and, taking with them the sleeping Punnu, set out on their journey to Kecem. In the morning Sassi woke up to find that her Punnu had gone. She was sad and inconsolable. In vain her adopted mother impressed upon her that her low social status was the cause of Punnu's dramatic departure.

Madness overcame her and she left barefooted for the kingdom of 'Ali. The heat of the sun and the burning sands soon scorched her tender feet and, shouting the name of her beloved Punnu, she fell dead. A shephered who saw her dying was so much impressed by her death that he became a *faqir*. He buried her ashes and became their guardian.

The spirit of Sassi met Punnu in a dream and told him that she had given her life for him. He woke up to find himself in his parents' house. At once he prepared to return to his love, but his parents, brothers, and the tribesmen would not let him go. Helpless, he drew his sword and was about to strike himself dead when the parents gave in. Praying God that he might find Sassi happy he set off.

When he reached her grave and saw the shepherd *faqir* sitting near by, he inquired of him the name of the saint whom he had buried. It is only saints and *faqirs* who die and are buried in deserts. Ordinary people rarely go to such lonely places. It is not a saint but a peerless beauty who died crying for Punnu, replied the *faqir*. Punnu at once swooned dead on the grave, which opened, and put out two arms to receive him.

We will now let Hashim speak from his Sassi. The adopted mother of Sassi, hearing of her fate, comes to console her and advises her to forget Punnu, the source of her suffering.

Dhoban ma nasihat kardi a dhia pau rahi
dhoban zat kamini kar ke chor gaye tudh tahi

bhaj bhaj pher use val daure laj aje tudh nahi
hashim vekh dukkha val pake ghund biloc balai.

The *dhoban* mother gives counsel, Daughter, come to the true path. Considering the washermen's caste low, they (Punnu and his brothers) have left you. Again and again towards him you run, still you have no shame. Hashim, throwing a veil on see your sufferings; the Biloc is an evil spirit.

To this and other good counsels Sassi replied with firm determination :

Marsa mul na mursa jan tali par dharsa
jad takk jan rahe vice tan de marno mul na darsa
je rabb kuk sassi di sunsi ja palla us pharsa
hashim nahi shahidan hoke thal maru vicc marsa.

I will die, but will not return at all from my path, I will place my life on the palm of my hand. So long as life remains in my body , death in the least I will not fear. If God will hear the cries of Sassi then I will go and seine his skirt. Or else becoming a martyr, Hashim, in sandy land I shall perish.

The dramatic fashion in which Punnu was carried off and the counsels of her mother and others almost maddened her and she followed her beloved. The heat in the desert was unbearable, and Sassi could not continue any further; yet she would not return :

Camki an dupaihra vele garmi garm behare
tappdi va vage asmano pancchi mar utare
atash da daria khalota thal maru vicc sare
hashim pher picchah na mur di lu lu hot pukare
najak pair gulab sassi de maihdi nal shangare
balu ret tape vicc thal de jiu jau bhunnan bhatthiare
suraj bhaj varia vicc badali darda lishak na mare
hashim vekh yakin sassi da sidko mul na hare.

(At midday the heat of the hot season increased. Burning air blew from the sky, felling the birds and killing them. A river of fires was flowing all over the sandy desert. Hashim, still she did not turn back, each pore of hers was calling the Hot. The delicate rose-like feet of Sassi with heena beautified, were in the hot sand of the desert like as roast barley in an oven. The sun ran, and in clouds hid himself, through fear he did not shine; Hashim, behold the trust of Sassi, in truth she did not fail.)

A short while before her death in the desert sands the helpless Sassi, losing self-control, curses the thieves of her Beloved :

Shala rahin kiamat tai nal sula de lurke
hashim maran kumaut bidesi, lun vangu khur khur ke.

(Please God, till resurrection's day, with acute pains affected, Hashim, may the foreigners die an unnatural death, like salt slowly melting.)

She even curses the camels which carried Punnu away from Bhambor, and the caravan :

Orak vakat kaihar dia kuka sun patthar dhal java
jis daci mera punnu kharia shala oh dozakh vicc jave
ya us nehu lage vicc birho vang sassi jar jave
hashim maut pave karvana tukhm zamino jave.

(At last hearing the cries of woe even a stone would melt. The camel which has carried my Punnu away, please God, may she go to hell, or may she in love's separation suffer and like Sassi be burnt. Hashim, may death on the caravan fall and from earth their seed disappear.)

When Punnu inquired of the shepherd about the newly-made grave he replies:

Akkhe oh fakir punnu nu khol hakikat sari
ahi nar pari di surat garmi mari vicari
japp di na punnu da ahi dard ishk di mari
hashim nam makan na jana ahi kaun vicari.

(To punnu that *faqir* relates, opening the whole truth: It was a women, image of a nymph, dead because of heat, poor thing, repeating the name of Punnu and of love's pain she died, Hashim; her name and house I do not know, nor who the poor one was.)

How Punnu dies at this tragic news is told as follows:

Gali sun hot zimi ne digga kha kaleje kani
khulh gai gor pia vicc kabare pher mile dil jani
khattar ishk gai ral mitti surat husan janani
hashim ishk kamal sassi da jagg vicc rahi kahani.

(Hearing that speech, with heart's cramp, the Chief fell to the earth, the grave opened and he fell into the grave and the lovers met again. For the sake of love the woman's beauteous image mixed with dust : the story of Sassi's perfect love, Hashim, remains in the world.)

Hashim in his *Sassi-Punnu* expresses his Sufism in the same manner as Jami expressed his in *Yusaf Zulaikha.* But in the *Dohre* he is a pure Sufi and sings about his inner mystic emotions. *Dohre* has procured for him the love of the pious and the esteem of the learned. With his *Dohre* Hashim can demand a place next to Bullhe Shah. Like him not anxious to gain power and position, and, unlike Bahu, free from all fetters of sanctity of pirhood and khalifaship, he wrote down the ideas which occupied his mind.

By the work Dohra the reader might be misled and believe it to be a Hindi verse-form, which it is not. The *dohre* of Hashim are different from *dohre* in Hindi and can be classed in two groups.

Those of the first group are somewhat like the Hindi verse form called *chands* and are 208 in number. Those belonging to the second group are called *diore* and not *dohre. Diora* is an old Panjabi verse form. As a rule, it is employed in folk-poetry, but in some rare cases poets have also used it.

Among the Sufi poets, Hashim was the first to adopt it. But his *diora* poems called *diore* are few in number. There are only seven, published along with his *Dohre* at Lahore and entitled *Dohre Hashim Shah* or *Darya-i Haqiqat.*

We now proceed to give a few specimens of Hashim's dohre and diore.Hashim reproaches love, calling him weak and old, for his inability to break the shackles of shame, i.e. convention, tied round the poet's feet.

Ja farihad bike te ayo ottho ca pahar curayo
mere pair janjir haya da, ohnu mul na ca turayo
ishka zor nahi vicc tere sacc akkh budhapa ayo
hashim log karan gam aive asi bhet tera hun payo.

(When Farhad was being sold then you came and from there stole the mountain, (but) the chain of shame (convention) round my feet you have not at all broken. Love, you have no strength in you, say the truth (that) old age has come (on you), Hashim, people worry uselessly, we now have found out your secret.)

Hashim explains the difference between the so-called lovers of God and the real lovers or seekers, as :

Rabb da ashak hon sukkhala eh baut sukkhali bazi
gosha pakar rahe ho sabar phar tasabi bane namazi
sukkh aram jagat vicc sobha ate vekkh hove jagg razi
hashim khak rulave galia te eh kafir ishk mazazi.

(To be a lover of God is easy, it is a very easy game; simply sit patiently in a corner, seize a rosary and say the prayers. Thus will come rest, comfort and fame in the world and the people will be pleased on seeing them; (but) Hashim, this heathen love makes the unbeliever roll in the dust of the streets.)

Hashim believed that those alone could realize love who had renounced all religion and faith, as:

Jis vicc jang birho da pia tis nal lahu mukh dhota
shama jamal dittha parvane ate an shahid khalota
ja mansur hoya madmata tadh suli nal parota
hashim iskh aih jeha milia jin din mazhab sabh dhota.

(One in whom the battle of separation has commenced, he has washed his face with blood. The moth saw the glory of the candle and coming, stood a martyr. When Mansur was filled with divine passion then he was threaded to the cross. Hashim, such souls alone have attained love, who washed off (gave up) all *faith and* religion.)

What happens after love has taken root in the human heart is well explained here :

Tor janjir shariyat nass da jad raccada ishk majazi
dil nu cot laggi jis din di asa khub sikhi rind bazi
bhaj bhaj ruh vare butt-khanne ate zahir jism namazi
hashim khub parhaya dil nu ais baith ishk de kazi.

(The soul) breaks the chain of law and hastens to create heathen love. From the day my heart has felt the blow (of love) I have learnt well licentiousness (because) again and again my soul enters the idol-house, but outwardly my body is at prayers. Haashim, being installed (in the heart), this qazi of love has well taught my heart.)

We give below a few more *dohre* which express faithfully Hashim's various mystic ideas.

Zahd ibadat cahe vekkhe nahi hargiz dhiyan na karda
Shah Mansur carhaya suli ate yusaf kitto su barda
kis gall de vicc razi hove koi bhed nahi ais gall da
hashim be parvahi kolo mera har vele jiu darda.

(The orthodox wants adoration (of God) but sees Him not, and pays no attention at all: he raised Shah Mansur on the cross and made Joseph a slave. By what may he be pleased ? There is no secret in this matter. Hashim, my heart is ever afraid of his indifference.)

Dil soi jo sej sajjan de nit khun jigar da pive
nain soi jo as daras di nit rahan hamesha khive
dil be dard biadhi bhariya shala oh har kise na thive
hashim so dil jan rangila jahra dekkh dila val jive.

(That alone is the heart which ever on the Beloved's bed drinks its own heart's blood. Those alone are eyes which remain ever drunk. An unsympathetic heart is full of disease, God grant everyone may not possess it. Hashim, know that heart to be pleasure-loving which lives by looking at the heart.)

Har har post de vicc dost oh dost rup vatave
dost tak na pahuce koi eh post cah bhulave
dost khas pachane tai jad post khak relave
hashim shah jad dost pave tad post val kad jave.

(In every poppy-head is the Friend and that Friend changes his guise. No one reaches that Friend, this poppy-head makes one forget the desire for Him. Then alone is the Friend recognized when the poppy-head is placed in the dust. Hashim Shah, when the Friend is found then who will go to the poppy-head ?)

Ved katab parhan caturai ate jab tab sadh banave
bhagave bhes karan kis karan oh man da khot lukave
murakh ja vare us vehre ate aukhad janam gavave
hashim mukat nasib jihna de soi dard manda valave.

(Reading of the Ved and the Book is a trick, because now and again it will make (the reader) a knower; what is the guise of a recluse for ? It hides impurity of heart. The ignorant enters that courtyard (path) and wastefully passes his life; Hashim, for whom salvation is destined, they come to sufferers.)

Before closing this account, we will give one of Hashim's *diora*. It will clearly show the difference between dohra and *diora*:

Mahi par aram na mainu, mai mutthi teg nazar di, tarle kardi
sohni khavar hoi jagg sare, jo rat same jhana tardi, zara na dardi
haye bani lacar sohni mai fira bahane kardi, ghat na tardi
hashim siddak sohni da vekkho ate hikmat jadu gardi, parakh mitardi.

(The Beloved is across (the river), no rest for me, I am lost, deceived by the glance's sword, I beseech (him). Sohni is straitened in the whole world who at night swims the Chenab and without the least fear. Ah I, Sohni, becoming despondent, am wandering, making excuses but do not swim across. Hashim, see the sincerity of Sohni and see in her the skill of a magician and the discrimination of a friend.)

Hashim was multi-purpose personality we find the touch of Sufism in the poetry of Hashim Shah. Some of the romantic ballads written by Hashim Shah have attracted the attention of many people.

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Hilal, Saiyid (d. 1457A.D.)

In Kashmir, Naqshbandi order was introduced by Saiyid Hilal, who arrived there in the reign of Sultan Sikander (1389-1413). The country of Saiyid Hilal's origin is not known; he is said to have been a direct disciple of Khwaja Bahau'd-Din Muhammad Naqshband. He lived a quiet life and died on 14th Rabi'u'l-Auwal, 861/9th February, 1457, at the village of Asham, north of Kashmir, where he had settled down.

Saiyid Hilal left only one disciple, named Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known in Kashmir as "Wusi-Sahib", the name derived from his *name de Plume* "Waisi". He hailed from the celebrated Baihaqi family, and was the second son of Saiyid Husain Baihaqi or Mantiqi. Saiyid Amin had received his early education from Haji Ibrahim Adham. When Saiyid Hilal arrived in Kashmir, Saiyid Amin became his disciple and received initiation into the Naqshbandi order.

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Husain, Madho Lal (1539A.D. — 1593/4A.D.)

Husain was born in A.H. 945 (A.D.1539) in Lahore. His ancestors, says the author of *Tazkira*, were originally Kayastha Hindus who embraced Islam in the time of Feroz Shah. But Baba Buddh Singh is of opinion that his great-grandfather or grandfather, who became a Mussulman, belonged to the *dhata* clan of the Rajputs.

Under what circumstances Husain's family fonfessed the Muhammadan creed is not known. All that we know is that at the birth of Husain, the family was sunk deep in poverty. His father, who was called *nau shaikh'* Usman, was a weaver. Husain never learned this trade, but on account of his father being engaged in the industry, Fard Faqir in has *Kasab-Nama Bafind-gan* says:

> *Par is kasabe de vice bahute alam phazal hoai*
> *Par shah husain kabir jo aye dargah ja khaloai.*
> (Thought in this profession many learned ones had been, Shah Husain and Kabir who came (in the profession) went and stood at the door (of God).

Husain was put under the charge of Abu-Bakr at a very tender age and became a *hafiz* when he was ten years old. Then Shaikh Bahlol of Ciniot (Chiniot, Jhang district), who learnt the doctrine of *fana* from a Sufi of Koh-Panj-Shir came to Lahore and made Husain his own disciple.

After a few years, Shaikh Bahlol returned from Lahore and left Husain to continue his study of the *Sufi* practices at the shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh in *Lohor*. For twelve years he served the ashes of the *pir* and followed the strict Qur'anic discipline. He is said to have spent many a night in a

standing posture in the river Ravi, repeating the Qur'an.

At twenty-six, he left that *pir* and became a student of Sa'd-ullah, with whom he read many a book on Sufism. Sometime after this, as he was coming out of the house of his teacher with his fellow-students, he thought he had found the secret of God. Happy at his success he threw in the well the Qur'an which he had in his hand, but his companions were enraged at this act of heresy.

He, thereupon, ordered the book to come out. It came, and to the surprise of his companions it was as dry as before. Hereafter Husain, discarding all rules and regulations, began to dance, sing, and drink. He became a mystic. The excesses of Husain became scandalous and reached the ear of Shah Bahlol at Ciniot. The Shaikh was so much upset that he journeyed to Lahore to see things for himself.

His talks with his disciple convinced him of his saintliness and he went back satisfied to his native town. Husain wore a red dress and came to be known as Lal Husain or Husain the Red. Husain was very fond of dancing and singing and mixed freely in the company of dancers and musicians.

The Qadiris, to whose sect Husain belonged, generally loved music and dancing which, they thought, helped them in their divine contemplations, but they never went to the extreme which Husain reached. Husain shaved clean his moustache and beard and refused, according to the author of *Hasanat-ul-'arifin*, to accept those persons as disciples who were unwilling to shave their faces.

This idea of Husain and his neglect of the religious duties of a Mussulman aroused suspicion, and some officials thought of punishing him; but by pointing out to them their own neglect of religious duties, Husain escaped punishment. Lal Husain was fortunate to have been born, to live, and to die during the reign of Emperor Akbar whose fondness for religious men and especially the Sufis was proverbial. Akbar, it appears from the writings of Dara Shikoh, knew Husain. Prince Dara writes: 'Prince Salim and the ladies of Emperor Akbar's harem believed in his supernatural powers and entertained respect for him.'

The *Tahqiqat-i-Cishti* states that Prince (later Emperor) Salim was greatly attached to the saint and appointed Bahar Khan, an officer, to record his daily doings. These records, which were regularly submitted for the perusal of the Prince, were later on compiled together with the sayings of the saint and were named *Baharia*. The *Baharia* is said to be replete with incidents relating to the supernatural power of the saint.

Having become a Sufi, Husain began preaching in public. A Brahman boy of Shahdara, a village across the Ravi, frequented these religious seances and showed keen interest in his teachings. This attracted the attention of the saint, who soon became attached to the handsome youth. This attachment developed so much and so rapidly that if on any day Madho failed to come, Husain would walk down to his house.

This sort of friendship was not liked by the parents, who tried to dissuade their son from meeting Husain, but to no effect. Desirous of separating their child from the Sufi, they proposed to take him to the Ganges on a certain festival day. When Madho informed the saint of his impending departure, he was much distressed and begged the boy not to go with his parents. However, he promised Madho a bath in the company of his parents on the appointed day.

Madho thereupon refused to accompany his parents, who proceeded alone to Hardvar. After a few days, the saint asked the boy to close his eyes, and when he did so, Madho found himself on the banks of the Ganges along with his parents who had reached there by that time. After the bath, he discovered that he was back in his house at Shahdara.

On their return the parents confirmed their son's statement that he bathed with them on the appointed day. This miracle, says tradition, so much impressed Madho that he confessed

the Muhammadan faith and became a Mussulman. Another story about Madho's conversion is that the attachment of Husain for Madho was disagreeable to the parents and created suspicion in the people's mind.

But Husain, unmindful of all, would go to the boy's house when he was prevented from visiting him. Very often the parents would tell him that Madho was absent and Husain would return disappointed. One day when he had been refused permission to see the boy, he walked down to his house for the second time. On reaching the place he saw people weeping and wailing.

On inquiry, he was told that Madho was dead. The Faqir laughed aloud and walking to the dead body exclaimed : 'Get up, Madho, why do you sleep at this hour? Get up and see I am waiting for you.' Upon this, continues the story, Madho jumped on his feet and followed Husain out of his parental house, never to return there again, and became a Musalman.

Both these versions of Madho's conversion are legendary and most probably untrue and of later origin, because how could a Sufi of Husain's type who disregarded traditional precepts convert his beloved friend to Islam?

Secondly, since Madho did not change his Hindu name, it is certain that he was not converted to Islam.

To our mind the truth appears to have been as follows: that Madho, convinced of Husain's saintliness, was attached to him in the same manner as the saint was to him, and consequently, ignoring the rules of his own society, became his disciple and ate and drank with his spiritual guide.

Such behaviour would surely have offended the conservative Hindus who, on this account, excommunicated him and turned him out of their social fold. Thus secluded, the unfortunate Madho had no choice but to go and live with his master as his friend and disciple. Thousands of such adherents were unhesit-atingly given by the Hindus to Islam and Madho no doubt had been one of these forced converts.

Madho later on was known as Shaikh Madho and his name came to be prefixed to that of the saint, who to this day is known as Madho Lal Husain. The love of Husain for Madho was unique, and he did all that lay in his power to please the boy.

Once, seeing his co-religionists celebrating *holi* and being desirous of doing the same, he brought some gulal (pinkish-red powder) and threw it on Husain. Husain at once joined him in the fun. Basant or the spring festival, like Holi, was also celebrated each year by Lal Husain to please Madho.

Madho Lal Husain was held in great respect by the people, and the Hindus, though they seem to have turned Madho out of their fold, could not master their credulous beliefs in the supernatural miracle-performing power of the saint and esteemed him just as much as their Muslim brethren. The author of *Tazkira* fixes the number of his followers as 90,000; but other people, he says, believed the number of his faithful to reach 1,000,000.

The same authority is responsible for the statement that Husain's *gaddis,* sixteen in number, are scattered all over India. Four of these sixteen seats are called *Garibs* or the poor, the other four are named *Diwans* or the ministers. Three are known as *Khakis* or the ash-smearers, and another four as *Baihlavals,* i.e. entertainers. Nothing is said about the sixteenth.

Husain indulged in wine, and probably it is due to alcohol that he died at the age of 53, a comparatively early age for a saint. His death occurred in A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1593) at Shahdara, where he was duly buried. A few years later, as predicted by the saint, the grave was swept away by an overflow of the Ravi. Thereupon Madho exhumed the corpse and carried it to Baghbanpura, where it was buried with pompous formalities.

After his death, Madho was buried by his side. Latif describes the tomb as follows: The tomb is situated north of the village of

Baghbanpura. There are signs of two tombs on a high platform, one of Madho and the other of Lal Husain, the actual tombs being in an underground chamber.

The platform is surrounded by a wall with a gateway to the south. Between the platform and the surrounding wall is a space left for the devotees to go round ,-the platform being lined on all sides with lattice-work of red stone. North of the enclosure is a tower in which is reverentially kept the impression of the prophet's feet *(Qadam-i-Rasul)* and to the west is a mosque. This mosque was constructed by Mora, a Muhammadan wife of Ranjit Singh.

Lal Husain appears to have had friendships among the holy men of his time. He was an intimate friend of Chajju Bhagat who, the tradition says, called him Shah Husain for the first time. He met Guru Arjun whenever he came to Lahore. We, however, cannot find any historical evidence to support the assertion of Baba Buddh Singh, who states that when Arjun was compiling the *Adi Granth,* Husain submitted his verses to him for inspection, but the Guru, disapproving them, refused to insert them in the *Granth.*

Husain's poetry, if we may be permitted to say so, is in no way inferior to that of many others found in the body of the Granth, nor would a free Sufi like Husain care to have his verses inserted in the book of a sect then not so popular as it was to be after a few years.

Husain's Sufiism was of a peculiar type and presented a curious medley of Persian and Indian Sufism. In his mystic ideas and beliefs, he was more Indian than anything else, but in his daily life he followed the style of the Persian Sufis.

Husain has left no poetic works. His only work is a number of *kafis* of a highly mystic type.

His verse is written is simple Panjabi, slightly overlaid with Persian and Arabic words. It excels in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Ibrahim Farid's Panjabi. It lacks the brilliancy of Urdu poetry but is remarkable for its just proportion of words and powerful sense of rhyme. His versification is smoother, his similes more relevant, and his words simpler but more effective than those of Ibrahim.

His poetry is of a less orthodox type but is not as saturated with Indian thought as would be the poetry of Bullhe Shah. Like his character, his poetry is a curious mixture of Sufi, Indian, and foreign thought. The essential feature of his poetry which strikes the reader is that it is highly pathetik and, piercing the heart, creates a mystic feeling.

Husain's peculiarity of character is also reflected in his poetry. He believes in *fana* but does not seem to accept the doctrine of *ana'l-Haqq* without which *fana* is not comprehensible. As we shall see presently, he spent his life in search of the Beloved whom he knew to be present everywhere but whom he could not see.

His excessive love for Madho also proves that he did not reach those heights which Bullha attained. Husain believed in the theory of karma, but on a rational Panjabi basis, as :

Dunia to mar javana vatt na avana
Jo kich kitta bura bhala te kitta apana pavana.
(From the world one parts as dead not to return again; whatever actions wrought (be) right or wrong, according to them he shall obtain.)

Husain insists on good *karmas* so much that several of his poems are composed to express that belief. For example:

Tari sai rabba ve mai augan hari
sabh saiya gunvantia, tari sai rabba ve mai augan bari
bheji si jis bat nu piari ri soi mai bat bisari
ral mil saiya daj rangaya piari ri mai rahi kuari
mai sai te parbat dar de, piari ri mai kaun vicari kahe husain sahelio ni amala bajb khuari.
(Save, O master God, me full of faults; all friends possess qualities (good karmas), save me, full of faults. The object for which (I) was sent, O dear that alone I ignored; gathering together (for spinning) my friends, O dear, have had their trousseaux dyed (for marriage) ; I am left unmar-

ried (for not possessing a dowry). Of my master (God) the mountains are afraid, poor creature, what am I ? Husain says, O friends, without qualities there is but disaster.)

Husain believed in *samsara.* This belief he appears to have borrowed from the Sikhs, a rational Bhagvat order founded at the end of the fifteenth century by Nanak Dev. The founder of this sect had endeavoured to bring *samsara* to the state of a science and, like the *Ajivikas,* professed that the wheel of *samsara* contained eighty-four thousand species of life, each of which in its turn possessed millions and millions of others. But Husain fails to have a clear grasp when he enters the details. His idea is vague, as:

Vatt nahi avana bholiai maai
eh vari vela eh vari da
is caupat de caurasi khanne
jug vichare mil cota khade
ki jana ki pausi da.

(Soul) has not to come again (as human being), O innocent mother, this turn of time (human birth) is only for this turn (life) ; this chess board (samsara) comprises eighty-four squares (species) ; once separated after sufferings (of 84 species) is union (in God); what do I know that which (soul) obtains (after death in present life)?

Below is an exquisite example in pathetic, soul-stirring words of the sufferings of Shah Husain's soul separated from the Universal Soul:

Dard vichore da hal ni mai kehnu akkha
sula mar divani kitti birahu pia khial, ni mai kehnu akkha
jangal jangal phira dhudedi aje na aya mahival, ni mai kehnu akkha
Dhukhan dhue shaha vale japhola ta lal, ni mai kehnu akkha
kahe husain faqir rabbana, vekh nimania da hal, ni mai kehnu akkha.

(The story of the pain of separation, O to whom shall I narrate, these pangs have made me mad, this separation is in my thought ; from jangal to jangal I roam searching, yet my Mahival has not come. The smouldering fire has black flame, whenever I stir (it), I see the Lal ; says Shah Husain, God's faqir, behold the lot of the humble ones.)

Husain explained the reason of his ecstatic dancing which was against the precepts of the established Mussulman beliefs and perhaps against the injunctions of the *Qur'an* also:

Shak gia beshaki hoi ta mai augan nacci na
je shahu nal mai jhumar pava sada suhagan sacci ha
jhuthe da muh kala hoya ashak di gall sacci hai
shak gia beshaki hoi ta mai augan nacci ha.

(The doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance. If I play (thus) with the Beloved I am ever a happy woman. The liar's face (he who accused) has been blackened and the lover's statement has been proved true ; because the doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance.)

Here is a *kafi* in which Shah Husain describes, in a short but forceful manner, the sarcasm of the public about his unique ways, and expresses his determination to continue his search for the divine Beloved:

Rabba mere augan citt na dhari
augan hari ko gun nai andaro fazal kari
dunia valia nu dunia da mana nanga nu nang loi
na asi nang na dunia vale sanu hass di jani kani
kahe Husain fakir sai da sadi dadhe nal bani.

(O God do not mind my faults ; full of faults (I) without quality;- from within show compassion (enlightenment). To the worldly the pride of the world, to the recluse renunciation is a cover. Neither a recluse I nor worldly (therefore) whosoever laughs at me; says Shah Husain, God's faqir, my friendship is made with the Terrible One (God)).

It appears that Husain never attained the stage of Union. He ever longed to meet God and merge himself in Him. The sentiment that his Beloved was separated from him by his own illusion or ignorance so much overpowered his soul that he sang of his pains of separation in a

wonderfully touching manner. This pathos has a very lasting effect on the mind of the reader. No other Sufi can beat Husain in this respect. Here, we give one such poem:

Sajjan bin rata hoia vaddia
mas jhare jhar pinjar hoya kankan geia haddia
ishk chapaya chappda nahi birho tanava gaddia
rajha jogi mai jogiani, mai ke karchaddia
kahe shah, husain fakir sai da tere daman laggeia.

(Without the friend the nights have become longer, my flesh has fallen, my body has become a skeleton and (then) my bones rattle against each other; love can never be kept hidden, when separation has pitched its camp : Rajha is a Yogi and I his Yogin, what has he done upto me ? Says Shah Husain, God's faqir, I have held Your skirt.)

The following is a true example of Shah Husain's love for intoxicating things. He prays to God to grant him these along with wisdom and contemplation. It clearly shows that he was a pleasure-loving Sufi :

Jeti jeti dunia ram ji tere kolau mangdi
kunda dei sota dei kotthi dei bhang di
safi dei mirca dei be minti dei rang di
posat dei bati dei cati dei khand di
gian dei dhian dei mahima sadhu sang di
shah husain fakir sai da ehi duai malang di.

(All the world (people), O Rama begs from you. Give the kunda and sota and a chamber (full) of bhang; give the cloth and black pepper and measureless colour, give poppy and the cup and a cati of sugar; give wisdom and contemplation and the honour of sadhus, company (says) Shah Husain, the faqir of God, this is the request of a faqir.)

Such was Husain, the unusual Sufi, who lived in the hopes of meeting his departed Beloved, but who utilized the period of waiting in drinking wine and *bhang*.

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Husamud-Din Manik Puri, Shaikh (d.1477 A.D.)

Husamud-Din Manik Puri hailed from Qaza, the district of Purnea in Bihar. He was Khalifa of Nurud-Din Qutb-i-Alam of Bengal. His breechings have been collected in the *Rafique Arafin*. He advocated a strict stoicism and discipline in order to claim the cloak of spiritual succession (*Khirqa-i-Khilafat*). He observed the vow of fast for seven long years continually.

After the completion of this fast, his missionary career began. He was very famous in Bengal and Bihar. The Sufi Order established by him is called Husamiya order. He was active in North Bengal and partly in Bihar. He died at Manikpur (Purnea) in 1477 A.D.

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Husamu'd-Din, Maulana (14th Century)

Maulana Husamu'd-Din of Multan was an eminent *khalifas* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din. A scholar who had mastered the *Hidaya*, he knew the *Ihya 'al'-Ulum* of Ghazali and the *Qutu'l-Qulub* of Abu Talib Makki in great detail. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return stayed in the Kilukhari mosque. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din learnt of his arrival, and sent him his prayer carpet, indicating that he should be visited immediately.

At their meeting, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, knowing that the Maulana had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, told him that it was worthwhile to make two pilgrimages, one for the *hajj* and the other to visit the tomb of the Prophet, rather than combining the two purposes. The remark prompted the Maulana to make a further pilgrimage to Medina, which he began the day after the conversation.

Husamu'd-Din Multani lived in a thatched hut without servants. He was married and had a family. Considering, himself merely a humble *mulla*, he felt he was unworthy to use the title of Shaikh. On his initiation as one of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din's *khalifas* the Maulana requested his *pir's* permission to leave Delhi and withdraw to a lonely place by the river.

The Shaikh, however, replied that he would become too famous if he did this, and people would flock to see him. To his disciple's question regarding the efficacy of accepting loans while awaiting *futuhs*, the Shaikh answered that the only two pretexts on which loans could be accepted were the maintenance of one's family and the entertainment of travellers.

He added, however, the loan seeking and repayment disturbed the spiritual routine of a dervish and that a true ascetic should be totally unconcerned with financial matters. Begging should not be pursued by a dervish and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya, listed two ways of seeking alms, both he believed to be unworthy of an ascetic, particularly the second. The first was begging from door to door, the second involved a withdrawal from the world but a continued mental occupation with the attainment of gifts.

On an occasion when Maulana Husamu'd-Din of Multan asked his *pir* what course should be pursued when requested to perform miracles, the Shaikh's reply was concise: 'A miracle means that one remains steadfast at God's door. If you remain firm of your path, why do you seek miracles?'

The *Khairu'l-Majalis* featured a detailed account of some of the teachings of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din to his eminent disciples, amongst whom was Maulana Husamud-Din Multano. Maulana Jamalu'd-Din Nusratkhani and Maulana Sharafu'd-Din were in the company of the Shaikh when he leaned towards Maulana Husamu'd-Din and stated: 'If one fasts all day and prays the entire night, he does the same as a widow; concentration on God which has enabled holymen to reach Him is something else altogether.' He refused to explain further, but promised to do so on another occasion.

About six months later, Maulana Hasamu'd-Din and the above-mentioned sufis were gathered around their *pir*. At that time Muhammad Katib, a *hajib*, or a chamberlain, of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji and also a disciple, came to the Shaikh, kissed the ground before him and sat down. Afterwards the chamberlain informed the Shaikh that he himself was a member of the court and that the Sultan had distributed large sums of money to the poor.

The Shaikh questioned his disciples on the superior nature of either the Sultan's charity to his people or the fulfillment of a promise, and they all agreed on the latter. Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din then related six conditions which produced

a concentration on God, making it possible for a sufi to realize his goal.

1. One should retire to a lonely cell and leave it for neither company nor change.
2. One should always exist in a state of performing *wuzu* (ablutions). One may sleep when necessary but on rising immediately perform *wuzu* again.
3. Perpetual fasting should be observed.
4. With the exception of *zikr*, constant silence should be practised.
5. *Zikr* should be continually recited at the same time as a recollection in the heart of the presence of one's *pir*.
6. One should expel every thought except that of God.

In 1327, along with other 'ulama' and sufis, Maulana Husamu'd-Din was selected by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq for transference to Daulatabad, and from there he left for Gujarat where he died.

The circumstances under which Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi became associated with Shaikh Nizamu'd-din are reminiscent of those connected with Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya. Fakhru'd-Din was a native of Samana and migrated to Delhi to further his education. He became a student of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din of Hansi who taught him the *Hidaya*, a work on Sunni jurisprudence.

Like other students preparing to become *'alims*, Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi had little faith in sufism and apoke disparagingly of the Chishti sage, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din, a class - mate of zarradi, and a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, persuaded him to visit the great Shaikh. After an'intellectual discussion involving difficulties associated with the *Hidaya* which his teacher, Maulana Fakhru'd-Din, had failed to clarify. Zarradi was awed by the ease with which Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' dealt with the problems. Although, engaged to be married. Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi shaved his head, adopted celibacy and become a follower of the Shaikh.

The Maulana rented a house in front of the *jama'at-khana* where he was close to his *pir*. Although most of his time was spent in prayer, Maulana Zarradi's fame as a scholar spread to Baghdad. When Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din died, he retired to the banks of the Jamna, near a place where Firuz Shah was to build a palace. He later moved to the Hauz-i Khass side of the river, but much of his time was spent travelling to the tombs of his spiritual ancestors in Ajmer and Ajodhan. When in Delhi he dwelt in the hills surrounding the city.

The following is an account of the conflict between Maulana Zarradi and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, from the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*.

In the days when Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was sending people from Delhi to Daulatabad (1326-27) and the intended to seize Turkistan and Khurasan and liquidate the descendants of Chingiz Khan, he summoned all the *sadrs* (religious dignitaries) and other distinguished residents of Delhi and its environs to the court. He ordered splended *bargahs* (tents) to be erected and to place in them pulpits so that he himself might prompt people to *jihad*.

The Sultan summoned Maulana Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i Delhi. Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Dabir, a disciple of Shiakh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' and a student of Maulana Zarradi arranged it so that the Maulana could meet the Sultan before the arrival of the others.

The Maulana did not wish to see the Sultan as he used to say that he could see his head rolling before the court. He was determined not to compromise, and believed that death was imminent. When the Maulana saw the Sultan, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din took the former's shoes, put them under his arms and stood behind him in the manner of a servant.

The Sultan sought the Maulans's cooperation in his scheme of annihilating the descendants of Chingiz. The Maulana said 'God willing'. The Sultan replied: 'These words express doubt.' The Maulana said: 'Only these words

are used for actions relating to the future.' The Sultan was annoyed, but asked the Maulana to counsel him. The Maulana answered: Suppress your anger.' The Sultan asked what was meant by anger. The Maulana replied that beastly anger and signs of ferocity were apparent from the Sultan's forehead. The Sultan, however, remained silent. He ordered the meals to be served.

Both the Sultan and the Maulana began to eat from the same place but it was clear that the Maulana did not like to eat with his ruler. To increase the Maulana's resentment, the Sultan kept serving him meat which he was unwilling to eat. After the meal was over. Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din were summoned. On the departure of all three the Sultan offered each a woolen garment and a purse of *tankas*. Maulana Shamsu'd-Din and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din took the gifts and departed. Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Dabir knew Maulana Zarradi would not accept the gifts, so he himself took them and the meeting concluded peacefully.

The Sultan became indignant at Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din's behaviour but the latter replied that Maulana Zarradi was his teacher and his preceptor's *khalifa*, therefore it was in keeping for him to carry the Maulana's shoes on his head. The Sultan ordered him to give up such blasphemous beliefs or he would be killed, but Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din did not falter from his duty of service to his teachers. Ikhtisan Dabir and men like him would involve Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Dabir in discussion in order to harass him, but he always repayed them in the same manner.

The dangers of being a sufi unwilling to bend to the whims of his temporal lord continued for Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi even after he finally moved to Daulatabad about 1327. There his keen desire to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca became overwhelming. He discussed his proposed journey with the Sadr-i Jahan Qazi Kamalu'd-Din, who was both a relative and a former fellow student.

The Qazi advised him of the dangers of embarking on a *hajj* without the permission of Muhammad bin Tughluq who was unlikely to permit it as he had ordained that all leading sufis and 'ulama' remain in Daulatabad. Amir Khwurd's father, however, advised him to keep his plan secret. Maulana Fakhru'd-Din achieved his ambition to go to Mecca after visiting Pethwan for his nephew's wedding.

On the journey from Mecca, he visited Baghdad where he received a warm reception from its holymen. He remained there for sometime and continued the study of *Hadis*, becoming the acknowledged authority in that field. On the return journey to Daulatabad his ship, overloaded with pilgrims, sank and Maulana Fakhru'd-Din was drowned.

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Husamu'd-Din, Shaikh (d. 1449/50 A.D.)

Shaikh Husamu'd-Din compared the world with the shadow and the world of the future with the sun. If one moved towards a shadow it could never be caught, but if one moved towards the sun, the shadow followed. He advised his disciples to mix with everyone and quarrel with no one. After his initiation, a disciple should not associate with his former rivals for they were likely to mislead him.

A truly obedient disciple was like a white patch on a garment of the same colour. When the garment was washed, the patch also became white and this symbolized the fact that whatever divine grace was received by the *pir*, the disciple also shared. A disciple who did not obey his *pir* received no blessings, was a disciple in name only and could be likened to a

black patch on a white garment. The Shaikh died in 853/1449-50.

Of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din's disciples, three are well known. Shaikh Kamal alias Shaikh Kalu, was a most dedicated sufi and died at Kara, about forty-one miles west of Allahabad. The second, Shah Saidu, was a government servant during his early years. Impelled by the ecstatic urge, he gave away his entire property and became a *khalifa* of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din.

Dressed in his *khirqa* he visited the girl he had loved and told her he had decided to become a dervish, so in order to become his wife she also adopted a life of poverty. The deprivations shared by Shah Saidu, his spiritual teacher, and a co-disciple, named Raji Hamid Shah, were extreme. At one time their entire clothing amounted to one quilted gown.

Dividing the garment into three portions, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri gave the upper and lower parts to the disciples and wrapped himself with the cotton threads. *En route* to the Jami'mosque, the trio were presented with a parcel of sweetmeats. Taking the leaves in which the food was wrapped, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din placed them on his head so it would not be bare in the mosque. Shaikh Saidu was buried in Fathpur Hanswa, a town between Kanpur and Allahabad.

Raji Hamid Shah's ancestors were Saiyids from Gardiz and arrived in Delhi during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish. They received the title 'Raji' from the Muslim community because they came from a long line of saintly and learned men. In his youth Raji Hamid Shah was a soldier, but later he became a disciple of Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri.

His self mortification helped purify his inner soul and confirmed him in his mystical concentration. Although, he had not received a high education, eminent scholars were increasingly drawn to his discipleship. For some time, he lived at Jaunpur but later he retired to Manikpur where he died. The date of his death is not authoritatively known.

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Hussain, Shah (1538A.D. — 1599A.D.)

Shah Hussain is the next important poet after Farid Sani in the chronological order of the Panjabi Vedantic Sufi poets. He was born at Lahore in 1538 AD and lived there till his death in 1599 AD. His grandfather Kalhas was a Hindu. His father Usman was a weaver by profession.

Shah Hussain was a disciple of Shah Bahlol Daryai. He took to *Malamatiya* practices and shaved clean his head, moustaches and beard. He used to take *bhang* and roamed in the bazars in intoxication.

Farid Sani introduced into Panjabi Sufism Hindu pantheism and wifely devotion. Through Shah Hussain a few more elements from Hindu system of Bhakti permeated into Panjabi Sufism. These are the concept of God as Redeemer of the Sinful, the idea of world drama as a sport of God, the practice of attaining steady mind and remembering God by Hindu names. Shah Hussain is almost a Hindu saint in his beliefs.

Shah Hussain is a link between Sheikh Farid and Bulleh Shah. He developed the plant of sufism which was sown by Sheikh Farid. He sang the songs of love, dejection, devotion and separation. Sense of separation in the poetry of Shah Hussain is so deep-rooted that it moves the hearts of readers. Shah Hussain transformed the entire spirit of sufi poetry in the Panjabi litera-

ture. He broadened its sphere from mere philosophical sufism to encompass the whole gamut of man's feelings.

To sacrifice life for the sake of beloved is the real religion, according to Shah Hussain. Without beloved even the night seems to be very long.

He narrates nights are long in lover's separation, body has been reduced to skeleton, even bones are cracking. I could not concede my love by all my efforts. Separation has been rooted deep in my nerves. Lover is that Yogi who has made me ascetic, his love has made me so mad.

Shah Hussain's verse stands as a clear proof of almost complete victory of Indian Bhakti thought over the Ijadic Sufism. But for one point that Shah Hussain does not believe in the doctrine of transmigration of soul, his verse presents him as a Hindu Bhakta. His verse indicates that the influence of the Hindu thought was at the highest peak at his time.

Shah Hussain accepted influence of Indian Bhakti thought through the compositions of Kabir as well as of other important Bhakti literature. Kabir had already earned much name in that period and his works were the source of inspiration for the liberal minded Sufis of northern India. He speaks abundantly in the compositions of Shah Hussain through his similes, metaphors, terminology and ideas.

The poetic illustration of agony caused by separation from God on the lines of the virahini (separated) gopies of Bhagavat cult, the references of Sanval and Sham Sundra of Bindraban and ideas like *khedana* (playing of rasa lila) discern the influence of *Vaishnava* vedantic Bhakti poets, who were exercising great influence in the period of Shah Hussain. Contrary to the Ijadist Sufis who instill fear of death, Shah Hussain suggests a way to eradicate this fear:

Jinhan mera shahu rijhaia tinhan na bhai jam da.
(Those who have pleased my God, need not fear the Angel of Death).

To eradicate the fear of death is the aim of Hinduism oft repeated by Indian Bhaktas like Kabir. Singing of glory of God as the Redeemer of the Sinful is the Hindu doctrine adopted by Shah Hussain. He prays to God not to cast glance on his sins and faults as he is admittedly sinful. As God is the Redeemer of the Sinful, he is fully qualified to be redeemed by God :

Augunihari nun ko gunu nahin;
Bakhshi karain tan main chhuttian.
Je tun nazar miher di bhalen,
Charhi chaubare main suttian.
Rabbao mere auguni chit na dharin;
Auguniari nun ko gun nahin lun lun aib bhari.

The efficaciousness of Satsang (the company of Godly persons) has also been admitted by Shah Hussain. The Muslims and the Sufis believe that the soul is buried along with the body in the grave. The Indian view is that the soul leaves the body and flies away like a bird. Shah Hussain though believes that the *ruh* (soul) is buried along with the body and it goes to God through the gate of the grave, yet under the influence of Hunduism, he comments on the death that the *bhaur* (black bee, a symbol for the soul) flies away from the body:

Piare lal kia bharvasa dam da;
Udia bhaur thia pardesi,
agge rahu agam da.

A few examples are given below in which Shah Hussain has borrowed ideas from Kabir :

Shah Hussain:

Vichhure tan man bahur na mela,
jiun taruvar tutte pat.
(As the leaves after once falling from the tree, never go back to it, similarly the self of man, after once leaving the body, never comes back to it.)

Kabir:

Pat jharanta yun kahe, suno taruvar ban rai;
Ab ke bichhure na mile, pari hain dur hi jai.
(The falling leaves address to the tree, "We have now been separated and hereafter we will not meet again.")

Shah Hussain :

Jai ghat ai vasia mera piara,
Uthe duja nahin samanvada.
(In my heart, wherein God dwells, no other thing can get in.)

Kabir:

Chakha chahe prem rasa rakha chaheman;
Ek miyan men do kharag dekha suna na kan.
(Thou wantest to enjoy the pleasure of love on the one hand and to maintain thy I-ness on the other. I have never heard or seen two swords in a sheath.)

Shah Hussain :

Man chahe mahboob ko, tan chahe sukh chain;
Do raje ki sidh men kaise bane Hussain.
Tainu Sahu nal ghunghat keha.
(Thou shouldst remove the veil from the face and see the Beloved, thy Husband.)

Kabir :

Ghaunghat ka pat khol tohe pia milenge.
(Remove the veil, thou wilt see the Husband.)

Shah Hussain:

Mat pita bhai sut banita, nali na koi Janda.
(Mother, father, brothers, sons or wife, nobody would accompany thee to God.)

Kabir :

Mata pita lok sut banita, ant na chale sanga.
(Mother, father, sons wife or the others, none accompanieth the man to God.)

Shah Hussain:

Zahri naga phirani vich galian, Jehri shahu lari laggi so bachchi.
Kahe Hussain suhagani sai,
jo gilthin vandi nachchi.
(The venomous snakes ramble in the streets, Only they will be saved from them who take refuge with God.)

Kabir :

Sarpani sarpani kia kahau bhai;
Jin sach pachania, tin sarpani khai.
(The female serpent (Maya) hath bitten every body in the world and taken its seat in the hearts; Kabir urgeth his followers not to fear the serpent. After realizing God, the seeker can devour up the serpent even.)
Kabir kamani kali nagani, tine lok majhari;
Ram sanehi ubare, dikhai khaye kari.
(The Maya is like a black female serpent, sayeth Kabir. Only the lovers of Rama can escape its deadly venom.)

Shah Hussain's idea of likening himself to a bitch to express humility and complete surrender to God is also a borrowing from Kabir.

Farid's a very few verses show pantheistic colour, but Shah Hussain's every line is imbued with pantheism. On the Vedantic lines he declares that One has appeared as many:

Ape ek anek kahavai, sahib hai bahu rangi.

(The One has appeared in many forms and colours. He is of innumerable colours.)

Asan andar bahar lal hai.

(We have God inside us as well as outside.)

Tane pete ikko sutar, dutia bhao na jana."
[Whether warp or woof, it is the same cotton thread (in the cloth). I do not see anything else.
(The universe may be of many forms, but it is all God and there is no other except Him.)

He draws pictures of his communion and separation on the canvass of pantheism. Wifely devotion implies oneness of essence and the seeker claims oneness in the state of communion. Shah Hussian describes the beings as the branches of the Divine True. God is a tree and the individuals are the branches and the leaves:

Sabhe saluvalion koi iki birakh dian dalian.

As the essence of the tree is pervading in each and every branch, similarly divine essence is pervading in each and every being. Declaring the individuals as the many forms of God, he says, God is the Provider as well as the Consumer:

Tuhin data tuhin bhugata.

It is He Who as a man and other beings consume what is provided by Him as God. The pitchers may be many, but the water that is contained in them is one and the same. He does not denounce even the Mijazis. He appreciates and loves even the Mijaz of the Reality. He urges to realize the Reality in the heart and recommends at the same time to appreciate the beauty as manifested in the universe:

Nahun haqiqat ghin mijazi, doven gallan chhad na bahu ve.

All that is hidden as well as apparent is God and that it is all God that is inside us as well as outside. There is no other existence :

Andar bahar ikka sain Ikka dilbar sabh ghati ravia, Duja nahin kadain.

Andar tun hain bahar tun hain rom rom vich tun.
Tun hain tana tun hain bana sabh kuchh mera tun.

In this way, Shah Hussain is unambiguously a pantheist of essence.

There are a number of utterances which hint at dualism of self and non-self, mind and body, the divine element and the structure of bones and flesh and God and non-God. In this regard, an explanation would be necessary. According to Monism of Vedanta the material aspect of the universe is also God. It also emanates from God in essence but proceeds in a different process. The apparent dualism is of ignorance.

Shah Hussain was not a philosopher, but a practicant. A *salik* is concerned with his immediate self and its identity with the essence of God. His poetry lacks expression of unitive experiences in the multiplicity of the universe as well as in good and evil. However, there is no doubt about his belief that God's essence is present in every body.

A perfect Vedantist Sufi is he who realizes God in His both the aspects-Transcendental as well as Immanent. Shah Hussain, though believes in the immanence of God, yet his object of attainment is the Transcendental God. His Transcendental God is not Absolute or Higher God, but is Personal and Lower. Higher God is indescribable and has no attributes. But the attributes which Shah Hussain's God possesses are of Transcendental God. He is immanent in essence in the sense that the existence has emanated from Him, like the branches of a tree.

The attributes through which his God governs the universe are the possessions of the Transcendental God. God as the Creator, the Omnipotent, the Controller and the Supreme Will is Transcendental. Even after the realization of God or becoming one with Him, no lover can claim to have possessed the powers of Transcendental God.

He may realize the infiniteness of His attributes, but cannot possess any of them in the infinite degree. When it is said that God sees through the eyes of His devotees, hears through their ears, and acts through their hands, it purports only that the devotees realize that their own will is so insignificant that whatever they do, do under the will of God.

Shah Hussain's God is, thus, Transcendental and He inflames the fire of love in the heart of man. He sometimes is displeased with him and leaves him alone. He sends messages of love to him. He knows the pitiable condition of the devotee. He shows grace and redeems him, may he be a sinful. He has a will to govern the universe in the way He likes.

He inflames love in the heart of man out of His grace and not out of necessity. He vouchsafes His Vision only out of His Grace. Shah Hussain developed love with the Carefree Beloved. It is the descended existence which need for life the Higher Existence and not vice versa.

Shah Hussain's God is not confined in the boundaries of Islamic mythology. He ascends to the supramythological level and remembers God with Hindu names like Rama, Hari, Sanval and Krishna also:

Sanval di main bandi bardi, Sanval mainda sai
Sone da kot rupahri chhaje Hari binu jani masan
Kadi uth Ram samar jindu ni.

He becomes Jogan of Kanha of Bindraban and loves Sanval of gopis. He describes the essence of God as light.

There is a striking shift of emphasis in the works of Shah Hussain. If the dominating characteristic of Farid Sani's compositions is fear of death and hell, that of Shah Hussain's works is love. Shah Hussain presents very rarely any horrible descriptions of hell or God's wrath. His references to death are so normal as to simply urge the man to utilise the time of life, which is fleeting like anything and bringing the death nearer and nearer. According to Shah Hussain love is a supreme means to attain God, even superior to fear of God.

Farid urges to remember God's name and to do good deeds. By good deeds he means the performance of religious obligatories and hon-

est and sweet behaviour towards others. But, for Shah Hussain good deeds include only love with God, which consists in remembering God and remaining absorbed in Him all the time. He says that religious obligatories are for those who have not yet lit the fire of love in their hearts.

The performance of religious obligatories is a poor substitute of love for those whose hearts have been lit with the fire of love. Love makes a man so mad and intoxicated that he cannot perform the mechanical processes of the rituals. The fire of love causes afflictions to Shah Hussain.

His love with God is not new, but is eternal since the time his self got separated from Him. All these views are traditional, but Shah Hussain is the first who has discussed them in the Panjabi poetry. However, his personal experiences of love reflect both the states of communion as well as separation.

Shah Hussain's mystical experiences are limited to internal union only. The unitive experience in the external multiplicity is not found in his poetry. In the first experience of communion, he realizes that it is all God and that he does not exist at all:

Main nahin sabh tun.

Fana of self is the first stage of communion. He pierces the veil of ignorance and sees the vision of the Beloved direct:

Parada par ditho ne pritam, dut mue sabh pachchi.

He meets the Beloved in the compound of his heart which appears pompous and illuminated due to the Effulgence of His presence. The essence of the Beloved is light:

Tusin ral mil dehu mumarakhan, mera sohana sajan ghari aia hi.
Vehra tan angan mera bhaia suhavana, mathe mur suhaia hi.

In the state of Fana Shah Hussain declares, "I have become the Beloved. I am no more a lover and no body should now call me a lover. Call me now the Beloved. Wailing upon the name of the Lord, I have become the Lord."

Mahi mahi kukadi main ape Ranjhan hoi,
Ranjhan Ranjhan mainu sabh koi akho Heer na akho koi.
Main ape hoi ape.

These utterances are indicative of the state of Baqa. After enjoying the bliss of communion for some minutes, Shah Hussain feels a new life in him and becomes energetic. He conceives the state of communion as a tank filled with nectar and deplores those who do not care even to have a few drops from it:

Bharia sar nilai, koi buk jhol na pita.

Bulhe Shah's mystical experiences of communion are much richer than those of Shah Hussain. After realizing the internal *Fana*, the former comes out and realizes the state of *Fana* of the outerworld as well. But Shah Hussian enjoys the bliss of internal *Fana* only.

In the state of communion Shah Hussain experiences light and bliss in his mind. This is the highest pinnacle of attainment of internal communion. This appearance of light in the mind coupled with bliss has been described by Shah Hussain as the Vision of God, and identified with the annihilation of the self in God. Since, the internal communion is achieved through concentration of mind by remembering God's name with love, the claim of realization of God, identification of self with Him and self deification are based on the hypothetical deduction and not on objective experience.

Shah Hussain realizes communion very rarely. He is a poet of separation. Mostly, his poetry is replete with the wailings and lamentations caused by the pang of separation. Whenever, he realizes the blissful union, he conceives himself to be the wife of God-Husband. The states of communion in this life are very short and the real and lasting communion is to be occasioned only after death. Shah Hussain, therefore, in order to delineate the spiritual love in separation chose the imagery of a married girl who has yet to go to her husband for the first time. The whole life is a period of separation in parents' house and only through the gate of death the bride (seeker) would enter the house of bridegroom (God).

Shah Hussain's delineation of love in separation deals with two points; firstly, that the period of separation should be so utilized that God husband may, thereafter, accept the wife practicant for communion and secondly, that the pang of separation is unbearable and insufferable. The fire of separation burns the body, the flesh, the blood and the bones. Shah Hussain excels all other Panjabi Sufi poets for intensity of his feelings and varied expressions of love in separation.

Shah Hussain has kindled in himself a big fire of sojourned love afflicting him all the time. The affliction is so severe that he feels restlessness of a fish which is lying out of water. He does not have any wink of sleep and the nights have become very long. Like a mad Yogin, he is wandering in search of the Beloved, the Yogi Ranjha. He weeps and sheds tears of blood. The flow is so constant and in such a big quantity that the *choli* (bodice) has become drenched fully.

Ishk vichhore di bali dhandhi,
har dam mainun tape.
Mas jhare jhar pinjar hoia,
karkan laggian haddian.
Hanju ronde sabh koi ashak ronde ratt ni.
Chare pallu cholari main rondi de bhinne.

The bed-stead is giving out flames and burning and roasting the lover, to vomit the lava of agony, the bride wants to cry aloud in lamentation, but due to fear of social disapproval, she does not open her mouth. The suppression adds to her grief and makes her mad. She comes out in the open discarding all considerations of social status of the family and other conventions:

Man tanur ahin de alambe, sej charhi da mainda tan man bhujada.
Jangal bele phiran dhudhendi kuk na sakkan mari laj di vo.
Lok laj kul ki marjada, dali sajan vali chullian.

The above delineation of Shah Hussain's *virahani* (female lover in separation) resembles that of Surdas's *virahani gopis*.

The poet has delineated love through the perspective of subjectivity. He sees his compound of heart pompous in the presence of the Beloved, and bed-stead burning like a furnace in the state of separation. But the description of the objective world feeling pang of separation or enjoying blissful communion is not found in his poetry.

To sum-up, Shah Hussain's mystical experiences of communion and separation are limited only to self. The multiplicity of the universe does share neither in his enjoyment of communion nor in his grief of separation.

The following verse betrays the influence of Neo-Platonic Sufism that love of God is reflected in each and every particle of the universe:

Ban kahe bela sabh phullia, darad mahi da dari dari hullia;
Jhuki rahian nin ishak palamanan.

The deserts, the pastures and the gardens, all are blooming and blossoming. It is all love of God reflecting in them and everywhere. Love has been delineated by the Neo-Platonist Sufis, more as essence of God than as a faculty of mind.

Like other sufis, Shah Hussain is also a victim of quandary of man's will versus God's will. Shah Hussain says that the judgement will be given by God on the basis of one's deeds, whether he be a sufi or a worldly man :

Amlan de upar hog nibera, kia sufi kia bhangi.
Jo kichhu kito bura bhala vo, kita apna pavana.

Then, he talks of per-determinism saying that a man is lucky who has been predestined to be a sufi. Referring to the iron pen of God, he declares that none can rub and change the fate which has already been written by God, and urges to accept with pleasure whatever he gets in his lot.

Mastak jinhan de pai faqiri, bhag tinan de change.
Likhi loh kalam di qadar ni mae, mor je sakni hain mor.
Shah Hussain faqir rabbana, so hosi jo rabb da bhana.
Tera kita main man bhave.

If the fate of man has already been written

by God, there remains no scope for man's responsibility and initiative. Shah Hussain does not give the basis on which God makes the selection of persons for his love. It is also not clear why Shah Hussain deplores those who are astray and sunk in the sea of worldliness, when their fate has already been inscribed with the iron pen :

Ghari kithhe hi samajh nidana;
ap kamina teri akal kamini
Kaun kahe tun dane.
(Be warned and know thy destination. Thou art a fool and mean; Who sayeth that thou art wise.)

Not to speak of condemning the ignorant or the astray, his taking even pity on them will amount to disagreeing with God's Will. If those who turn to God have been favoured by Him with His Grace, in whose will the others have been rejected and doomed. Further, if the lovers of God have been predestined as such what is the logic behind his prayers for God's Grace.

Je tun nazar mehar di bhalen, charh chaubare main suttian;
Kahe Hussain faqir sain da, dar teri di main kuttian.
(I can enjoy communion with Thee only if Thou chastest a glance of Grace on me. I am lying at Thy gate like a bitch.)

It is not possible to accept the adverse fate with pleasure as is generally enjoined. In the following verse Shah Hussain's surrender reflects despair, though the expression of the feelings is quite faithful :

Tan man mera purje kita, tainu mehar na ai mita;
Asanu hor ujar na koi, chara kia nimani da.
(The pain of separation has reduced my body to a skeleton. Even now Thou art not showing any Mercy on me. I have no other complaint to make. Humble and helpless, I have no other alternative.)

His surrender to God's will amounts to reconciliation with the lot. It is an indirect prayer asking for immediate change for the better.

Under the impact of Indian Bhakti movement God's Attribute of Grace got supremacy over His Attribute of Justice in Shah Hussain. He accepts God of Indian Bhaktas Who is Redeemer of the Sindul. The poet, therefore, admits his own weaknesses and shortcomings and surrenders to God unconditionally praying for His Grace:

Dekh na mainde avagun bahun, Tera nam shattari da;
Tau kolon kachhu nahin parada, pholi na aib vichari da ;
Tun dariau mihar da vahinda, mangani kurb bhikhari da.
(I am sinful and pray Thee not to count my sins. Thou art known to be Redeemer of the Sinful. Thou knowest well my sins and I pray Thee not to examine my deeds. O Lord, Thou art a flowing river of Grace and I pray Thee for Thy nearness.)

Ijadist's God requires the man to free himself from sins first and then come to his door for Grace. Shah Hussain appears before God with his sinful conduct and prays.

Shah Hussain very frequently talks of *khedana* or playing. He says, "mother, let me play in this life. I will not come again to play."

Ni mae mainun khedan dei, mera vati khedani kaun asi.

He urges others to play, dance and enjoy with the Beloved.

Kure jandie ni tera joban kura, pher na hosia rangala chura;
Vati na hosia ahil juani, hass lai khed lai nal dil jani.

The idea betrays the impact of Krishna Bhakti and *rasalila* which wielded amazing influence in the period. Lord Krishna plays on the flute of His Will and the *gopis*, the individual souls, dance and play *rasalila* according to His Will. Lord Krishna is the stage director and the *gopis*, the individual souls, perform acting at the stage of life, according to the directions of the Lord. Shah Hussain uses the symbol of kite flying for *rasa*. God is Kite-Flier and the individual souls are kites. Through the thread of His Will, He is directing the kites, the souls. Those who realize this thread of His Will, return to God through it:

Ni asin au khidahan luddi,
Nau taru doru guddi di, asin lai kar han uddi;
Sajan de hath dor asadi, main sajan di guddi.

Striving to attain fixity of mind on the Hindu lines, Shah Hussain enjoins to take sorrows and joys alike to fight against and control our anger, lust etc. and to attain tranquillity.

Shadi ghami na dil te asani;
Sada rahin mastan;
Kahai Hussain thir sachche sei;
Har fani kul jahan.

(Occasions of marriage and death do not move the lovers of God. They are always in the state of intoxication. Sayeth Shah Hussain, only they are stable in the true sense; only they are immortal and the remaining are mortal.)

Kam Krodh nit jharhadi.

(She daily eradicates lust, anger etc.)

Shah Hussain's lamentations and wailings are caused by the feeling of separation from the Beloved. He is not moved by the sufferings caused by worldly misfortunes, but prays to God for the removal of his agony caused by the separation, granting him His Vision and communion.

Shah Hussain is renowned for his sense of separation, no other Panjabi sufi poet could compete him in this regard. His sadness is so green and immortal, that tears dwell in the eyes of readers, life itself is a heavy weight on man. Ghalib in his *ghazal* says:

'Ek ek qatre ka mujhe dena para hisab
Khoon-i-jigr wadiyat-i-mizghan-i-yar tha.

(I had to account for each drop of blood of my heart which I held in trust for the eyelashes of my beloved.)

All the blood in the lover's heart is the property of the beloved which he is holding in trust. He is returning it drop by drop through tears of blood.

Body and mind torn to pieces,
O ! friend still ye got no sympathy,
there is no other alternative,
what a helpless beloved can do ?

Shah Hussain was a son of a weaver, Sheikh Usman. Early life of Shah Hussain was impressed by Islamic influence. At the age of twenty-six, Shah Hussain converted his faith to sufism. He came to know the secrets of God by self-realisation. So many miracles are attached with his life.

He was an ascetic, who wore red cloak. It is also stated that Shah Hussain loved a boy Madho Lal very much, that is why he is called Madho Lal Shah Hussain. I find mere an exaggeration in the statement of Dr. Lajwanti. This verdict is not based on any authenticity a sufi saint like Shah Hussain, why he should bother to adore an ordinary boy who got no spiritual background. Many irrational miracles have been related with the life of Shah Hussain, which logically seems to be immature and controversial. Main features of Hussain's poetry (Based on Sufism):

1. Love (Ishak),
2. Sense of Separation,
3. Renunciation (Fear of Death),
4. Annihilation (Salvation), and
5. Imagination.

From language point of view Shah Hussain's poetry can be examined from below mentioned points:

1. Symbolism in the poetry of Hussain
2. Imperssion of his poetry.
3. His language.

Concept of Love

Unique is the vagary of the Path of Love. When one enters it one finds, learning realises its poverty before it and discrimination feels its beggarliness. As soon as love knocks at the door and with greetings seeks to enter the heart of the seeker. Knowledge and discrimination leave him bidding farewell, and urges renunciation as the high acquisition.

Path of *Sufism* is called the path of love in Panjabi literature. Mysticism has grown up from the concept of Eternal Love and not from logic or reasoning. B. Russell says, " where the knowledge of science ends the knowledge of mysticism begins".

Bhagati poets like Kabir, Nanak, Gurdas, though they have shown spirtual path, yet their approach is analytical and philosophical. Sat-

ire, sarcasm and wit play much role in their spiritual theory, even Sheikh Farid is philosophical poet. Shah Hussain was an embodiment of intensity of feelings and burning of passions. In his verse logic and intellect is restricted, that is why, the medieval period is influenced by sufi saints particularly by Shah Hussain . He became very popular in his time.

Dr. Lajwanti in her Book 'Punjabi Sufi Poets' wrote: "Hussain's poetry, if we may be permitted to say so, is in no way inferior to that of many others found in the body of Granth, nor would a free Sufi like Hussain care to have his verses inserted in the book of a sect than not so popular as it was after a few years".

Sufi poets believe in the concept of love, but love form whom? This love is attributed to the eternal beauty of God at the time of birth, soul gets separation from its origin i.e. Sublime. Soul consciously or unconsciously goes on longing for God, this unending longing results into love in separation.

Sufi sees the God in the formation of eternal beauty. This grace of God is assimilated in nature of Universe. Worldly beauty is merely the reflection of Sublime beauty. There is no clash in the worldly and eternal beauty. Sufi believes in divine love and it develops from human love because human love and beauty reminds us of an eternal love and eternal beauty. This love is very difficult, its path is very narrow. Devotee loses his identity in his Wholebeing. His selfmerges into Him. Love and separation of Sufis are inter-integrated.

In the poetry of Shah Hussain, beloved is soul and lover is God. Their love is functioning the work of universe. Chandar Bali Panday explaining sufism says, " Life is riddle without love, love makes, love destroys, love burns. This whole world is the wonder of love. Fire is the heat of love. Air is restlessness of love. Water is momentum of love, similarly night is sleep and day is awake of love."

For sufis there is nothing in life and world without love. Love is fire and intellect is smoke, when the fire enlightens, smoke disappear. Shah Hussain exclaims:

My arm in the hand of my lover,
Why I should ask him to leave,
Dark night, cloud and rains,
Without Him it is very hard to live,
Only the wearer knows, where the shoe pinches,
Only the lover knows, the wonder of separation.

The thought contained in Shah Hussain's verses is for the passions of Divine love. This love is expressed in a most striking and original manner. For instance in his love-expression he avoided the traditional precedents taken by Sheikh Farid or by his contemporary romantic poets. That is, giving language to the pangs oflove by using the metaphor of the lover causing injury to the beloved. Hussain's way of alluding to the injuries caused by the heartlessness of the lover.

'I got my heart from the body and cut into pieces.
Placed before you, even that pleases you not.'

Sense of Separation

As already discussed love and separation can never be separated. Separation comes earlier than love. So, in the poetry of Shah Hussain sense of separation has gone down deep in the depth of its origin. Separation is the phenomenon which intensifies the sentiment of love. Ghalib explaining his views about his separation says, "I am not convinced, if blood flows in the veins that is normal, matter is this that the blood should come out from the eyes of beloved. That is the true love."

Ghalib has symbolised separation as blood,
Ragon mein dorne phirne ke ham nahin kabal,
Jo aankh se hi na tapke, wo lahu kiya hai.

When the sense of separation poet weeps away the life of torture and tribulation. P.B. Shelley exclaims :

'I could lie down like a tired child,
And weep away the life of care,
Which I have borne and yet must bear.

Sense of separation is like an aching joy.

Love gets pleasure in the wounds and dejection also.

Aaj wan tegh o kafan bandhe hue jata hum main
Uzr mere qatl karne man wo ab laenge kya.
Pangs at night and separation in day,
Loose tresses have come down in grief,
As if I were in dejection since ages.
(Today I am going to my beloved armed with the sword and shroud. What excess will she now offer for refusing to behead me ?)

In the end I quote B. Russell to clarify the philosophy of mysticism and sufism, which is entirely based on love and separation.

No doubt sense of separation destroys the destiny of life, but it is not less that its flames immortalise the soul.

Shah Hussain believes in the renunciation of worldly pleasure, because these pleasures give birth to passions, excitement and temptation. Death-consciousness is not to create fear but to elevate the feelings and redirection of the human mind from the too much involvement to his ultimate destination. This saves the man from misguidance and malpractices in life.

Fear of Death

All the sufi saints were death-conscious. Omar Khayyam, Mansoor, Farid, Bulleh Shah, Shamas tabreg, Mulan Rumi, they all believed that this visible world is an allusion. Things are not what they seem to be. Therefore, Shah Hussain wants detachment from the worldly involvements. Shah Hussain likes to get corner from the illusions of world. The world is like a dream. Shah Hussain himself wrote :

This present world will become,
A dream for you, one day.

Shah Hussain wrote that this life is so short that man has got no time to be annoyed with others.

Annihilation

This is the stage of merger or assimilation through Murshad's thought the path of Eternity is known. This an Eternal reality. How to be in tune with that reality or to see His vision. In the words of Guru Nanak, "A drop of water when falls into river, looses its identity and assimilates itself in the vastness of river. Similarly, the annihilation is the stage when soul absorbs into the system that is Sublime."

A sufi sinks into the combination of Universal and Eternal beauty of God. In the words of Shah Hussain, this the stage when the beloved assimilates her existence in the vital formation.

They are not He
nor they other than He.

Imagination

"Rhythm is the body of poetry, but imagination is its soul."

Imagination of Shah Hussain is like the unending flight of the bird. Good sense is the body of poetic genius of Shah Hussain, fancy is its drapery, motion its life, and imagination the soul that is everywhere, and in each, and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole, Shah Hussain imagine in order to satisfy his spiritual needs. Imagination is the mode of adaptation which springs from his separation, form his imagination is device for attaining un-attainable goals.

According to sufi saints 'Ishak' is not the game of one life, it inter-links the ages and births together. Shah Hussain imagines:

Heer was in love with Ranjha since ages,
when she used to suck milk from her mother's breast;
pangs of separation tortured her dejected mind,
in cradle, she knew not the nature of pain.

So this is the imagination of Shah Hussain to picturise his original idea. Ghalib says:

'Some hearts are already reserved for love.
Love is the song which can not be sung on every tune.'

So imagination is the faculty of forming images in the mind. Shah Hussain writes :

Thorn of the lover's separation,
gone down deep in my flesh,
some confident can get it out.

Imagination of Shah Hussain is truth only another name of absolute power and clearest in

sight, amplitude of his mind, reason in his most exalted mood.

Symbolism

The rise, the progress, the setting of imagery should like the sun come natural to him - shine over him and set soberly, although in magnificence, leaching him in the luxury of twilight. Image is the primary pigment of poetry, and the poet who uses it is by the very fact differentiated from other men.

Shah Hussain can create images from the worldly objects, because his imaginative response is very strong. Gharkha (Spinning Wheel), Tand (Thread), Babal (Father), Ranjhan (God), Heer (Soul), Ghara (Pot), Jogan (devotee), Saloo (Duptatta), Malah (Guru), Din duni da Shah (Master of the Universe), and so many other symbols are used by Shah Hussain. Symbol means reflection of object, image, picture etc. This is the system of mental recreation. T.E. Hume says: "Images in verse are not mere decoration, but the very essence of an intuitive language."

However, beautiful images have been used by Shah Hussain but these images do not characterise the real genius of the poet. The original personality of the poet only comes forward when we understand the significance of these symbols. For instance Shah Hussain wrote:

> Ignorant girl is the symbol of a man. Who is carelessly spoinling his valuable human life. Spinning stands for good deeds, man has forgotten his basic responsibility of good deeds. Marriage is the symbol of death, as after marriage young girl goes to her in-laws, similarly after death soul transmigrates. Thread is the symbol of concentration and weaving is the meditation or devotion. Spinning wheel is the human body.

These images used by Shah Hussain are original and he has taken from his daily life. We should always be prepared to judge a poet... by the force and originality of his images, because imaging is, in itself the very height and life of the poetry.

Language

Language used by Shah Hussain is very simple, sweet and impressive, Persian and Urdu languages have dominant impact over his work. For example, Gore, Kaji, Yar, Dard, Tula, Tabib, Dargah, Vajab, Taufiq, Kitabat, Haraf, Faqir and so many other words in the vocabulary of Shah Hussain's language. Persian and Arabic words have been founding their entry in Panjabi language due to prevalent system of Muslim rule in India. These words were adopted in such a way that they merged in the vocabulary of Panjabi language.

Shah Hussain's period is known for freedom of thought. Akbar's religious policy of toleration towards all religions is responsible for the helplessness of the Mullahs to condemn and victimise the Sufis. Their anger shifted its direction from the Sufis and the Hindus towards the kings.

Shah Hussain not only declared the superiority of the path of love over that of the Shariat, but he started the criticism of the orthodoxy and declared the futility of the intercession of the prophet. After Shah Hussain, the Mullans became an object of condemnation. Bullhe Shah, Varis and other later Sufis abuse the Qazis and the Mullans declaring their conduct irreligious and vicious whereas Shah Hussain makes only a start by taking pity on the Qazi who cannot realize the Reality of unity of man and God, as the illusion of distinction between God and the soul has gone very deep down in their minds. He criticises the Mullans not for their personal conduct, but on the principle that love is superior to all other religious practices.

Declaring the superiority of the path of love to that of the Shariat, he says that seeker who adopts the path of love need not perform the religious obligatories. The fire of love once lit in the heart exalts the seeker automatically to God. Love unites the lover, with the Beloved. "In the communion between the lover and God" says Shah Hussain, "no mediator, he means Mohammad, the Prophet, is required to mediate".

The lover of God abandons not only the obligatories as enjoined by the Shariat, but he forgets even the stages of the mystic path. He holds that Shariat and mysticism both aim at lighting the fire of love in the heart of the seeker. When the fire of love is inflamed, the five-time prayer and even the seven stages of the path of Sufism become useless. The elephant of love is controlled by God Himself. The seeker does not need any other guide or path. Snubbing away the Mullans he refuses to listen any more to their oft-repeated arguments, which he declares unconvincing. It is his firm belief that only they enjoy the vision of God, who adopt the path of love.

Shah Hussain excels all other Panjabi Sufi poets including Bullhe Shah on his metaphorism and sentimentalism. He used very rich variety of metaphors and similes drawn from the common objects, for the expression of simple ideas urging for the abandonment of the worldly life and for the practice of love of God. The idea of Absolute and Indescribable God had already been personified.

In the style of Indian wifely devotion God has been described as Shahu or Kant means husband and the practicant as wife by Kabir and Farid Sani. But Shah Hussain's wife is in the parents' house and has not yet visited her Husband's house. Shah Hussain likens the seeker to the bride who is yet to go to her Husband's house. The bride has been called as kuri (girl). When the seeker girl is accepted by God husband and the vision is vouchsafed, the former becomes Suhagan (the woman loved by her husband):

Kahai Hussain suhagani sai,
Jan shahu ap sinjapai.

Shah Hussain urges the kuri to prepare dowry:

Peiarai dini char diharai;
Hari vali jhati ghati lai;
Babali de ghari daj vihuni;
Dari bati puni kati lai.
(Thy days in the parent's house are numbered. Remember God, the Husband. Thou hast not so far prepared the dowry in thy father's house. Thou shouldest do it now.)

The dowry stands, for merit earned by *zikra* and practice of love of God. Shah Hussain was a weaver by caste. He used the terminology of weaver for the expression of his mystic views. He advises the *kuri* to come to the *trinjan* (a party of young girls, spinning in competition) and spin :

Tun aho katt valalli;
Ni kurio, tun aho katt vallalli;
Kahai Hussain faqir sain da daj vihuni challi.

Through this metaphor he urges the seekers of God to come to the company of godly persons and to sing God's glory and remember His name. He compares the seeker with the shopkeeper and the occasion with a customer and urges him to utilize the occasion and earn from it the love of God.

Gahak vainda hi kujhi vati lai;
Aia gahak mul na morain;
Taka panjaha khat lai.

At another occasion, he describes the seeker as *paniharin* (the female who brings water in the pitcher on her head) and the life as the tank of water:

Is tire ton bhar bhar gaian;
Tun apni var langhai;
Ikna bharian ik bhar gaian;
Ik ghare ik rah.

The verse further says that days of life are numbered. Some have spent their days and have returned to their abode and some others are on their way back. The term *khedana* indicates dancing on the will of God. The body with which *zikra* is to be performed has been described as *charkha* (spinning wheel) and the practice of love as spinning.

The twofold practice of renunciation of the worldly pursuits and devotion to God have been described as *tanana* and bunana (warping and wafting). The multiplicity of the universe has also been depicted in the terminology of weavory saying that the phenomenal world is all God, may it be *tana* (warp) or *bana* (woof). To express the idea that God's will reigns supreme and He is the only Doer and controller of

the actions of the individuals he uses the symbols of kites and the kiteflier.

The worldly objects of attraction have been portrayed as deadly snakes from whom only the lovers of God can escape. Kabir also describes the worldliness as *nagini* (female serpent). The fires of hell appears to Shah Hussain as the lions standing on the other side of death-river and waiting for those who have not done anything to please God.

Describing the state of communion he likens the mind to a compound and the point of concentration to *Jharokha* (peephole) from which the seeker enters the realm of Eternity, Infinity and Reality. This peephole is also called sometime as balcony, where the seeker lover enjoys bedding with the Beloved, and sometimes as *chaubara,* (an open room built on the roof of a house). The *chaubara* is generally used by the married couple for enjoying cohabitation during their early nights. Kabir also used this metaphor very frequently.

Shah Hussain likens the life of worldliness to Chitti Chadar (white sheet) and asceticism to Bhuri (black woolen blanket.) In the context of the short life of man, the poet compares the world with an inn and the man with a traveller. The period of human life has been compared with the night of separation and the daybreak with the death from the life in the world and beginning of the divine life with God.

Shah Hussain has been the source of all the Panjabi Vedantic Sufi poets, prominent or ordinary, who wrote after him, notable Shah Sharaf, Sultan Bahu, Bullhe Shah, Shah Murad. His poetry proved a store house of poetic symbols and similes and literary expressions of mystical experiences which others borrowed from it so much so his style has also been followed. In fact, he showed the wealth, vitality and poetic vigour of his mother tongue.

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Ibrahim b. Adham (d.777/78 A.D)

Ibrahim b. Adham Mansur b. Yazid b. Djabir (Abu Ishak) Al -Idjli was born at Balkh in Khurasan into a family from the Kufa area belonging to the tribal group *Bakr b. Wapil*. The date given for his death in the most dependable sources is 161/777-78.

He was one of the most prominent of the Sufis of the 2nd/8th century, celebrated in later legend especially for his asceticism. R.A. Nicholson characterizes him as essentially an ascetic and quietist of a practical type who had not crossed the borderline which divides asceticism from mysticism. Ibrahim caught the imagination of subsequent generations of Sufis especially because of his generosity, illustrated by many tales of kind acts to friends, and his feats of self-denial, which were in such contrast to the luxury in which he is supposed to have spent his early life.

The earlier Arabic sources, mainly Abu Nuaym al-Isfahani and Ibn 'Asakir, permit the sketching of an outline of his life: He was born into the Arab community settled in Balkh in about 112/730, or perhaps earlier, and migrated from Khurasan to Syria some time before 137/754. During the rest of his life he led a somewhat nomadic existence mostly in this region, going as far north as the Sayhan River and as far south as Ghazza.

He disapproved of begging and worked with his hands for his livelihood, reaping, gleaning or grinding corn, or tending orchards, for example. In addition to this he probably engaged in military operations on the border with Byzantium; the frontier fortresses of the Thughur (to the north of Syria, in modern Turkey) are mentioned repeatedly in the anecdotes. We are told that he took part in two land and two naval expeditions against Byzantium; he died on the second naval expedition of "(a disease of) the belly" (Abu Nu'aym, vii, 388). The manner of his death is confirmed by the circumstantial account of it given by Ibn 'Asakir (196).

He was buried on a Byzantine island, according to some accounts near a fortress called Sukin, or Sufanan. Another account places his death in Egypt. In various other less reliable accounts his tomb is said to be in Tyre, in Baghdad, in Damascus, in 'the city of Lot' (=Kafr Barik), in the Cave of Jermiah near Jerusalem and finally and most persistently of all, in Djabala on the Syrian coast.

Ibrahim b. Adham is known widely in legend as the ruler of Balkh who abdicated his throne to take up the ascetic life. There seems to be no historical basis for this belief. The first source to give him royal status is al-Sulami (d. 412/1021), the legendary nature of whose account is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that it includes a description of Ibrahim's encounter with the immortal prophet Khidr; however, from al-Sulami onwards this legend is found firmly rooted in the accounts of Ibrahim's life.

The anecdotes generally associate his conversion, or repentance, with his abdication; the accounts of this may be grouped under about ten different themes, e.g. that he repented after reflecting on the utter contentment of a beggar whom he saw sitting in the shade of the palace, or that he was warned by Khidr, in the guise of a fakir, of the transitory nature of this world.

The best known of the themes is also the earliest, being found in al-Kalabadhi (108), which (in Arberry's translation) reads: "...he went out to hunt for pleasure, and a voice called him, saying 'Not for this wast thou created, and not to this wast thou commanded'. Twice the voice called him; and on the third occasion the call came from the pommel of his saddle. Then he said: 'By God, I will not disobey God henceforth, so long as my Lord protects me from sin."

Here, it may be remarked that the postulation that the story of Ibrahim's conversion was modelled on the story of the Buddha has been questioned more than once and perhaps ought no longer to be accepted.

Ibrahim's migration from Balkh to Syria is well attested, and the many different "conversion"legends explain his motive for it. However, another interesting possibility is opened up by a brief reference in Ibn 'Asakir (168); it reports that "Ibrahim b. Adham left Khurasan with Djahdam, fleeing from Abu Muslim, then he went to live in the Thughur..." Al-Bukhari (iv/I, 23) supplies corroboration that Djahdam left Khurasan at this time, and there would be no chronological inconsistency between the year of the revolt of Abu Muslim 129/747-and what is known of Ibrahim's life. Space does not permit full discussion, of this question here; suffice it to say that a study of the material available discloses no reason for rejecting this account in Ibn Asakir.

So much for the literature in Arabic. The literature on Ibn Adham underwent certain changes when it passed into other languages: much of the factual material was lost, while the more legendary and fanciful themes were taken over and often greatly embellished. This process can be observed in Persian, by far the richest source being Farid al-Din 'Attar's *Tadhkirat*

al-auliya much of the literature on Ibrahim in Indian and Indonesian languages seems to have come via Persian. The non-Arabic sources are of almost no value as sources of factual data: certain seemingly authentic details (e.g. the day and month of Ibrahim's death in Persian sources, the names given to certain individuals in Malay sources) can only be imaginary.

Another feature of the non-Arabic literature is the occurrence of full-length autobiographies, as opposed to anecdotes, round the figure of Ibn Adham, sometimes preceded by an account of his father, Adham. Such highly embellished biographies have been written in Turkish, by Darwish Hasan al-Rumi, known only from an abridgement, or collection of excerpts, in Arabic; in Urdu, by a Muhammad Abu'l Hasan; in "Cashmiri language"-but the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and in Malay, possibly to be attributed to a Shaykh Abu Bakr from Hadramawt. A published abridgement of the Malay version seems to be the source for short versions in Javanese, Sundanese and Bugis.

Besides these accounts, anecdotes of Ibrahim b. Adham can be found scattered through Islamic, particularly Sufi, literature. No doubt Sufi Orders have played their part in perpetuating his memory; the author knows of no evidence that the Adhamiyya Order, of which Ibrahim is the eponym (though of course not the founder), exists at the present time.

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I

Ibrahim Farid Sani, Shaikh
(1450A.D. — 1575A.D.)

The first Panjabi sufi poet known to us is Shaikh Ibrahim, a famous *pir* of the Panjab. All authorities agree in saying that he belonged to the Cishti order of the Sufis, and lived between A.D. 1450 and 1575.

This order was originally founded by Abu Izhak Shami of Cisht but in the Panjab it was revived in the thirteenth century by Faridu'd-Din, generally known as *Shakar Ganj*. This title originated from a miracle performed by him.

It has many versions, one of which is that he was told by his mother that the reward of prayer was sugar. She used to hide some under his prayer carpet, which the boy Farid got after the prayer. One day his mother went out and he had to pray alone. After his prayer he lifted the carpet and found a great supply of sugar-a miraculous gift of God. His mother was surprised on her return home and named him Shakar Ganj or Treasury of Sugar.

The grandfather of Faridu'd-Din migrated to India from Persia early in the twelfth century. Farid was born fifty years later in the village Khotwas near Multan, in the year A.H. 565 (A.D. 1171-2). He became a disciple of Qutbu'd-Din of Delhi. On his master's death, he inherited his patched mantle and other personal belongings. He came to settle down at Ajodhan afterwards known as *Pak Patan*.

Macauliffe states that the name was changed on account of a canal in which it was usual for all who visited Farid to wash their hands. This canal came to be known as *Baba Sahib ka Pak Patan* or Farid's cleansing ferry. This is not a satisfactory explanation, Ajodhan being the seat of Farid was therefore known as *Pak Patan-holy* town or city. From here, he began his missionary work in the Panjab.

On his death, his work was carried on by his descendants from Pak Patan, and his disciples scattered all over northern India to carry his message, always looking to Pak Patan as their spiritual centre. Shaikh Ibrahim was the eleventh descendant of Faridu'd-Din. The following is the genealogical order.

Hazrat Baba Faridu'd-Din Ganj-i-shakar
Diwan Badr-ud-Din Sulaiman
Diwan' Ala-ud-Din Mauj-i-Darya
Diwan Mu'izzuddin
Pir Fazl-ud-Din
Khwaja Diwan Munawar Shah
Pin Diwan Baba-ud-Din Harun
Pir Shaikh Ahmad Shah
Pir Ata-ullah
Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad
Shaikh Ibrahim Farid Sani.

Not much is known about the birth and childhood of Ibrahim. There is complete silence with regard even to the date of his birth. The *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* states that he died in A.H.960/A.D. 1554 at Sirhind where he was buried after a spiritual reign of forty-two years. But both the *Jawahir-i-Faridi* and the *Gulzar-i-Faridi* relate that he died at Pak Patan in the year A.H. 959/A.D. 1553-4.

In Pak Patan, there is still a tomb known as that of Ibrahim. We therefore believe that he

died at Ajodhan as the two above mentioned biographies state. He is said to have reigned as the *pir* for forty-two years, and therefore his birth must have taken place some time in the middle or the end of the fifteenth century.

After having pursued the ordinary curriculum of secular studies he was initiated into the Cishti order and went through the spiritual training of a Sufi. In course of time, he succeeded his father Khwaja Shaikh Muhammad in A.H. 916-17 and became the gaddi nishin. He seems to have resembled Farid closely in person and in sanctity, and therefore was named Farid Sani or Farid the Second.

He had frequent interviews with Hindu saints and reformers, and with dervishes of Islam. The titles and appellations which Ibrahim bore show the great influence he wielded over the masses. He was called.

Farid Sani or the Second,
Salis Farid or Farid the Arbitrator,
Shaikh Ibrahim Kalan or Ibrahim the Elder,
Bal Raja or the mighty king.

This last named is a Hindu appellation applied only to a person who holds great spiritual power. To the Hundus and the masses he was also Shaikh Brahm. Brahm is a corrupt form of Ibrahim. Ibrahim's popularity amongst the Hindus of his time is rather amazing.

A long residence in India, a sincere study of her religions and philosophies, and the political environment had weakened the proselytizing zeal which animated the soul of Farid the First. Even Farid the First was not altogether engaged in the work of conversion. His efforts were often supplemented by two factors :

The political domination left the Hindus helpless, especially economically. Economic difficulties therefore compelled them to embrace Islam, which at once raised their status. The social disintegrity of the Hindus supplied him with convert.. If a man of high caste ate or drank at Farid's or at any Mussulman's house he was excommunicated, and in the absence of 'repentance' was forced to become a Sufi, hence a Mussulman.

The members of the neglected lowered classes also professed the Islamic creed. The Sufis were not very popular with the rulers, and so they could befriend the cause of the people, and ensure their own safety against the tyranny of a fanatical ruler only by their influence over people belonging to different creeds. This moral support the emperor was not strong enough to uproot.

Thus, the Cishtis of Pak Patan were the pirs or saints of the Panjab more than anything else. An interesting example of this is given in Tarikh-i-Daudi (E. & D. ed., Vol. IV, pp. 439-40). Mia Abdullah of Ajodhan forbade Sultan Sikandar Lodi to carry out his resolve to massacre the Hindus assembled at Kurukshetra. The Sultan was thereupon enraged and, putting his hand on his dagger, exclaimed: 'You side with the infidels, I will first put an end to you and then massacre the infidels.' But the personality and the popularity of Abdullah soon appeased his wrath and he gave up both his resolves, i.e. to massacre the saint and the infidels.

Later on, inspired by the policy of Aurangzeb, the hereditary incumbents of Pak Patan changed the creed of tolerance advocated by their predecessors, and became the supporters of fanaticism of which Farid the First had disapproved. At their shrines flourished that Islamic philosophy which had been coloured by Hindu thought and the cult rituals. Such was the state of the Chisti order when Ibrahim ascended the seat of Faridu'd-Din at Pak Patan. The *Gulzar-i-Faridi* and other Sufi books praise Ibrahim for his faculty of karamat or miracles.

Though 'reliance on miracles is one of the "veils" which hinder the elect from penetrating to the inmost shrine of the Truth' yet no Sufi in the world could be termed a saint unless he performed miracles. The marvellous incidents and fabulous legends relating to Sufi saints are often odious and fantastic. Shaikh Ibrahim was no exception to this rule and had his miracles. We will quote here two miracles which will illustrate the belief of the people in his power and his control over matter and spirit, and pass over the remainder in silence.

A thief entered his house with the intention of stealing, but God, being unwilling to see his devotee suffer, struck him blind. Early in the morning the Shaikh ordered his servant touch water for his ablutions. The servant saw the blind and informed his master. The thief confessed his guilt and begged the *pir's* pardon. Thereupon the saint prayed at the sight of the thief was restored. He then gave up the thing and became a *murid* of the *pir*.

Another legend is that in a season of drought the *pir* was bestowl save the people from disaster. Pitying the sufferers, who took off his turban and whirled it round, upon which raise all in torrents.

The *Sikh* was held in esteem amongst the distinguished the men of those days. He had various disciples, the most famous of them being Shaikh Salim Cishti of Fatehpur.

Ibrahimd literary works in Panjabi consist of a set of kafia and hundred and thirty *shaloks*. Besides these, we have been traced a *Nasihat-Nama* among the Panjab University manuscripts. The style of this is akin to that of Farid verse is the language. It is a book on religious injunction aged with Sufi beliefs.

It clearly indicates that he blamed to the orthodox school. The remainder of Farid's verse all found in the *Adi Granth*. The *Gulzar-i-Faridi sakher* this verse was inserted in the Granth by Guru Nanak with the permission of the Pir Shaikh Brahm. The same majority states that only after having seen the book which Nanak submitted to his inspection did the Shaikh got permission to add his sayings.

History of the Granth was compiled by Guru Arjun and not Guru Nanak, and if the permission was obtained it would have been the fifth Guru who procured it from the reigning *pir*. In their correspondence the Gurus addressed each other as Nanak and this may have led the author of the *Gulzar-i-Faridi* to make the mistake.

Shaikh Ibrahim's Panjabi poems, though they had won him the love of the people, failed to procure him the praise of the learned, who looked disdainfully at the poets of the living languages and refused to recognize them as such. The Punjabis therefore should thank Guru Arjun for having written down a major part of the verse of this first Panjabi Sufi poet.

As has been mentioned above, Farid Sani was the name conferred on Shaikh Ibrahim for his high sanctity. He, however, employed it as his *nom de plume*. The common belief, therefore, is that the verse of Farid in the *Adi Granth* was composed by Farid the First. Macauliffe is certain that 'it was Shaikh Brahm who composed the *shaloks* bearing the name Farid in the Granth.' But Baba Buddh Singh is of opinion that they are mixed compositions of the Farids, the First and the Second. The argument of Macauliffe that Farid the First did not live in the time of Nanak and, since Nanak had interviews with Ibrahim, the *shaloks* must be the Shaikh's, is not very strong or logical.

In the *Granth* we find the hymns of those saints who lived long before Nanak and also of those with whom he never had any personal relations. Baba Buddh Singh bases his argument on two facts : that since Amir Khusro who came to India could write in Hindi, why could not Faridu'd-Din who was born and brought up in the Panjab write in Panjabi. And some of the shaloks, such as

Farida roti meri kath di lavan meri bhukkh,
Jinha khadhia copria soi sahange dukkh.
(Farid, my bread is of wood and satisfies my hunger; those who eat buttered bread will undergo suffering.)

It clearly indicates the incidents which took place in the life of Farid the First and so must be his. Thus, he makes Farid and Ibrahim the conjoint authors. The first of these two arguments is not at all convincing, and the second can be rendered futile by the fact that the incidents of the founder's life were versified by his descendant and successor.

Though his argument is equally weak we agree with Macauliffe, as his conclusion has the support of one of the *shaloks* of Farid found in the *Granth*. It says:

Sekh hayati jag na koi thiru rahia
Jisu asani ham baitthe kete bas gaia.
(O Shaikh no life in the world is stationary. The seat on which I am seated has been occupied by many.)

From the above poem we understand that the author was not Faridu'd-Din but a descendant, who was occupying his spiritual seat, hence Farid the Second.

Shaikh Ibrahim preached in Panjabi to the congregations assembled at Pak Patan. His language was, therefore, a Panjabi comprising various dialects, and was simple and natural. The one dialect which is strikingly prominent in his language is Multani. The influence of Lahndi is also visible. A few words of Hindi and Persian are found in his verse, but they were rarely words which the Panjabi people could not understand. He composed a few poems in Hindi, which fact proves that he had a good command over that language.

But we cannot help stating that his verse is at its best in Panjabi. Though his poetry is natural, forceful, and impressive, it lacks that intense feeling which characterizes the poetry of Husain. Except for this want of feeling, it is expressive and intelligible, and demonstrates the restlessness of the author's soul for the Divine Union.

His verse, though it does not conform to the Persian rules of prosody, is overlaid with similes, very human, and sometimes incoherent and unsuitable for the Divine Beloved, as in Persian poetry. Considering that he was the first Sufi who replaced Persian by his mother-tongue this defect can be ignored. His highest merit lies in the fact that he was the first Mussulman saint who composed verses in Panjabi and was the pioneer of Panjabi Sufi poetry.

Religious Tenets

Unity of the Godhead and Muhammad's religion being the only true way to attain salvation was the creed of the orthodox *Sufi* missionaries, like the pioneers of the Qadiri and the Cishti orders in India.

But as tolerance was their motto they soon became the friends of the people. They influenced the people's thought and were themselves influenced in turn, and began to doubt the asserted monopoly of the Muslim path to God. Such appears to have been the state of Shaikh Ibrahim's mind when he became the *pir* of Pak Patan.

He could not openly criticize the established beliefs of his order as he was the hereditary incumbent and derived his power and prestige therefrom, but this could not prevent his holding some personal views. The uncertainty as to whether Islam or Hinduism was the true path perplexed him greatly. During one of his interviews with Nanak he says:

Ikk Khudai dui hadi Kehra sevi kehra hadda raddi.
(There is one Lord and two teachers: which shall be served (adopted) and which censuring rejected?)

Nanak replied :

Sahib ikko rah ikk, ikko sevie aur raddi
duja kahe simarie jamme te mar jai.
ikko simaro Nanaka jai thal rahia samai.
(There is but one Lord, and one way. Adopt the one and reject the other. Why should one worship a second, who is born and then dies? Remember Him alone, Nanak, who is present in water (seas) and on land.)

The Shaikh was very pleased with the Guru's reply, but convinced like all Sufis that a patched coat and mean appearance humbled the heart and obtained salvation, he advised:

Par patola dhaj kari kambalri Pahiroi
Jini vesi Sahu milai soi ves karol.
(Tear your clothes into tatters and wear a blanket instead. Adopt the dress by which the Lord may be obtained.)

The Guru, who had great respect for the Shaikh, agreed with him that faith and devotion were the only means to reach the ideal but could not listen to this advice of Ibrahim. He was a staunch believer in Karma-yoga and an enemy of outward signs and symbols. He told the Shaikh that while wearing secular costume one could find the Lord, if one loved Him.

Ibrahim could not support Nanak's view.

But he was extremely happy to find someone who like himself thought that there was only one way, a belief so dear to his heart. So, while bidding farewell, he remarked: 'O Nanak thou hast found God, there is no difference between thee and Him. How closely this resembles the Vaisnava belief: Hari hari jan dou ek hai, bimb vicar koi nai, jal te uthe tarang jiau jal hi bikke samai; i.e. God and his saints are one and the same." The idea that the saints are His mere reflection exists no more, for as a tide rises from deep waters and in deep waters it ebbs, similarly the saints emerge from God and in Him they merge.

This compliment illustrates faithfully how far the Sufi beliefs of Ibrabim had changed under the later Bhagvat influence.

Towards the end of his career Ibrahim appears to have set aside the remaining fanatical side of Islam. His faith in the prescribed Sufi code and Qur'anic beliefs seems to have fallen into the background. The following will confirm our view by showing the change in the Shaikh's ideas:

> Farid, men carry prayer-carpets on their shoulders, wear a Sufi's robe and speak sweetly, but there are knives in their hearts.

His belief with regard to God and His grace is very vividly shown here :

> In the lake (world), there is one Swan (good soul) while there are fifty snares (bad souls); O True One, my hope is in Thee.

In Farid's verse, there is no formal exposition of any Sufi doctrines. It comprises short love poems and couplets on religious subjects in general. Some of his poems show a strong colour of Hindu thought, specially the doctrine of *ahimsa*. He says :

> Farid, if men dista, beat thee with their beat them not in return, kiss their feet and go back.

And again :

> All men's hearts are gems, to distress them is by no means good; if thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

Humility is also a great quality with the Shaikh Farid, revile not dust, there is nothing like it. When we are alive it is beneath our feet, when we are dead it is above us.

The fame of Shaikh Ibrahim has surpassed that of the sect of which he was the spiritual head. For centuries together and even to the present day, the poet has been looked upon as a saint by thousands of his countrymen who never heard the name Cishti. Many of his couplets are household words, and hundreds of completely uneducated men and women make frequent use of them.

We have given above those *shaloks* which are repeated in Hindu and Mussulman homes every day. They will serve as specimens of his literary genius and also of his popularity.

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Ibrahim Iraji, Mir Saiyid (d.1546/47 A.D.)

Mir Saiyid Ibrahim Iraji, the son of Mir Mu'in 'Abdu'l-Qadir Hasani, and a disciple of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Shattari, received initiation into several sufic orders. Basically, however, he can be called a Qadiriyya. It has been

claimed that Shaikh Baha'ud-Din compiled the *Risala-i Shattariyya* for Mir Saiyid Ibrahim. He was passionately fond of books, delighting in laboriously copying them out by hand and writing comments on their more esoteric passages. According to Sahikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, the Mir was Delhi's most outstanding scholar.

Moreover, he was humble enough to learn from members of the 'ulama' who periodically visited him to sharpen their own religious perception. However, he had little interest in teaching ordinary Muslims. His relations with the Chishtiyyas were cordial although he was never known to have joined their *sama* 'gatherings. In 953/1546-47, he died and was buried in the complex of the tomb of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'.

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Ibrahim Mulick Beya, Hazrat Syed (d.1352A.D.)

Ibrahim Mulick Beya was a scion of Hazrat Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani and a Sufi of a high order. He came to India during the time of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaque and became commander-in-chief in 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Bihar and Bengal was conquered by Akhtiyaerud-Din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji during the time of Sultan Qutubud-Din Aibak (1206—1210).

Syed Ibrahim attacked Bihar twice to suppress the revolt of Subader Shri Batol. During the time of Muhammad Tughlaque again he invaded Bihar to punish the Raja Hans Kumar of Rohtasgarh.

It was after the conquest of the fort of Rohtasgarh that Syed Ibrahim died in (1352 A.D.) 753 A.H. He was buried at Bihar Sharif on a mountain, a few miles away. The foundation stone of tomb of Syed Ibrahim was laid by Makhdum Jahan Bihari, Mukhdum Ahmed Chirampush and Makhdum Shah Ahmed Sistani.

The word 'Bayu' is the twisted from a Persian word 'Beya' meaning 'Come on.' Syed Ibrahim, after his first victory over Bihar, went to inform the matter to Sultan Muhammad Tughlaque, who being pleased with his performance said: 'malik biya banashin' (O Chief, Come and Sit down). Malick was a title conferred on important personalities for remarkable work. Syed Ibrahim also got this title. With passage of time the term Beya was twisted and became Bayu.

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Ibrahim Ruhi, Mulla (d.1616/17 A.D.)

Mulla Ibrahim Ruhi (d. 1025/1616-17), Miyan-Mir's disciples, was outstanding scholars before becoming mystics and hermits He was a distinguished '*alim* and a keen traveller who

rejected these pursuits as well as those of theology after being initiated by the Miyan.

He became extremely popular in the areas around Mewat and Narnol, spreading the spiritual influence of Miyan-Mir in these regions. Of Mulla Ruhi's disciples, Safaru'd-Din and Natha Paracha were also eminent sufis of high stature, but in order to avoid fame they indulged in trade and commerce.

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Ibrahim, Shaikh (15th Century A.D.)

Shaikh Ibrahim (al-Kurani) al-Kurdi was an eminent *khalifas* of Shaikh Ahmad Qushshashi. He was also proficient in Shafi'i Fiqh and *Hadis*. After travelling through Egypt and Syria, he went to medina where he received the gift of a *khirqa* from Shaikh Ahmad Qushshashi. During his stay in Syria he was believed to have seen Ibn 'Arabi in a dream and was convinced of the strength of his own belief in the *Wahdat-al-Wujud*.

Shaikh Ibrahim was a dedicated listener *sama* and the custom seems to have been exceedingly popular during his lifetime. A teacher of the Ottoman Sultan in Turkey called Khoja, who resented the popularity of *sama*, when in Medina informed the Shaikh that he had made great efforts to help uproot the sinful innovation *(bid'a)* of the recitation of the *zikr-i jahr* in mosques. In reply Shaikh Ibrahim recited this Qur'anic verse.

Who doth greater wrong than he who forbiddeth the approach to the sanctuaries of Allah lest His name be mentioned therein.

Somewhat taken aback, the Khoja recovered sufficiently to produce extracts from *fatwas* from the books of Hanafi jurisprudence prohibiting the *sama*. To this the Shaikh replied that he belonged to another school. So they have made out the Universe to be God and God the Universe itself. All such beliefs are erroneous, for the Being of God is that upon which [all other] beings depend for their existence. If indeed their gnosis were perfect they would not have said such a thing.

They are ashamed of the people of Islam and they fear that they might be proved wrong by the generality of the schools and by religion. If they openly declare: "We are God and God is us," they will not be accepted by them [i.e., the people of Islam].

So, they hide themselves behind perforated veils that their evil words and strayed belief may not be seen. They couch their words: "God is indeed ourselves and our beings and we are His Self and His Being" in (crafty) disguise. But such deception does not escape the wise, and are not hidden from those who are perfect in their understanding.

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Inat, Shah (1623A.D. — 1712A.D.)

An important link in the unbroken chain of medieval Sindhi poets, Shah Inat (c.1623-1712) was a unique personage in the literary history of Sindh. Not to be confused with his younger contemporary Shah Inayat of Jhok, a social reformer and spiritual leader of his day, he was a distinguished Sufi poet. But for his great poetry, the glorious heights reached by Shah Abdul Latif's poetry in the 18th century would have looked all too sudden.

He took birth when Shah Abdul Karim died, and when he was no more Shah Abdul Latif was beyond. Thus, he served as a significant link. His poetry was informed of the native poetic tradition. And in its turn it influenced the succeeding generations of Sindhi poets. We may, therefore, take a brief look at him and his poetry.

His name was Shah 'Inayatullah, but he was popularly known as *Shah Inat*, or *Miyan Shah Inat*. He belonged to a Rizvi Sayyid Family of Nasarpur, a town in Hyderabad district of Sindh. Unlike other Rizvi Sayyids, he belonged to the Qadiryyah Order of Sufis, for his father, Shah Nasruddin was a follower of some Qadiriyyah preceptor.

Though, it was expected of a Sayyid, he did not evince any deep interest in the study of Persian, Arabic and Islamic theology. Instead, he was, like other Sufis, drawn to musical assemblies and mystical dance gatherings. His love and affection for the fellow villagers in their day-to-day life showed itself in his poetry written in the language of the laity.

He travelled widely in the sacred geography of North. West India and knew the aspirations of the people. Though, he was not much articulate politically, he had all the sympathies with the native Kalhora dynasty and its increasing influence consequent on the decline of Mughal power in Sindh.

By the age of 80, he had established himself as a great poet of Sindh. Novices in the field of Sindhi poetry from far and wide would come to see him. Shah Abdul Latif was one of them.

Miyen Shah Inat Jo Kalam is the first definitive edition of his work. Ably edited by N.A. Baloch, it carefully compares and collates the two manuscripts, transcribed in the early 19th and early 20th centuries, and aptly incorporates a considerable volume of the poet's verses, not covered by the above said two manuscripts, but current in the oral tradition.

The first MS. of c. 1820 comprises those *baits* and *wai's* by Shah Inat, which one Sanwan faqir remembered by heart after about 100 years of the Sufi poet's death. That his *baits* and *wai's* were passed on from one generation to another speaks of his immense popularity. This MS, was prepared at the instance of Mian Ummid Ali Shah, Shah Inat's great grandson.

The second MS. of the first quarter of the present century collects almost all the baits and wai's of the first MS plus many others, some of which actually belonging to the Shah Jo Risalo. On a close scrutiny of the two MSS, it is found that the first is more dependable. After tapping the second source of oral tradition, as many as 47 verses by Shah Inat were recorded from all over Sindh, *Miyen Shah Inat Jo Kalam* presents Shah Inat's 469 *baits* and 42 wai's under 22 *suruds*, or modes of singing: *Kalyan, Jaman, Khambhat, Srirag, Ramkali, Marrul, Prabhat, Dhanasri, Jatisri, Purab, Lila, Asa, Kapaiti, Dahar, Mumal Rano, Bilawal, Desi, Sorath, Sarang, Todi, Kamod* and *Karairo* Shah Inat preferred to call them *suruds*.

But his successor Shah Abdul Latif referred to them as *surs*. Both of them like other Sufi poets sang their poetry-that too sometimes not strictly metrical - in *suruds* and *surs*, in a kind of music which was not of rigid classical character.

Lately, we have appropriated to them a new categorical name of *loka-ragas*, in contradistinction to the *ragas* proper. The learned editor errs when he tries to equate the *suruds*, or for that matter the *surs*, with the *ragas* and *raginis* of the classical system.

Essentially a folk music, Shah Inat's *suruds* were mainly concerned with the heroines of

Sindhi folktales, traders weavers and selfless seekers of the Supreme Reality. Thereby he adumbrated Shah Abdul Latif in particular and other Sindhi Sufi poets in general.

In his poetry, Shah Inat alluded in an elaborate way to the heroines of the well-known seven folktales of Sindh - Lila, Marui, Mumal, Nuri, Sasui, Sohni and Sorath - and used the tales as metaphors for high spiritual life.

Lila was a princess who bartered away Chanesar, her husband, for a necklace of diamonds which her rival Kaunru gave her to be able to spend one night with him. Chanesar disowned Lila, for her fault was grave. Now, Lila repented:

Come home my love, come back to me:
the necklace I have since returned
Forget about my faults, forgive me my Love,
the necklace I have since turned down.

Marui was kidnapped by Umar of Umarkot. She did not accept Umar's offers of good comfortable life at his palace and remained faithful to her own people in the desert. She is a symbol of steadfastness and also of love of one's country. She says:

I remember the desert I lived in
And wait for my friends in whose company
I saw the desert blooms and ate berries;
If only Umar frees me, I'll go back to them,
be with them, one of their fold.

A seductive lady, Mumal lost her lover. Finally, she becomes steadfast in her ways and finds him in her heart:

With a view to wooing him
Mumal's friends put on their best necklaces
and scented their hair.
But it was the simple Mumal who found him for herself.

Nuri was a fishermaid. By her perfect humility she endeared herself to the King Tamachi. And then all his haughty queens stood awaiting him, having learnt how to win his favours:

All others were beautiful,
but the fishermaid was so in a special way;
Loving and being loved, she did not give up humility:
the modest and shy Nuri won Tamachi's heart.

Punhu, the prince of Kech Makran, was attracted by Sasui, the washerwoman. But he was taken away from her, one night. Left alone, she searches for him in the mountains Shah Inat exhorts her:

Viewing the tough mountain passes,
don's slacken your pace (O Sasui !);
It is only the worldly lovers
who are scared by the difficult paths;
First, you deck yourself with the garland of Reality, then, says Inat, Punhu will soon take care of you.

Sohni was married off to a man she disliked. Every night she swam across the Sindhu to meet Mehar, her beloved. Once, her earthen pot which she used as a swimming-aid broke and she was drowned. The Sufi poet says:

The night was dark
and she was without the earthen pot;
With love in heart she waded through
the turbulent river
as if it were a smooth path.

Sorath, the queen of King Diyach of Girnar, Gujarat, sacrificed herself for the sake of love for her husband. Diyach gave his head to the wandering minstrel and Sorath followed him into the world of the dead. Highly pleased with the minstrel's song, Diyach offered him to ask for anything he liked to have. As the intrigues of fate would have it, the minstrel asked for his head. The kind and generous king gave it.

Now, the song resounded in Sorath's head. She bid farewell to life and to the pain of separation from him. Shah Inat poignantly describes the fateful moment when Diyach says to the minstrel:

Why, why be shy of demanding my head
what is this life before the moment of ecstasy
I experienced through your immortal song?
Let people know, I gave what you asked for.

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Isa Taj, Hazarat (16th Century A.D.)

Hazrat Isa Taj of Jaunpur was an eminent sufi saint of the Chishtiya Order. He sent his younger brother, Hazrat Ahmed Taj to Bihar Sharif. His *khanqah* is still existent in Mohalls Bhaisasur. Another saint of Qadiriya and Qalandariya Orders is Mir Fazlullah Husain, who is son-in-law and disciple of Qutbud-Din Jaunpuri. Hazrat Munim Pakbaz reached to his eminence through him and the Qadiriya Order spread to Islampur, Bihar Sharif, Danapur, Ramasagar, Gaya Khusnupure, etc.

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Ishaq, Shaikh (d. 1581 A.D.)

Shaikh Ishaq, another important Chishti, migrated from Multan to Delhi where he settled. He rarely talked to anyone, with the exception of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, with whom he had lengthy conversations. Customarily, he had only food enough for one day, as his slave-girl never stored anything from one day to the next.

Before his death (in 989/1581), he visited the house of a neighbour who arranged a *sama* 'session and the ecstasy he then experienced precipitated his death.

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Ismail Shami (16th Century A.D.)

Another Qadiri saint of eminence, who came to Kashmir in 992/1581 from somewhere in India, was Saiyid Isma'il Shami. He too traced his descent from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. He had received his early education from his father, Saiyid Sulaiman, and was initiated into the Qadiri order by one Saiyid Muhammad Qasim.

Saiyid Ismail was warmly received in Kashmir by some eminent saints of that country including Baba Dawud Khaki, with whom he developed a close friendship. Saiyid Isma'il appears to have been a saint of great repute. His devotional zeal and piety are praised in all the sources. Baba Dawud Khaki, eulogises his laudable character, simplicity and spiritual achievements in a poem which he composed in the Saiyid's honour. However, he also did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India; but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qadiri order, through his disciple Mir Nazuk Niyazi.

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J

Jalal, Shaikh (d.1357 A.D.)

Amongst the Bengali warrior saints whose career can be traced more accurately is Shaikh Jalal of Sylhet. According to the *Gulzar-i Abrar Shaikh,* Jalal was a Turkistani by birth and a *khalifa* of Saiyid Ahmad Yasawi of the *Silsila-i Khwajgan.* At his request, Jalal's *pir* blessed him that he might succeed in the lesser *jihad* or warfare against infidelity in a dar *al-harb* (land outside the Islamic *occumene*) in the same way as he had directed him towards success in the higher (spiritual) *jihad.*

The Saiyid ordered his seven hundred (a mythical figure) most eminent disciples to accompany the Shaikh. Their expedition was not an ascetic or peaceful one. The booty gained from their warring enabled them to live luxuriously. Shaikh Jalal would leave various saints along the way to propagate Islam in the newly acquired territories.

When the Shaikh reached Sirhat (Sylhet), he was accompanied by 313 followers. Raja Gaur Govind, heading one hundred thousand footmen and several thousand horsemen, engaged the small band in a hotly contested battle and was thoroughly defeated. The entire region fell to Shaikh Jalal who apportioned the land among his followers, thus enabling them to take wives and settle down. The Shaikh himself, however, did not marry and came to be known as *Shah Jalal Mujarrad* (Bachelor). Sylhet was the share of Shaikh Nuru'l-Huda Abu'l Karamat Sai'di Husaini.

One of Shaikh Nuru'l-Huda's descendants was Shaikh 'Ali Sher Bangali, the author of a book entitled the *Sharh-i Nuzhatu'l-Arwah.* The account summarized by Ghausi Shattari was based on the preface of the above work.

Sylhet was finally conquered by Shamsu'd-Din Firuz (1301-22), the enterprising governor of Bengal. Apparently Shaikh Jalal was driven by the Mongol invasions to Baghdad and from there he went to Multan and Uch, At Uch it is possible that he was formally initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order as is suggested by local legends. His visit to Delhi, en route to Bengal, and a meeting with the city's famous Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya', are also not improbable. He may have reached Bengal in the early fourteenth century and selected the newly conquered Sylhet for his spiritual and meditational activities.

Ibn Battuta confused Shaikh Jalal with Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi, and so many later writers following the Moorish traveller did likewise. In 1345, Ibn Battuta journeyed especially through Chittagong and Kamrup to visit the saint. Shaikh Jalal told him that he had seen the last 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Musta'sim Bi'llah (640/1242-656/1258). Ibn Battuta completed his book in December 1357. The Shaikh was reported to have died in 748/1347, therefore, he would have been born in 598/1201 and it is possible he could have visited the Caliph al-Musta'sim.

At his visit to the Shah, Ibn Battuta found him indulging in very austere forms of self denial. He would fast for ten days at a time and was as thin as a stick. His fellow dervishes consumed the gifts given to him by devotees, while the Shah lived only on milk from his cow. The

khanqah itself was situated near a cave. Ibn Battuta was highly impressed with Shah Jalal's intuitive and miraculous powers for which, the author writes, he was known from the Eastern Islamic world to China.

Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din Sagharji of China, informed Ibn Battuta that Shah Jalal controlled everything that happened in the world. Even though Shah Jalal did not leave Bengal after he had returned there finally, it is believed he miraculously performed his morning prayers in Mecca whether he also made an annual pilgrimage.

Naturally, with such claims made for him the Shah's personality became tremendously popular with the local Hindus and Buddhists amongst whom he had settled. The magic surrounding his name prompted many to embrace Islam.

Sylhet, the capital of the Surma Valley, formerly in Assam, now in Bangladesh, was a Hindu kingdom. A man named Burhanud-Din settled there and made a vow that he would sacrifice a cow if a son was born to him. A son was born and in pursuance of his vow a cow was sacrified which incurred the displeasure of the Raja Gaur Gobind, who sent for Burhanud-Din, and took him to task. He killed his son and chopped of his right hand. On receipt of the news of this barbarous act, a contingent of army under Sikandar Shah marched against Gaur Gobind but the army was defeated by the Raja.

At about the same time a renowned saint, Hazrat Shah Jalal 'Mujarrad' of Yemen (Arabia), was on his way towards Sylhet at the instance of his spiritual guide at Mecca. When he was in Delhi Hazrat Nizamud-Din Aulia invited him to stay with him. When he left Delhi Nizamud-Din Aulia gave him two pairs of black pigeons, the species of which is still found in Sylhet and Cachar districts and is called Jalali pigeon.

He met the army of Sikandar Shah returning, having been defeated by Raja Gaur Gobinda. By this time Hazrat Shah Jalal followers had increased in number to 360. He persuaded Sikandar Shah to make another attempt on Sylhet. A fresh battle ensûed and Gaur Gobinda was defeated, and Sylhet fell to the combined army. Hazrat Shah Jalal entered Sylhet and settled there with all his followers. Many of respectable Muslims of Sylhet are descendants of Hazrat Shah Jalal's 360 followers, who settled all over the districts of Assam and Bengal. The graveyard of the saint, Hazrat Shah Jalal, is looked upon as a holy place of pilgrimage which is visited every day by hundreds of people both Muslims and non-Muslims. The important follwers of Shah Jalal are:

	Name	*Shrine*
1.	Haji Yusuf	Near Shah Jalal's Dargah, Sylhet, Bangladesh.
2.	Haji Khalil	Near Haji Yusuf.
3.	Muhammad	Lane Muhallah, Sylhet Dia-ud-Din Town.
4.	Haji Ghazi	Near Sylhet Town.
5.	Shaikh Ali (Prince of Yemen)	Near Shah Jalal' shrine, Sylhet.
6.	Qazi Jalalud-Di	Qazi Tula Muhallah, Sylhet.
7.	Shah Zaki	Qazi Tula Muhallah, Sylhet
8.	Shah Syed Omer	Dhupa Dighi Muhallah, Samar Qandi Sylhet.
9.	Zinda Peer	Zinda Bazar, Sylhet.
10.	Shah Zat	Near Govt. High School, Sylhet.
11.	Qazi Ghaila	Qazi Tula Muhallah, Sylhet
12.	Shah Yatim	Badur Latka Muhallah, Sylhet.
13.	Shah Pur	Bandar Bazar, Sylhet.
14.	Syed Hussain	Hussain Muhallah, Sylhet.
15.	Hussain Mahid Shah	Hussain Mahid Muhallah, Sylhet.
16.	Shah Makhdum	Daftari Para, Sylhet.
17.	Shaikh Khidir Khan Dabir	Khan Dabir Muhallah, Sylhet.
18.	Syed Mukhtar Sylhet.	Syed Mukhtar Muhallah,
19.	Dada Peer	Mukhtar Khaki Muhallah, Sylhet.
20.	Daryee Peer	Near Shah Jalal's Dargah, Sylhet.
21.	Shah Sabur	Barud Thana, Sylhet.
22.	Khidir Sufi	Barud Thana, Sylhet.
23.	Shah Baghdar Ali	Barud Thana, Sylhet.

		The following Darwishes Shrines are outside the town:
24.	Shah Halimud-Din	Kani Hati, under Maulvi Bazar, District Sylhet.
25.	Syed Nasirud-Din Baghdadi	Peer Mohal, Sylhet.
26.	Hyder Ghazi	Sonar Gaon near Dacca, Sylhet.
27.	Shaikh Burhanud-Din	Tola Tikar, Sylhet.
28.	Shaikh Diaud-Din	Badarpur, District Cachar.
29.	Shah Badar	Badarpur, District Cachar.
30.	Adam Khaki	Badarpur, District Cachar.
31.	Shah Abdul Malik	Badarpur, District Cachar.
32.	Ghashni Pir	Gayai Para, Sylhet.
33.	Rukunud-Din Ansari	Sarail under Numilia District Bangladesh..
34.	Shah Madan	Tilagarh, Sylhet
35.	Shah Sultan	Mymensingh, Bangladesh
36.	Syed Abubakr	Karimganj, Cachar
37.	Fatheh Ghazi	Tarak near Sylhet.
38.	Shah Arifeen	Laur, Tripura.
39.	Daud Karrani	Benga Pargana.
40.	Shah Sikandar	Sun Khai Pargana
41.	Syed Tajud-din	Aurang Pur
42.	Meerul Arifeen	Chilla Khana at Panchgram, Cachar.

It has always been a controversy whether Ibn Batuta had the privilege of meeting Hazrat Shah Jalal Mujarrad or Hazrat Jalalud-Din Tabrizi.

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Jalalud-Din Tabriz, Shaikh (d. 1225 A.D.)

Shaikh Jalalud-Din was born at Tabriz in Persia and was a pupil of Shaikh Abu Said of that city. After his death, he became the pupil of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardy. He was with the Shaikh for seven years. He died at Pandua in 1225 A.D. Ibn Battuta, the Moorish traveller who was in Bengal in 1342-43 A.D. personally had the pleasure to see the saint at his hermitage in the mountains of Kamrup. He records that he heard about the saint's death a year or two later when he reached Khan Baliq (Peking), China.

Hence, it is probable that Hazrat Jalalud-Din died about 1346 or 1347 A.D. As Munshi Ilahi Bakhsh suggests, the chronogram may only be a record about when Shah Jalal finally left Pandua. The saint must have died at a very advanced age. In his youth, he is said to have been in Baghdad, when the death of the last Caliph Mutasim-billah took place in 1258 A.D/ 656 A.H.

It must, however, also be pointed out that as there were more than one saint bearing the same name in the same period he was called Mujarrad (unmarried). The confusion with regard to the actual date of each one's death is due to the absence of proper records.

Shaikh Jalalud-Din Tabrizi was a disciple of Abu Said Tabrizi, a vicegerent *(Khalifa)* of Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi, and a friend of Khawaja Qutbud-Din and Shaikh Bahaud-Din Zakaria. Shaikh Najmud-Din Sughra Shaikh-ul-Islam at Delhi, bore him enmity; so the saint went to Bengal. His tomb is said to be in Dev Mahal (Pandua) or Maldev Island.

In *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, it is mentioned that the country was conquered by Muslamans led by a warrior saint, called Shah Jalal in the end of the fourteenth century, when the Afghan king, Shamsud-Din Firoz Shah 701-722 A.H./1301-1322 A.D. (son of Nasirud-Din Bughra Khan, son of Ghiyasud-Din Balban of Delhi), ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gaur Shah Jalal's shrine in Sylhet town still exists.

It was the beginning of the fourteenth century, not in the end of the fourteenth Century as mentioned above. In the reign of Alaud-Din Khilji (695-715 A.H./1295-1315 A.D.) Sylhet was conquered by Muslims.

Ibn Battuta came to Sylhet when Fakhrud-Din Mubarak Shah was an independent Sultan of Bengal (739-750 A.H./1338-1349 A.D.). His capital was at Sonargaon during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq (725-752 A.H./1325-1351 A.D.).

Ibn Battuta writes in his travel that when he met Shaikh Jalalud-Din Tabrizi at Kamrup, four of his (Shah Jalal's) disciples met Ibn Batuta saying that Tabrizi had sent them to take his as the shaikh knew his arrival. Ibn Battuta went into a cave where the Shaikh was residing. The Shaikh was on regular fast, which was broken after every ten days. The Muslims and non-Muslims used to bring food and clothes for the Shaikh but he [illegible] distribute them among his visitors. He lived only on milk. The people of the area embraced Islam through his efforts.

When Ibn Battuta met the Shaikh he received and embraced him with respect. Batuta was his guest for three days. The Shaikh was in his skin dress (robe) when he received Ibn Battuta. He desired if he could have that skin dress (robe) from the Shaikh. His bewilderment knew no bound when the Shaikh gave him the dress (the robe). When Ibn Battuta begged leave of him, he was told by other saints that Jalalud-din knew by his spiritual power that one day Battuta from Moroacco would come to meet him and he would like to have that skin dress (robe) for him; so, he gave it to him.

The Shaikh had not worn that robe before his (Battuta) arrival but he did so in order to invite the attention of Battuta for that. The robe belonged to Burhanud-Din, the Shaikh of Sagharj. He knew also that the robe would be taken away by an infidel ruler and consequently would pass on to Shaikh Burhanud-Din and his speculation proved later on to be correct when Ibn Battuta went to China and was passing through the city of Hongchowfu where he got astray from his companions.

By chance a Minister of the Chinese Emperor saw him wearing that dress took him to the court of the Chinese Emperor, who enquired of him about the kings of the Muslim would and looked at his dress with an eye of appreciation. The Minister advised him to present that robe to the Emperor who gave him ten costly dresses in return and accepted that gift.

After a year, when Ibn Battuta reached the monastery of Shaikh Burhanud-Din Sagharchi, he saw the saint wearing that very skin dress and studying some book. He came to know that Jalalud-Din Tabrizi had informed Burhanud-Din by a letter that a skin dress (robe) would reach him through a traveller from the West. Ibn Buttuta read that letter and was struck by the power of Tabrizi in regard to his mysterious intelligence.

Burhanud-Din narrated that Jalalud-Din Tabrizi offered his 'morning prayer' at Mecca and on the days of haj he used to disappear from the midst of the people and used to return after performing haj and nobody knew where and how he slipped away; but that he was deceased and was no more in this world.

After meeting Jalal Tabrizi, Ibn Buttuta arrived at the city of Habanq situated on the bank of Blue river, which was populated by non-Mus-

lims but was a Muslim ruler. He crossed the river by a boat free of charge and after 15 days' journey he reached Sonargaon 15 miles south-east of Dacca, which was one of the three capitals of Muslim Bengal. Here from he set out for Sumatra, by a ship, a journey of 40 days.

The Jalali section is ascribed to Syed Jalalud-Din Shah Mir Surkh-posh of Bukhara (1192-1291 A.D.) who was a *Khalifa* of Bahaud-Din Zakriya of Multan. This saint was born in Bukhara but when he grew to manhood he came to India and settled down in Uchh. His descendants are still known as *Syed Bukhari.* T.W. Arnold says of him: "Syed Jalalud-Din is the ancestor of generations of saints. His *Khalifa* was his grand-son Jalalud-Din bin Ahmed Kabir, commonly known as *Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht* (d. 1384 A.D.), who is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca thirty-six times and to have performed innumerable miracles.

One of Makhdum Jahaniyan's grand-sons, Abu Muhammad Abdullah, known as *Burhanud-Din Qutb-i-Alam* (d. 1453 A.D.) went to Gujarat, where his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage to Batawa. His son Syed Mohammed Shah Alam (d. 1475 A.D.) became more famous and played an important part in the political and religious life of his time; his tomb is at Rasulabad, near Ahmadabad."

There are two Jalalud-Din, other than those mentioned above, one is Jalalud-din Mohammed Shah (818-819 A.D./1415-1416 A.D.) son of Raja Kans. He deposed his son and assumed the throne of Bengal under the title of Danuja macddana-deva (Saka dates of coins, 1339 and 1340). Jalalud-Din again was restored to the throne, from 1415 to 1431 A.D. *Tarikh-i-Jalali* mentions that there were four saints of the same name, viz, Jalalud-Din Tabrizi, Shah Jalalud-Din Gajarwan, Shah Jalal Mujarrad and Shah Jalal Bukhari. Shah Jalal Mujarrad was an unmarried man and so he was called Mujarrad.

Mufti Azharud-Din Siddqi, the author of the life of Hazrat Shah Jalal Mujarrad has taken much pain in collecting materials of the life of the saint. But he also failed at reaching a decisive conclusion on this point. The whole controversy regarding Shah Jalal has been created by Ibn Battuta.

It is he who turned Shah Jalal Mujarrad into Shah Jalalud-Din Tabrizi while writing on him. Jalalud-Din Tabrizi had already left this world hundred and twenty years before the arrival of Ibn Battuta in Bengal and Assam. As the whole manuscripts of Ibn Battuta was robbed of by the robbers, so whatever he wrote was based on his memory.

Sylhet was captured before the birth of Syed Jalal Bukhari Jahaniyan Jahan Gahan Gasht in 1303 A.D. and we know that the Jahan Gasht was born in 1307 A.D. i.e. four years after the fall of Sylhet. Hence, the Jahan Gasht was not the man with whom meeting of Ibn Battuta had taken place. Therefore, it is established that Ibn Battuta must have met Shah Jalal Mujarrad in 745 A.H. (1342 A.D.) and not Jalalud-Din Tabrizi or Shirazi as mentioned by him. Kamrup, where he met the saint, is a chain of hills which goes upto Chinese Tibetan borders; and this land was famous for musk and black magic throughout India, the inhabitants having Turk-like face.

Out of numerous books written on the life and activities of Shah Jalal Mujarrad mention may be made of *Suhail-i-Yemen* by Nasirud-Din Hyder. *Tarikh-i-Jalali* translated by Maulana Mubashshir Ali Dabir and *Life of Hazrat Shah Jalal*, compiled by Mufti Azharud-Din Siddiqi. The later writers who compiled their books making the aforesaid books their base, have deviated from the main topic and have filled their books with legends and baseless facts. These books are not reliable as they have been written without scrutinising facts and tapping original sources. Love and reverence for the saint have engaged their attention in the saint's spiritual perfection and his miracles had distracted them from the necessity of historical authenticity.

The controversy regarding the native place of the saint comes to an end when someone goes through the inscription of his shrine. According to it the saint's home was in Kenya and not Yemen as it is recorded in contemporary and later books. The inscription runs thus:

Bismillahi-r-rahmanir rahim, al-amra bihazal-imarah al-mubarakah al-mansubah badarul ahsan harsahullahu taa'la; min mukhafat al-zaman ala'bid al-a'ali al-kabir al-mutha'l shaikh jalal mujarrad kinyai quddusirruhu al-aziz fi a'adhi al-sultan a'alaud-din abul muzaffar husain shah al-sultan khalladahu allahu mulkahu wa sultanahu, bina kard khan-e-a'azam wa khaqan-e-mu'azzam khalis khan jamdar ghair muhalli wa sarri lashkar wa wazir aqlim-e-mua'zzam abad sanh ahad a'ashar was tisa' miah' (1505/911 hi).

(In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate who ordered the erection of this blessed building attached to the house of benediction (Sylhet). May God protect it against the ravages of time......is the devotee the high, the great Shaikh Jalal the single, the hermit of Keniya; may God Almighty sanctity his dear secrets! It was built during the reign of Sultan Alaud-Din Abu Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the king, by the great Khan, the exalted khaqan, Khalis Khan, keeper of the vardrobe outside the palace, Commander and Wazir of the province Mu'azzamabad in the year 911 A.H./1505 A.D.)."

The inscription 4'x1' must have belonged to a grand building which is supposed to be the first construction of the shrine.

Another important and authentic inscription discovered by Abu Nasr Wahid in Sylhet town is preserved in the Dacca Museum. This inscription also throws much light on this Sufi. It runs thus.

Baa'zmat shaikhu al-mushaikh makhdum shaikh jalal mujarrad bin muhammad, anwal fataha shar a'risa sirihat (silhat) badast-e-sikandar khan ghazi dar a'adi sultan firuz shah dalwi (dehlawi) thalath wa seba'amia (hi 703) in a'marat rukn khan ki fatih kunanda hasht kumharayah wazir lashkar bud. shahar ha waqti fathi kamru,kamata, jaznagar warishah lashkar karda bashnd jabaja badunmbal badshah sanh thaman wa a'shar wa tisa'mia (1512/918 hi).'

(The saintly personality and greatness of Makhdum Shah Jalal Mujarrad bin Muhammad was the cause of first victory of Islam at Sylhet. This conquest was made by the soldiers of Sikandar Khan during the reign of Firoz Shah Dehlavi (703 A.H./1303 A.D.). This building was constructed by the victorious Rukun Khan who had served as the minister and commander-in-chief to the said king during the conquest of Kamrup, Kamata, Jaz Nagar and Orissa).

The above-quoted inscription throws light on the following facts:

a) Hazrat Shah Jalal's father was Muhammad and he was a native of Kenya.
b) Hazrat Shah Jalal visited Sylhet in 703 A.H./1303 A.D.
c) Sikandar Khan Ghazi conquered Sylhet in 703 A.H. during the reign of Sultan Firoz Shah Dehlavi.
d) The building of his shrine was constructed by Khalis Khan Wazir Muwazzamabad in 911 A.H./1505 A.D. and it was enlarged by Rukun Khan in 918 A.H./1512 A.D.

The author of the Riyaz-us-Salatin is to some extent silent on this topic. He has also, like other writers, contended to write only a few lines in his book. In the footnote of the English translation of the Riyaz-us-Salatin this much has been written: "The country was conquered by Musalmans led by a warrior saint, called Shah Jalal at the end of the fourteenth century when the Afghan king Shamsud-Din ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gaur. Shah Jalal's shrine in Sylhet town still exist."

According to the author of the *Gulzar-i-Ibrar*, Shah Jalal Mujarrad was the disciple of Ahmad, Yassawi, who himself was the disciple of Khawaja Yusuf Hamadani (d. 1140 A.D.). Jalal Mujarrad's spiritual guide was an eminent saint of his time, who had founded a school of mystics. And Shah Jalal's birth-place was in Turkistan. But it is a matter of surprise that this fact is not recorded by any biographer of Shah Jalal Mujarrad. As this was recorded by one of his later disciples it seems to be more authentic and correct.

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Jalal Mujarrad, Shah (d. 1189 A.D.)

Among the important pillars of the Sufi lines who entered India and wielded immense influence among its people special mention may be made of Shah Jalal Mujarrad, who chose Sylhet as a base for preaching Islam.

It is said that he came to Sylhet in accordance with the direction of his spiritual guide. " The district was at one time divided into at least three petty kingdoms: Gor or Sylhet proper, Laur and Jaintia; and the country South of the Kusiyara seems to have been under the control of the Raja of Hill Trippera. Gor was conquered by the Muslims in A.D. 1384? (correct date is 1303 A.D.), the last Hindu King, Gor Gobind, being overcome more by the miracles of the Fakir (Faqir), Shah Jalal, than by the powers of the officer-in-command of the expedition, Sikandar Ghazi.

After the death of Shah Jalal Gor was included in the Kingdom of Bengal and placed in charge of governor. In the reign of Akbar, it passed with the rest of Bengal into the hands of the Mughals. He was a renowned Sufi of India and a contemporary of Khwaja Nizamud-Din Aulia (d. 1325 A.D.) of Delhi.

The conquest of Gaur by the Muslims is ascribed by tradition to Shah Jalal of Yemen. The saint died in 1189 A.D.; but according to other versions he is said to have come to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Alaud-Din (1296-1316 A.D.) and to have gone to Sylhet with the army commanded by Sikandar Shah, the Sultan's nephew.

This tradition is confirmed by a Persian inscription of 1512 A.D., in which it is said that the conquest of Sylhet was effect by Sikandar Khan Ghazi in the reign of Firoz Shah (of Bengal) in 1303 A.D. It may, therefore, he concluded that Sylhet fell into the hands of the Muslims in the early part of the 14th century.

The name of the conquered Hindu Raja is given in Shah Jalal's life history as Gaur Gobind, Gaur or Gor being the name of his capital as well as of his kingdom. Rajondralala Mitra identified him with the Gobind Deb of the Bhatera copper-plates. Professor Padhmanath Bhattacharyya quotes a local tradition that Baniyachang had previously been the capital of Kesave Misra, the Brahman ancestor of Gobind Deb, who came from the north-west and settled there. A fort was subsequently constructed a Laur, as a protection against raids by the Khasis.

The oldest historical record is a stone inside the famous shrine of Shah Jalal at Sylhet. This record was made in the time of Shamsud-Din Yusuf Shah, who ruled over Bengal from 1474 A.D. to 1481 A.D. The Muslims conquest of Western and Northern Bengal by Muhammad Khilji, the lieutenant of Qutbud-Din Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.) of Delhi, in the year 599 A.H. corresponding to 1202 A.D. took place when Rai Lakshman Sen (better known as Lakban Sen) was the ruler of Bengal, who had renamed Gaur.

Lakshmanavati after his own name Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji advancing rapidly from Bihar, suddenly appeared in the city of Nadia. Lakshman Sen moved to his other capital, Sonargaon, near Dacca. Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji then caused the 'Khutba' to be read, and coins struck in the name of Qutbud-Din Aibak, his immediate superior at Delhi. He established mosques, colleges and rest houses for saints in that province and made Lakhnauti the seat of his government. After his unsuccessful expedition to Tibet, he came back to Devkot, 18 miles south of Dinajpur, where he fell ill and died after ruling as Governor of Bengal for three years.

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Jalal Thaneswari, Shaikh (1469A.D. — 1582 A.D.)

The ancestors of Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari were from Balkh and on both parents' sides he was a Faruqi. He was born about 874/1469-70; by the age of eight he had memorized the Qur'an and by seventeen his education had been completed. He began his career as a teacher and a *mufti*, delivering *fatwas* which were based on verses of the Qur'an.

Deciding to adopt sufism, he renounced his profession for tutelage under Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi. A natural ecstatic, he would have to be raised by his disciples from his trance with the words, 'Haqq, Haqq'. Obsessed with *sama'*, Shaikh Jalal was known to make vigorous physical movement during the ritual. Like other well-known sufis he suffered unwanted attentions from leading members of the nobility and the government, although in general he refused to meet them.

On his way to Kabul in February 1581 Akbar visited the Shaikh. Aroused from an ecstatic state by his disciples, when informed of the presence of the Emperor he ordered them to help him stand so that he might perform his obligations to his khalifa (Akbar) and then proceeded to recite *fatiha* (prayers) for the successful outcome of the Emperor's expedition. Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari died on 14 Zu'lhijja 989/9 January 1582.

During his lifetime Shaikh Jalal wrote a treatise on revenue administration to illustrate the rulings on that subject of the Hanafite lawmakers. It would seem that the disgruntled *madad-i-ma'ash* holders in Akbar's reign persuaded him to write it. Another of his works, *Irshadu't-talibin* was a guide to mystics. In it he mentioned that Divine lovers did not choose to arrest their spiritual progress when they obtained miraculous powers. They continued on the *Tariqa* until they were capable of ignoring all temptation.

By then all attachment to anything material would have been severed, even to the extent of loss of life itself through neglecting such necessities as food and sleep. Lovers of the Divine avoided worship, piety and ascetic exercises, believing them to be evil. They sacrificed their lives, underwent hardships and died within themselves before their physical deaths thus becoming united with God in this life. As this path was highly complex it could lead to confu-

sion among many sufis and impostors, resulting in harmful practices.

The *Irshadu't-talibin* advised those entering the mystical life to discover a perfect and conscientious guide with a faultless perception of the *Shari'a, Tariqa* and *Haqiqa*. Like earlier Chishtiyyas, Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari based his training in *zikr* also on various forms of breath control (*pas-i anfas*).

Shaikh Jalal was succeeded by his son-in-law and *khalifa*, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din bin Shaikh 'Abdu'sh-Shakur. Following in the footsteps of his *pir* and many other Chishti sufis, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din was an accomplished scholar and teacher of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He wrote commentaries on the *Sawanih* of Ahmad al-Ghazali and the *Lam'at* of Iraqi, a commentary on the Qur'an and treatises called *Risala-i Haqiqat* and *Risala-i Balkhiyya*.

The first verse of the Qur'an, on Unity, was interpreted by the Shaikh as implying that the Prophet Muhammad invited perfect gnostics to accept the *Wahdat ul-Wujud*. The other chapters he selected were also intended to explain *Wujudiyya* beliefs.

After the Mujaddid became converted to the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, one of his first missions was to reform Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din because of the close associations of the Mujaddid's father with Shaikh Jalal Thaneswari's *khanqah*. Writing to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, the Mujaddid stated that nearness to God was not obtained by the repetition of supererogatory prayers *(nawafil)*, claiming that a single obligatory prayer was superior to thousands of years spent saying other prayers such as *nawafil* and performing *zikr, fikr* (meditation) and *muraqaba* (contemplation) as well as fasting. A single penny spent on *zakat* was better than a mountain of gold spent on charity. The Mujaddid also remonstrated against some of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din's disciples extending their *zaminbos* (kissing the ground) to *sijda* (prostration) before their *pir*.

With some severity the Mujaddid described this custom as objectionable, suggesting that the disciples be prevented from becoming involved in such abominable practices. He also urged Shaikh Nizam to invite those interested to discuss works on *Fiqh*, just as assemblies of mystics debated various aspects of sufism, and added that there was no harm if the former were preferred to works on sufism.

In another letter, the Mujaddid wrote that ideas expressed by sufis on the *Wahdat al-Wujud* were part of the realm of *sukr* (mystical intoxication). The truth was contained in the *Shari'a* only as defined by the '*ulama*', and the *Wahdat al-Wujud* conception of the Absolute, selfmanifestation (*tajalli*) and self-detemination *(ta'ayyun)* were based on an initial mystical intuition only.

The reaction of Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari to the contents of this spate of letters from the Mujaddid is not recorded but, the correspondence came to a rapid end when Jahangir banished him to Mecca in Zu'lhijja 1014/April-May 1606 for blessing the rebel Prince, Khusrau. In his *Tuzuk* the Emperor accused the Shaikh of being a *shaiyad* (impostor).

According to 'Abdu'llah Khweshgi, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din was an expert on the Shari'a, *Tariqa, Haqiqa* and *Ma'rifa*. He was also an authority on the question of conversion of baser metals to gold *(kiniya)*; and all the sources of gold known only to the 'world of mystery' *(ghayb)* had been revealed to him. As his expenditure greatly exceeded his resources he was assumed to be an alchemist and the Emperor Jahangir, jealous of this suspected power, exiled him to Mecca. After another pilgrimage, he returned to India, going straight to Burhanpur.

Although he was warmly welcomed by Shaikh 'Isa Sindi and his disciples, Shaikh Nizam decided to move on to Balkh. His life there will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Seven. A few notes follow on some of his Indian disciples, all of whom were strict followers of the mystical practices of their *pir*, ignoring the *Shuhudi* philosophy of the puritanical Mujaddid.

Shaikh Janu'llah of Lahore was one of the leading *khalifas* of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din and an *'alim* who was also considered an excellent teacher. Infatuated by the mystical life, he renounced his profession and became Shaikh *Nizam's* disciple in Thaneswar. He travelled to Mecca with his *pir* and he also accompanied him to Balkh. Ultimately he returned to Lahore where he became a prominent sufi. On 9 Jumada II 1039/24 January 1630 he died at Lahore where he was buried.

The most notable of Shaikh Janu'llah's disciples was Shaikh 'Abdul-Khaliq of Lahore. He had a deeply ascetic temperament and was exceedingly fond of *sama*. He died on 12 Rajab, 1059/22 July 1649 and was buried in Lahore.

A contemporary of Shaikh 'Abdul-Khaliq in Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif Chishti, was equally famous and had a large number of disciples. Shaikh 'Arif was a *khalifa* of Shah Kaku Chishti. The last ten days of each lunar month Shaikh 'Arif would spend in retreat, during which time he neither ate nor slept. Sama gatherings had the effect of rendering him unconscious. He died at Lahore in 1064/1653-54.

One of the well-known sufis of Lahore, and a *khalifa* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif, was Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq Chishti Sabiri. During the day, he imparted formal religious education to his students of theology while his nights were spent instructing his sufi disciples. Many Panjabi Muslims were attracted to his discipleship. During the Shaikh's lifetime it was claimed that anyone who attended his *sama'* assemblies immediately renounced the world and became mystic.

Of the many *khalifas* of Shaikh Muhammad 'Arif, Shaikh Muhammad Salim Chishti Sabiri was singled out for a strong attack by the 'ulama' of Lahore during the reign of Muhammad Shah. As a result he suffered considerable hardship. Ultimately the Governor of Lahore became Shaikh Muhammad Salim's disciple and managed to stem the 'ulama's opposition. On 3 Zu'lhijja 1151/14 March 1739, Shaikh Salim died and was buried in Lahore.

A grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi, Shaikh Abu Sa'id Chishti Sabiri Gangohi (d. 1049/1639-40), was also a leading *khalifa al-Wujud* was centered around Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri and his disciples. Philosophic and intellectual arguments were stressed, as opposed to the mystic and ecstatic ideal. Shaikh Muhibbu'llah was forced into a bitter battle to counter this tendency which had greatly influenced the pattern of thought in such a significant cultural centre as Jaunpur.

Unable to counter Mulla Mahmud's opposition with logic, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah resorted to undermining rationalism, *kalam* and philosophy. 'The secrets of divine knowledge are beyond the comprehension of reason', Shaikh Muhibbu'llah argued. To him there was a great difference between a Sunni who had mastery over kalam and one with divine knowledge and the study of philosophy was deserving of damnation.

In a series of letters to Mulla Mahmud outlining these views, he strengthened his case by quoting Ibn 'Arabi. The formal knowledge acquired by an *'alim* was associated with an inability to understand or appreciate the work of sufis, whom Shaikh Muhibbu'llah called 'ulama' possessed of Divine knowledge.

Only two sufis were singled out by Shaikh Muhibbu'llah as being opposed to the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. These were Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani and Mir Saiyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz. His criticism of the former amounted to an accusation of his not having understood the real and esoteric meaning of Ibn 'Arabi's theory of *Wujud al-Mutlaq*. The Shaikh further argued that Saiyid Gesu Daraz's *pir* (Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh of Delhi) had refused to bestow his *khirqa* on any of his disciples, thus implying that Gesu Daraz had not correctly assimilated the Chishtiyya traditions of *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

Shaikh Muhibbu'llah also claimed that only scholars, ascetics and mystics who were unable to achieve true spiritual perfection were followers of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani. Sufis who opposed Ibn 'Arabi he categorized as *sufi i-jahil*

(ignorant sufis), *'amma ahl i-tariq* (commonplace followers of the mystic path) over-emphasizing the belief in Divine transcendence and being guilty of accepting the beliefs of scholars of kalam in matters related to the highest form of experiential spiritual truth.

In the meantime Shaikh Muhibbu'llah continued to write skilled commentaries on the works of Ibn 'Arabi. Prior to his move to Allahabad he had completed an Arabic commentary on the *Fusus al-Hikam*, and this was followed, in 1041/1631-32, by another commentary on the famed and controversial work, this time in Persian. He also wrote a commentary on the Qur'an from the mystical viewpoint as well as further explanatory notes on the *Hashiya tarjamat al-Qur'an*.

By 13 Ramazan 1^50/27 of Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari. In his youth Shaikh Abu sa'id was also in the army, but he left the military profession to become a disciple of Shaikh Jalal who later transferred him to the care of Shaikh Nizam Thaneswari. After Shaikh Nizam had settled in Balkh, Shaikh Abu Sa'id visited him there. After his return to Gangoh he began to supervise the work at Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus' *khanqah*.

One of his *khalifas*, Shaikh Ibrahim, remained in Saidpur near Gangoh; another, Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim, was in Saharanpur and Khwaja was in Panipat. Shaikh Abu Said's influence reached as far as the eastern U.P. through his *khalifa*, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah Mubariz of Allahabad. At Gangoh, Shaikh Abu Sa'id was succeeded by his leading *khalifa*, his nephew Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the son of Shaikh Fatu'llah Gangohi.

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Jalalu'd-Din Kasi, Shaikh (d.1604/05 A.D)

In Unnao, a prominent Afghan, became a leading Chishtiyya in the sixteenth century was Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Kasi. A member of the Afghan Kasi tribe, he enjoyed considerable respect from his own as well as other tribes. He held a high post in the Afghan government under Sher Shah Sur. After the downfall of the Afghans and the restoration of the Mughals to the throne, Jalalu'd-Din Kasi decided to renounce the world and moved to Bangarmao in Unnao where he joined the *khanqah* of Shah Muhammad Chishti.

Being unable to find genuine spiritual illumination, on his *pir's* advice he went to the tomb of Shaikh Badru'd-Din of Bada'un. Constant recitation of the Qur'an and caring of the tomb resulted in the desired illumination. Within a short period he was surrounded by a large number of people.

Shaikh Jalal decided to adopt a boy who he believed would develop into a great mystic. In a dream the spirit of Shaikh Badru'd-Din promised that this wish would be fulfilled. About this time a handsome Kayastha boy from Asiwan (also in the Unnao district) fell into a state of ecstasy upon reading some Arabic verses in the *Gulistan* of Sa'di eulogizing the Prophet Muhammad. After becoming converted

to Islam his fear of retribution from his relatives forced him to flee to the *khanqah* of Shaikh Jalal at Bada'un. Once more Shaikh Jalal dreamed of Shaikh Badru'd-Din-this time his spirit announced that the arrival of the boy was imminent and that he should be trained carefully. Accordingly the Shaikh adopted the boy, calling him 'Abdu'llah, and began educating him.

Shaikh Jalal developed the habit of mediating and reciting the Qur'an until midnight at the tomb of Shaikh Badru'd-Din some distance from the town. These nocturnal habits severely hampered local thieves who operated around this area. Shaikh Jalal proved such a threat to their activities that in 1013/1604-05 they murdered him.

Shaikh Jalal was succeeded by Shaikh 'Abdu'llah who was also a great devotee of meditation and prayer. For whole nights he would not sleep, generally reciting the Qur'an while remaining standing erect. One of his leading disciples was Shaikh Taha of Rae-Bareilly. After Shaikh 'Abdu'llah's death in 1034/1624-25, he was succeeded by Shaikh Taha.

Those of the Afghan tribes most profoundly devoted to the Chishtiyyas were the Shuryanis and Khweshgis around Peshwar and Qasur (near Lahore). The earliest known sufi from these tribes was Wutu, the son of Shura bin Khweshgi. The brothers of Wutu were Husain Khweshgi and Khalaf Khweshgi. Wutu visited a number of sufis in search of a spiritual *pir*. Finally, he became the disciple of Khwaja Maudud chishti in Chisht where he remained for about forty years.

Before his death in 577/1181-82, Khwaja Maudud appointed Shaikh Wutu *khalifa* and ordered him to return to his homeland. After some years spent at his *pir's* tomb, he finally returned to Peshawar. At first the Afghans refused to accept him as a *pir*. However, a miracle eventually convinced them of his saintliness. Many of his tribesmen became his disciples and he became known as the Pir-i-Kibar (Great Pir). After his death the Khweshgi Afghans continued in their devotion to the Chishtiyya order under the influence of his spiritual successors.

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Jalalu'd-Din, Maulana (15th Century A.D.)

Maulana Jalalu'd-Din of Manikpur was a disciple of one of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya's disciples. Shaikh Muhammad. Although his teacher associated with the Sultan, in true *malmati* fashion in order to make himself unpopular with the people, and thus conceal his true spiritual achievements. Maulana Jalalu'd-Din led an austere life. After performing night prayers, the latter would sleep but would rise when the other *khanqah* inmates retired.

From then until morning he would incessantly pray and recite the *Ya Sin* chapter of the Qur'an forty-one times. In the morning, he would give religious instruction to his disciples. The Shaikh survived by transcribing the Qur'an and the completed copies were sold in Delhi. If revenue officials made depredations on the *ra'iyat* (ryot) in order to collect revenue, the Maulana would stop eating meat, fearing it might have been obtained from illegally seized animals.

On one occasion the Qazi of Manikpur, accompanied by his son, and by Shaikh Muhammad, the

latter's *pir*, called on Maulana Jalalu'd-Din. The Qazi first tested the Maulana's power of inspiration, and after being duly impressed, invited the Maulana to his house for a meal. The Maulana said that for forty years he had not taken a meal in a Qazi's house. The Qazi expressed great disappointment and the Maulana, not wishing to offend him greatly, asked whether the Qazi's son worked for the state judiciary. When given a negative reply, the Maulana consented to eat at the house of the Qazi's son.

Maulana Khwaja, Maulana Jalalu'd-Din's natural son, was a saintly scholar. Often he would fast for three days and he always refused to eat anything he believed to have been earned from impious means. His son, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din, was the pride of the family. After completing his formal education, he travelled to Pandua where he obtained spiritual training under Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam.

At the *khanqah* of his *pir*, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din performed all kinds of service, including the arduous task of carrying from the forest wood for fuel. In 804/1401-02, he was appointed a *khalifa* by Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam and returned to Manikpur where his learning and ascetic achievements made a considerable impact on the local people. His *malfuzat* (discourses) were compiled into a book by his disciple Farid bin Salar, which was called the *Rafiqu'l-'Arifin*.

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Jamalu'd-Din Makki, Shaikh Abul-Fath bin (d.1546 A.D.)

Shaikh Abu'l-Fath bin Jamalu'd-Din *Makki* was an eminent sufi of the Qadiriyya order. Attempts to establish the Qadiriyya order in the Delhi region had begun in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (894/1489-923/1517) who invited Shaikh Abu'l-Fath bin Jamalu'd-Din *Makki* 'Abbasi Qadiri to settle in Agra.

Shaikh, from Shirwan, came to be known as Makki (of Mecca) because of a long stay he made in that revered town. He is said to have inherited the khirqa of the Ghausu'l-A'zam from one of the great Qadiri's descendants.

Shaikh Abu'l-Fath led an independent life sheltered from the intrigues surrounding the Sultan and his nobles. Nevertheless a number of nobles managed to forge a letter ostensibly in the Shaikh's handwriting criticizing the Sultan which they then sent to the latter; however the Shaikh managed to foil the plan.

During the remainder of the Sultan's reign and that of Ibrahim Lodi (923/1517-932/1526), there seem to have been no problems for the Shaikh. When Sultan Ibrahim Lodi set out from Delhi to repel the invasion of the Emperor Babur he took with him many eminent sufis and *'alims*, including Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangohi and Shaikh Abu'l Fath. However, Shaikh Abu'l-Fath deserted and fled back to Agra, where he lived until his death in Shaban 953/sept Oct.1546.

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Jilani, Abdul Qadir (1077 A.D. — 1166 A.D.)

The Qadiriya order is known after Shaikh Muhiuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166 A.D.), a very distinguished figure in the history of Islamic mysticism. He had a very large number of disciples who established the *silsilah* in different regions of Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. He was well at home in religious tenets. His book on religious practices entitled 'al-Ghunya li Talibi Tarik al-Haq' and his sermons collected in 'al Fath al-Rabbani and Futuh al-Ghayb reveal him to be a sincere follower of *shari'at* in letter and spirit.

It is not exactly known how and when the Qadiriya *silsilah* came to India. The earliest saint of this order in India was probably Shaikh Muhammd Al-Husaini Alachi, a descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, who settled at Uchch during the 15th century. His son, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (862-940/1457-1533 A.D.) Continued the traditions of the Qadiriya *silsilah* at Uchch.

The Qadiriya silsilah was introduced into Bengal by Shah Allah Bakhsh. He was born at Uchch, but later his family settled at Lahore, from where he came to Bengal. But we have no information about his activities in Bengal. He died in 994 A.H./1585 A.D.

Shah Qumais son of Saiyid Abul Hayat, was another well-known saint of the Qadiriya order, who lived and worked in Bengal during the 16th century. He traced his spiritual descent from Saiyid Abdur Razzaq, a Qadiriya saint of Uchch. From Bengal, he went to Salorah where a large number of people joined his discipline. Shaikh Abdur Razzaq, popularly known as Shaikh Bahlol, was one of his eminent disciples. Shah Qumais later returned to Bengal where he breathed his last in 992 A.H./1584 A.D., but his coffin was carried to Salorah and buried there.

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Jilani Rohtaki, Ghulam (1749A.D. — 1819 A.D.)

Ghulam Jilani Rohtaki is an eminent sufi saint. His works indicate further permeation of Hindu thought in Sufism. There is hardly any Islamic element in him and he is through and through a Hindu ascetic in thought as well as in practice.

Bullhe Shah accepted almost all Hindu ideas which were held in great esteem at his time except that of transmigration of soul. This Ghulam Jilani Rohtaki accepted. He takes inspiration from the Hindu Vedanta, and Yoga Shastras. His *Jog Sagar* is replete with the Hindu religious beliefs, terminology and References. His verse is of didactic nature and thus holds little literary merit.

His verse does not require any deep or philosophic discussion to find out the Hindu influence in it. He plainly and undisguisedly recommends Hindu scriptures and Hindu practices to his followers:

Te tur gae parlok andar, jinhan jog marag chit dhar lia;
Atth ang phir jog de samajh piare, nit apna chit sudhar lia.
(Those who have adopted the path of Yoga, have realised the Truth; Follow the eight-fold practice of Yoga and thus purify thy mind.)

He refers to the tenth door of the Yogis as

an opening to the immortality and the realization of the Truth:

Har dam shabad Hari de gavan,
Dasven dvar ja asan lavan.
(With every breath they sing the glory of Hari; and sit in the posture at the tenth door.)

He recommends the Hindu formula 'Soham' for meditation:

Ghulam Jilani jinhan soham jap jape:
Bere unhan de jap ne tar ditte.
(Says Ghulam Jilani, those who muttered the formula of Soham, have been freed from sin.)

On the pattern of the Hindu Bhakti, Rohtaki lays emphasis on joining the company of godly persons, whereas in Sufism isolation is recommended during the training period:

Alif ao bhagato satsang karie;
Bachan labhdaik dassan piaria oe;
(O Bhagatas, let us sit together and sing the glory of God, I am giving you a piecce of profitable advice.)

The following verse illustrates his beliefs in the transmigration of soul, the five agents of *Maya (kam, krodh, lobh, moh* and *ahankar)* and the twenty-five constituent elements of the individual life. He also recommends Nam (remembering of God's name), *dan* (charity), *gyan* (knowledge), *ishnan* (bathing) to earn happiness.

He prescribes also the hearing of stories of God's sports (*lila*) and of the *Vedas* and the Shastras. Hari (Hindu name of God) will redeem only those who perform *upasana, path* and *puja.* Thename of God is all Hinduism:

Phar satgur de charan, bharam sabh mit jan ge
Je hoven satgur di dasi, na bhogen tun jun churasi.
Panj pachis de magar na javin.
Nam dan gyan ishnan taj ke, Kade rahen na sukhi piaria o;
Kiti jinhan upasana path puja, uho Hari ne par utaria o.
Ved Shastar katha na kadi sunen, sunada dooma dian phiren kahanian o.

He does not frighten the people by referring repeatedly to the Death God's Wrath and the fires of Hell. He, like Hindu ascetics, appeals to the people to adopt the path of God and thus utilise the life period for attaining emancipation. He lays emphasis on the transitoriness of the worldly achievements to create indifference towards the worldly life.

Though, he believes in the pervadence of God in the individuals as a thread in the garland, but the ultimate end before him is the realisation of Hari in the heart. He believes that the existence of the individual is in essence and that essence is of light. The state of realisation is the state of mergence of the individual light into that of Eternal and Infinite Flood of Light in the same way as sugar becomes one with Kheer (dish made of rice, milk and sugar boiled together).

Rohtaki got initiation in the Sufi path from his father Badra-ud-din Chishti Qadiri. He wrote a number of books on Sufism, namely *Jog Sagar, Prem Piyala, Prem Bani, Prem Lahir, Siratul Arfin, Heer Ghulam Jilani Shah, Salwat-e-Qayami, Khatut-ul-Salkin; Tazim Murshid, Bahisht-di-Kunji* etc.

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Junaid, Shaikh

Shaikh Junaid, an eminetsufi saint, lived in Mohan (near Lucknow, in the present-day district of Unnao, U.P.). He was known as the second Junaid due to his piety and adherence to the *Shari'a*. During the night he performed *zikr-i jahr* (loudly recited *zikr*) near the banks of the river Sa'i.

To keep himself awake, he would jump into the river where he indulged in *zikr-i jali* (*zikr* in

a low voice). After this, he would commence the *zikr-i khafi* (*zikr* recited mentally).

Shiakh Junaid supported himself by selling firewood from the jungle. Whatever was surplus he gave away in charity. He indulged excessively in *sama*, believing that some forms of *zikr* could not be performed without *sama*.

According to the *Ma'arifu'l-wilayat*, the Shaikh composed eloquent verses in Arabic eulogizing the Prophet Muhammad and the Chishtiyya *pirs*. He also composed verses in Persian and Hindi and was the author of several mystical treatises on sufism.

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K

Kadar Yar (1803A.D. — 1892A.D.)

Kadar Yar is the glittering gem of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's period. He entirely changed the wave of romantic trend in *kissa-theme*. Before Kadar Yar love-episode was the main theme for the poets to recite. Kadar Yar converted the traditional love description in social tragedy.

Kadar, he became famous far and wide due to his kissa Puran Bhagat. This ballad is based on a social tragedy, and its theme reveals the psychological analysis of different character in kissa Raja Salwan, Rani Luna, Puran Bhagat and Rani Achhran these characters are properly visualised by the Kadar's lyrical interpretations. Vision of judgement differs from man to man and time to time. Shiv Kumar Batalvi has given different observations for the interpretations of the above mentioned characters.

Kadar Yar basically belong to village Machhi-ke, District Gujran Wala and later on he went to Shekhupura to settle there. Kadar Yar was Sandhu Jat by caste. He converted his religion and embraced Islam under the influence of some Muslim saints. Kadar Yar, he got big award from Maharaja Ranjit Singh for his immortal composition Puran Bhagat. He himself writes:

> The composition of Puran Bhagat,
> brought him award of well from Ranjit Singh.'

Kadar has sketched the maternal love in such a manner that it moves the heart of every reader. Rani Achhran the real mother of Puran becomes blind due to the separation of her departed son. Suddenly, she hears from someone after a long time that some saint has come in the garden of Puran, and the garden once again has bloomed in its full swing. Saint blesses everybody with the Divine remedy she atonce exclaims:

> Puran has left no hope for me,
> No source of consolation,
> I too should bring the
> Divine remedy for my blind eyes.

Puran was punished by his father for no fault of his, but when the king Salwan comes to know the real happening he tries to kill his queen Luna. She has spoiled the whole game, he thinks. Luna by whom he was instigated to murder his innocent son, king Salwan comes to know that the saint who has come in the royal garden is no one else except Puran. When king in the rage of fury fries to kill his queen Luna the saint Puran handles his hands. He exclaims:

> *O ! King it is not her fault,*
> *We are just toys in the hands of our destiny,*
> *We do not know what to do and what not to do.*

Puran after some time leaves the garden and at the time of his departure he says to Luna his step-mother, "She will be blessed with the brave son but ultimately she will meet the same fate as my mother has met."

In his second ballad 'Raja Rasalu', Kadar Yar writes that Raja Rasalu was the son of Luna (Puran's step-mother).

Raja Rasalu was born with the blessing of Puran Bhagat. He was very brave and courageous king. He became the successor of king Salwan. Raja Rasalu died in the prime of his life while fighting in the battlefield. His mother queen Luna felt the same dejection for her son as queen Achhran already

had. So, the saying of Puran Bhagat came true.

Like John Keats, Kadar Yar is the poet of beauty also. Queen Luna and Queen Sundran both were bewitched by the miraculous handsomeness of prince Puran. Sundran forgets everything and she was led away by the attractive magnetism of Puran. So, Kadar Yar writes, Puran carried Sundran, by the finger of beauty. Total Compositions of Kadar Yar are:

1. Kissa Puran Bhagat,
2. Kissa Raja Rasalu,
3. Kissa Sohni-Mahiwal,
4. Var Hari Singh Nalwa,
5. Mehrajnama,
6. Rajnama.

Out of all his compositions 'Puran Bhagat' is exceeding one. Kadar Yar is mainly known as the creator of Puran Bhagat. His another famous ballad is Kissa Sohni-Mahiwal. This ballad of course cannot compete Varis Shah and Hashim Shah, but originality of thought and the formation of subject is quite impressive.

When Sohni leaves to meet her lover Mahiwal on the doom's day the violent nature, dead dark night, thundering clouds and the stormy climate which has been presented by Kadar Yar is worthy of appreciation. Kadar like Hashim and Mukbil is very much brief and clear in his version. Kadar like his contemporary poets condemns women and he suggests:

"Let not the women be made so dear,
that she may prove headache afterwards.
First they kill their lovers and later on weep for them.

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Kalim Allah (17th Century A.D.)

Kalim Allah al-Djahanabadi, b. Nur Allah b. Ahmad al-Mimar al-Siddiki was one of the leading Cishti saints of his time. He was responsible for the revival of this order in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent when Muslim society was in a state of utter disorder. He was born at Shahdjahanabad (Delhi), whence his *nisba* al Djahanabadi, on 24th Djumada II, 1060/24th June, 1650, eight years before Awrangzib's accession to the throne.

His ancestors, builders and masons by profession, originally hailed from Khodjand. His father and grandfather both played leading roles in the building of the famous Red Fort and the congregational mosque of imperial Delhi. Many of the inscriptions, mostly verses from the Kur'an and the ninety-nine names of Allah (*al-asma' al-husna*, which decorate the mosque were made by his father, the *ustadh* Nur Allah.

He acquired his early education from local scholars, including Abu'l-Rida Muhammad, uncle of Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi. Later, he left for the Hidjaz to make the Hadjdj and *Ziyara* and stayed there for a long time. He contracted his *bay'a* in the Cishti order with Yahya b. Mahmud al-Gudjarati (d. 1101/1689), who had migrated to Medina and settled there.

During his stay in the Hidjaz, he was initiated into the Nakshbandi and Kadiri orders by Mir Muhtaram and Shaykh Muhammad Ghiyath. On his return to Delhi he stayed in a mosque situated between the Red Fort and the Djami Masdjid in the quarter known as the *Khanim ka Bazar*. He established a *madrasa* there which attracted a large number of students from far and wide who enjoyed free board and lodging. No details of this *madrasa* are available.

The Sufi poet Mirza Mazhar Djan-i-Djanan once saw him teaching the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari to students in this *madrasa*, which probably formed part of the mosque in which he stayed. According to Mirza Muhammad Akhtar Gurgani (*Tadhkira-i Awliya-i Hind wa-Pakistan*, Lahore 1954(?), ii, 272), the emperor Awrangzeb later ordered the construction of a khankah for him,

a complex of buildings comprising *'ibadat-khana, madjlis-khana, langar-khana* and private quarters.

According to the same author the emperor Muhammad Mu'azzam Bahadur Shah I (q.v.) became his disciple in his fourth regnal year (1123/1711), while engaged in an expedition against the rebellious Sikhs under Banda Bayragi. Kalim Allah led a life of ansterity, Farrukhsiyar [q.v].

During his short but eventful reign, offered him financial assistance but he refused to accept it, perhaps fearing persecution at the hands of the *amir al-umara'* Husayn 'Ali Khan, one of the Sayyid king makers known to Indian history.

As a rule, he discouraged his disciples from coming close to the rulers and kings and even exhorted them not to approach or visit them. He also did not favour the *sama*, as was in vogue in his days, although he himself enjoyed it. In one of his letters (no. 110), he vehemently condemns the immature or sham Sufis whom he describes as *"mulhids* who have given up the *sharia"*.

As against Ahmad Sirhindi [q.v.], he favoured keeping good relations with the non-Muslims so that they might be impressed with the teachings of Islam. Similarly, he did not shun the common people but reather liked their company. He discouraged the indiscriminate discussion of the knotty problem of wahdat al-wudjud. All his life he struggled for the glory and spread of Islam but like Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi, his successor in the field, his efforts met with little success.

He died on 24th Rabi I, 1142/17th Oct., 1720 at an advanced age at Delhi and was buried in the compound of his own *khankah*, which also served as his residence. The year of his death has been variously given as 1140/1727, 1141/1728 (cf. *Nuzhat al-khawatir*, vi, 241), 1142/1729 (appendix to *Sawa' al-Sabil*, 139) and 1143/1730 as given by Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgarami (cf. *ma'cathir al-Kiram*, i, Hyderabad 1910, 42).

The year 1142/1729 has been adopted as the most reliable one, as many authorities agree thereon. After the mutiny of 1857, the entire quarter wherein stood his *khankah* was pulled down by the British but his grave was spared. It had remained in a state of neglect and disrepair for some decades when *Khwadia* Ghulam Farid, spiritual guide of the ruler of Bahawalpur, contributed a large sum for its reconstruction.

It was later repaired and renovated by one of his descendants, who set up a beautifully carved stone railing around his grave and paved the tomb floor with marble flags. The tomb still exists and is the lonely structure standing between the Red Fort and the Djami' Masdjid. An *'urs* is held every year at his tomb on the occasion of the anniversary of his death. It was regularly attended by the last Moghul emperor of Delhi, Bahadur Shah Zafar and other princes of the royal family.

His leading *khalifa* was Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi to whom he addressed a number of letters on the problems of *tasawwuf*. He left three sons and three daughters. His sons, however, were all minors at the time of his death. He is credited with having written more than 20 books including:

(1) *Sawa' al-Sabil* (ed. Delhi 1343/1925), original in Arabic with Urdu tr. on various mystic problems;

(2) *Irshadati Kalimi* (ed. Delhi 1346/1927), a selection of letters addressed to his principal *khalifa* Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi, with Urdu translation;

(3) *Kashkul* (in Persian, Delhi n.d.), described as a *pot-pourri* of *tasawwuf*, composed in 1101/1690, when he was nearly 41 years of age;

(4) *Murakka'* (in Persian with Urdu tr., Delhi n.d.), comprising what the Cishtis recite daily by way of *dhikr*, regarded as a supplement to No. 3;

(5) *Maktubat* (Delhi n.d.), 132 in number, addressed to his principal disciples, outstanding among whom was Nizam al-Din Awrangabadi, interspersed with personal and private affairs;

(6) *Filka 'asharat al-Kamila*, in Arabic (ed. Delhi with Urdu tr., n.d.), discusses ten

problems of *tasawwuf* which he claims to have solved while in *i'tikaf* [q.v.] during Ramadan;

(7) *Ma labudda fi'l-tasawwulif,* (ed. Delhi n.d., in Arabic with Urdu tr.), deals with the aims and objects of *suluk* and *tasawwuf;*

(8) Keeping up the tradition of his family he wrote a treatise on astrology styled *Risala Tashrih al-Aflak-i 'Amili mukashsha bi'l-farisiyya* (Ms, in the Nadhiriyya Public Library, Delhi).

He also wrote a commentary on the *Kanun* of Avicenna of which a Ms, copy is preserved in the Raza (sic) Library, Rampur. A fine commentary on the Kur'an, called *Kur'an al-Kuran,* which was printed in the margin of a copy of the Kuran (ed. Meerut 1920), was also written by him. A certain *Kitab al-radd ('ala) al-Shi'a* or *Risala Radd-i Rawafid* and *Tasnim,* the latter on certain problems of *tasawwuf,* are also attributed to him.

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Karam Ali, Saiyid (18th Century)

Of Saiyid Karam Ali Shah absolutely nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from his own poetry. The biographies of saints, so far as, we have been able to consult them, ignore him completely. It is possible that one day the publication of some unpublished biography of poets and saints may provide us with an account of the life and work of the poet, though, up till now, no book has increased our knowledge about him. We are therefore compelled to fall back on Karam Ali's own work and the copyist's note, although very little regarding him is to be found in his verse.

Sayyad Karam Ali Shah lived during the reign of Ranjit Singh. He belonged to Qadiri order and was a disciple of Pir Hussain of Batala, district Gurdaspur, He also practised yoga and urges to sit in the yogic posture called *Tari* or *Samadhi* and to perform the silent repetition of the Hindu formula sohang. He teaches to kill the five enemies of man namely *Kam* (desire), *Kroddh* (anger), *Lobh* (avarice,) *Moh* (attachment) and *Ahankar* (pride or self-doership) according to the Hindu way of thought instead of Islamic Satan.

Towards the end of his work entitled *Khiyal,* the copyist Muhammad Niwaz writes that the work was written by his master Saiyid Karam Ali Shah. Karam Ali, therefore was a saiyid. The poet himself tells us that he met his spiritual guide Pir Husain at Malerkotla:

Maler kotla Karam Ali ni ditta pir husain jamal, payare de lar lagg.

(In Malerkotla, friend, on Karam Ali Pir Husain bestowed his splendour; hold the skirt of the

dear one.)

Though, the poet met his *pir* at Malerkotla, yet the permanent place of his guru's residence seems to have been Vatala (Batala) in the Gurdaspur district:

Karam Ali cal shaihar Vatale lok phan pai jani nu.
(Karam Ali go to the town of Batala, people (here) are worrying my life.)

Again:

A Pir Husain dikhai ditti hass hass kadama de val natthi
Karam Ali la sine mai sutti, vasa shaihar vatale di gaddi.
(Pir Husain came and manifested himself, laughing laughing I ran to his feet : Karam Ali taking him to my breast I slept, I reside at the seat of Batala.)

At the end of almost all his poems Karam 'Ali tells us that the dark veil of his ignorance was shattered by the bright light of real knowledge imparted to him by Husain. For example:

Karam Ali hun vare vare, pir husain ne tare tare
dukkh gaye hun sade sare, hoye satiguru meharban kure.
(Karam 'Ali now is a sacrifice a sacrifice, Pir Husain has saved, has saved him. All our troubles have now disappeared (because) the true-guru has been merciful O, girl.)

There is no indication of time in the verse. The *faqirs* say that he lived during the reign of Ranjit Singh. Not doubting the *faqirs*, we think that he was born in the time of Ranjit Singh but died when the English had taken possession of the Punjab. Here is a proof of this :

Karam Ali cal shaihar vatale baitth phalaur di rele.
(Karam Ali go to the city of Vatala (Batala), sitting in the train (bound) for Phillaur.)

The enthusiastic manner in which he mentions the train shows that he was still living when the railways were started in the Punjab. The poet most probably was a Qadiri because in one of the lullabies written for his son, Saiyid Jalal, he calls Abdul Qadir Jilani one of the protectors of the child:

Nabi Ali va hasan husain, aur pacave hazrat fatima hai kamal Gaus alazim shahe jilani huai tum par ar ab dial.
(The prophet, 'Ali, Hasan and Husain and fifth, the honourable Fatima are perfect; they and Shah Ghaus al-A'zam of Jilahn are now all merciful to you.)

Karam Ali belonged to the popular Sufi school is quite evident from his poetry, which lacks individuality and personality. It is in a way a versification of the ideas of various schools of religion, though Islamic thought predominates and occupies a higher place than the others. Krishna is praised in one poem, his playing with the *gopis* is described in another, but in the one that follows these Muhammad is praised as the best of them all and is described as the cause of creation.

Karam 'Ali, therefore, is a typical example of popular Sufis flourishing in favourable conditions and in normal times. Besides these few hints on his life, all that we know is that Karam 'Ali was an earnest seeker after God and that after his initiation into Sufism by Husain he passed most of his time singing the praises of his *hadi* and through him of his God.

The *Khiyal* of Karam 'Ali comprises four kinds of poems. Khiyals are nothing but *kafis* composed to be sung in different musical measures. A *khiyal* in Urdu means a 'thought' or 'idea'. It is because of this that the *kafis*, which were various thoughts of the poet and were composed at different times, were gathered together and named *khiyal*. As the *khiyals* outnumbered the other poems, the manuscript was named *Khiyal*. These *kafis*, eighty in number, are of unequal length. A few are very lengthy while the others are moderately long.

Ghazals. The manuscript also contains 17 *ghazals*. No Panjabi Sufi before Karam 'Ali wrote *ghazals*. These lyrics are lengthy and are composed in Urdu interlarded with many Persian and Arabic words. Panjabi words too are not infrequent. The language, on the whole, is poor and his prosody is not accurate, and this fact clearly proves that his knowledge of Urdu was limited.

Loris. These lullabies are twelve in number and were probably written sometime after the birth of his son. Except the last two lines of the twelfth one, they are all in Panjabi. In most of them, Maula Ali or 'Ali is called the protector of the child. This many be an indication that Karam 'Ali was a Shi'a.

Dohre. There are two *dohre,* the Hindi *chand* of eight *tukk* each, and one doha as in Hindi poetry. They are all in Panjabi.

The book *Khiyal* is marked by the complete absence of method or system of arrangement or any traditional praising of God, his Prophet, and the saints.

But the poems are full of music and have poetic flashes. Karam 'Ali mostly employed popular metres and refrains for expressing his ideas, and this is responsible for a good deal of poetic beauty being imparted to his mediocre thought. Save the *loris* the poems are full of *Sufi* effusions of a popular type, which make room for all doctrines and superstitions. The sayings of the *Qur'an,* though engraved in Panjabi verse, lack that charm which they have in the poetry of *'Ali Haidar.*

Karam 'Ali wrote any poetry besides the *Khiyal* seems improbable. In any case, this is his only work known to us. Now we proceed to give a few khiyals to show their poetic beauty and the Sufi thought they contain.

Pir worship is the most conspicuous element of Karam 'Ali's poetry. Like any other popular Sufi he does not differentiate between the Beloved (God) and his teacher. His *hadi* is the Beloved to him and always remains so:

Rondi nu mainu muddata hoiya kade
deve an jamal, dil nu tab nahi
a pir husain dikhai ditti hoiya karam
ali mai nihal, dil nu tab nahi.
(I have been crying for a long time, that he should come some time adn manifest his splendour; the heart has no peace. Pir Husain came and made a manifestation; (thus) Karam 'Ali, I became satisfied; the heart has no peace.)

Again:

Karam Ali lai Pir Husain shah
chej bicha ke soiya ni.
(Taking Pir Husain Shah (with him)Karam 'Ali spread the bed and slept, O friend.)

The above shows the attitude of the popular Sufi with regard to the Beloved. He is satisfied with his teacher and abandons all idea of union with the Beloved through his own efforts, entirely relying on the *hadi* to obtain it for him. The following will eliminate all doubt concerning the truth of our statement:

Koi lavo ni pia nu mor, minnta kar karke
Is de badale meriai mae deo hor kise nu tor minnta kar karke
hauli hauli tusi karo ni galla tusi pao na saiyo shor minnta kar karke
Pir husain siva na koi, karam ali da hor, minnta kar karke.
(Let someone make the beloved come back with many entreaties. In his place, my mother, send somebody else (with many entreaties). In his place, my mother, send somebody else (with many entreaties). Quietly, quietly carry on the conversation, make no noise, friends; (with many entreaties). Talking sweetly of things take him back to the house; (with many entreaties). (Because)save Pir Husain, Karam 'Ali has no other of his own; (with many entreaties).

Here in brief is Karam 'Ali's idea of God's omnipresence which he professes to see in all religions. For him it is God Himself who is working in each religion:

Masala kar kar vaz karauda, kar kar loka jama bitthauda
din dia bata khub sunauda, kufre islam pharia hai
tilak laga ke matthe bassda, gal vicc paihn janeu dassda otthe kar bhajan na rajj da, parh parh oh onkaria hai
kitthe isai bania farangi, kare larai ban ban jangi
hatth tere hai mandi cangi, dhar topi shimla uttaria hai.
(Talking of the doctrines You arrange sermons and gathering the people seat them, and (then) many matters of faith you tell them, (saying) Islam has shattered the false. Putting the mark on the forehead You reside, wearing the sacred

thread round the nech (You) show, there singing the praise You never get satisfied, studying and reading You have uttered Om. Somewhere You have become a foreign Christian and You fight becoming a warrior, in Your hand is good and evil, taking off the turban You have put on the hat.)

Before proceeding any further it would be advisable to state here that the popular Sufi's concept of God's omnipresence, though apparently there is no difference, is, in reality, a good deal different from that of an intellectual Sufi. No doubt like the others he also sees God in both good and evil, in chastity as well as in quity, in truth as well as in untruth. But unlike them he fails to understand that fine but powerful point which maintains the balance and establishes the superiority of good over evil, of chastity over in quity, of truth over untruth, and so on. What is this point ? We will now explain it.

The intellectual Sufi knows that God in His Own-Self is Turth, Light and Purity, but when He reflects Himself then He does it equally in good and in evil. To understand and see Him both in his personal and in his Omni-Self it is essential that the seeker should be like Him, i.e., like His Personal-Self. Truth can see Truth and therefore only that man can see Him who has become like Truth.

Once Truth is realized in Itself, then it is a very easy matter for the seeker to see Him reflected in evil and untruth. Therefore the intellectual Sufi concentrates all his forces to see Truth through the Truth, i.e. by becoming Truth. But the popular *Sufi's* efforts to seek the Truth through untruth are soon shadowed by ignorance, hence the realization of Truth remains a hypothesis, and mysticism becomes a body without the soul.

Except for some rare exceptions the popular Sufis eventually fall into ignorance, and believe that both good and evil, being two different aspects of the same God, are to be regarded as the same. And it is due to this great misunderstanding that their seats often became and become the centres of moral turpitude.

The musical tunes in which Karam 'Ali expressed his sentiments of divine love are popular in all Panjabi, and more so in Sikh, circles. As an example we might quote :

Mere sine vajdi hul ishk piare di
turan phiran thi ajiz kiti laggi kaleje sul,
ishk piare di
eh dukkh laggia sanu kari hoye aram na mul
ishk piare di
je ikk vari daras dikkhave, mainu sare dukkh kabul,
ishk piare di
Karam Ali nu deve dikhai mukkh yar da rabb rasul,
ishk piare di.

(In my breast there is a stab ; the stab of dear love. It has disabled me from walking and in my heart is a terrible pain; the pain of dear love. The disease that has caught me is serious, and not at all curable ; the disease of dear love. If once you manifest yourself all trouble will be acceptable to me; the trouble of dear love. To Karam 'Ali, let there be manifested the face of the Beloved which is (like) God and his prophet; the face of dear love.)

Sometimes, Karam 'Ali employs, besides musical tunes, even the words peculiar to the Sikh social and religious literature. Here is an example:

Satt Gura de carni lagg piare satt gura de
be mukkh hoiye mul na hargiz bhave tane deve sara jagg
sijjadio mul na mukkh hataiye bharm da toriye tagg
hijar farak de jo kujh andar sital hove agg
jive rajha ban ban pali, hir de care vagg
(Karam Ali kar kar arjuiya dil nu laiye thagg.

(Be attached to the feet of the true guru, of the dear true guru; though the world taunt thee, yet turn not thy face away (from him). Turn not thy face from worship, break the thread of doubt. Whatsoever is in separation, let that fire become cool. May he live who as Rajha becoming a herdsman grazes the cattle of Hir. Karam 'Ali, by making petitions let us win the heart of the true guru.)

In the poem given above the musical tune

and the words *satt gura, carni, bharm,* and *sital* are all peculiar to the Sikh religious songs of the Punjab. If one heard it being sung, one would at once take it for a Sikh song in some *guru's* praise.

We have said already that Karam 'Ali, like any other Sufi belonging to the popular school of thought, versified the beliefs of different religions and their various sects. Here are a few lines from one of his lengthy *khiyals* which serve as a vivid example. He speaks of Krishna and his playing *holi:*

Hori khelo biraj ke vasi hori khelo
koi uravat hai lal gulali koi phaikat hai pickari
hamare mahal maikayo nahi ayo lok karat hai hasi.

And :

Pir Husain ke jay duare karam ali jave dukh sare
Govind Govind ke gun gare, tere janam ki tute phasi hori khelo, etc.
(Play holi, resident of Brij, play holi, some sprinkle lal-gulali and some throw syringefuls ; but why have you not come to my palace ? The people are laughing.)

By going to the door of Pir Husain, Karam 'Ali, all troubles disappear ; sing the attributes of Govind, (thus) the pain of rebirth will end. This is a Hindu idea according to which the human soul has to pass through many births before it attains salvation. The process of entering one life after another is abhorrent to the striving soul, who calls it hanging or execution. This eternal pain, says Karam 'Ali, ends by singing the attributes of God which procure salvation.

Now we proceed to give specimens of his loris. Though they are childish and amusing, yet they are interesting. They tell us that Karam 'Ali was overjoyed to have a son, whom he calls the light of his house. Such attachment is typical of a popular Sufi:

Lori lai ve saiyad jalala
khush hove dekhan vala
tera maula ali rakkhvala
ghar karam ali de ujala.
(Hear the lullaby of Saiyid Jalal, that the lookeron may be pleased, your master is 'Ali the protector (and) light is in the house of Karam 'Ali.)

And again:

Lori de de babal hass da, parh parh 'wajj hulla' phir dassda
dui vaiham pare ho vassda, karam ali carh anhad bassda.
Singing the lulla by the father laughs, and over and over repeats wajj-hulla;

Wajj-hulla is the Panjabi form of the Arabic vajhu'Llah meaning the face of God. The Sufis of the Punjab repeat it as one of their spiritual practices the foolishness of dvaita departs. Dui in Panjabi means the fact of being two and it is for this reason that the word is employed for dvaita. Dvaita represents that school of thought which takes God and his creation as two separate units and not one and the same, as is believed by the exponents of advaita.) and Karam 'Ali, the soul mounts and dwells in the Eternal.

Towards the end of his work is a doha which we believe the poet wrote some time before his death. In it he welcomes death and asserts that it would bring his troubles to an end. What his troubles were we do not know. Here is the doha :

Vakat akhiri a gaya, thalle maut paigham
call karam shah caliye, jhagre mitan tamam.

The last moment has arrived, the order of death is downstairs ; come Karam 'Ali, let us go, all troubles will end.

As a pantheist he believes that it is God Who is fighting as a Christian English; It is He Who has appeared as a pandit with a *tilak* on the forehead and a thread (*janeu*) round his neck; It is He Who gives the teachings of Islam and makes distinction between Islam and the Kufar. It is He Who has come down on the earth wearing a Muslim cap with *shamla*:

Maslam kar kar vaaz karaunda, kar kar lokan jama bithaunda;
Din dian batan khub sunaunda, kufar Islam pharia hai;
Tilak laga ke mathe basda, gal vich pahin janeu dasda;

Kite Isai bania pharangi, kare larai ban ban jangi;
Hath tere hai mandi changi, dhar topi shamla utria hai.

Identifying his guide with God he praises him like an incarnate on the earth in a number of his poems. He has the same wifely devotion for his *pir* that he has for God:

Karam Ali Pir Hussain Shah, Chhej bichha ke soiya ni.

He praises Lord Krishna playing with the gopis. He poses himself as one of the gopis and invites Krishna to come and play with her (the poet as gopi). He versified the beliefs of different religions, their various sects and praised Mohammad as the best of all. Dr. Lajwanti Ramakrishna holds that the poet has praised Mohammad, the Prophet, who appears in the history. But Sufis' Mohammad is the cause of creation, the anthropomorphised concept of First Emanation from God. He believes in the transmigration of soul and sings the glory of God on the Vaishnava lines and with Vaishnava names.

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Karamat Ali Jaunpuri (1800A.D. — 1873A.D.)

In the early part of the 19th century, the religious movement started by Syed Ahmed Shahid Barailvi (1831 A.D.) had its dynamic effect on the Muslims of Eastern Bengal specially Faridpur, Bogra, Sylhet, Noakhali and Chittagong, when he declared *jihad* (holy war) against the Britishers, many Bengali Muslim, responded to his call.

The most prominent among them were Maulana Imamud-Din, Maulana Waris Ali, Maulana Sufi Noor Muhammad, Hazrat Syed Ahmed Barailvi, who carries the movement successfully in the eastern and southern parts of Bengal in the same way as Syed Ahmed Barailvis Khalifa Hazrat Karamat Ali Jaunpuri (d. 1873 A.D.) did in the northern part of Bengal.

Hazrat Maulana Karamat Ali was born at Mullatola, Jaunpur, (Oudh) on June 12, 1800 A.D. He read Fiqh from Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddith Dehlavi and Ismail Shahid and was initiated by Hazrat Syed Ahmed Shahid. He was a master calligraphist, well-versed in various forms of writing. He was a sharp-minded, crudite scholar and a great saint, who could recite the holy *Quran* in seven different intonations.

He propagated Islam and strengthened faith of the Muslims of Bengal for 51 years. It is said that more than 10 millions of people embraced Islam due to his efforts. The devastations, tortures, imprisonments and the suppression of civil and political rights that came in the wake of the first war of independence (termed as the sepoy Mutiny by the British Government) effected the minds of the intelligent to such an extent that a section of the Muslim declared India as Darul Harb (a palace where religious activities and rituals are denied to Muslims) and they wanted to migrate to other Muslim countries.

At this critical juncture Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri issued a *'FATWA'* religious decree and in collaboration with Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, the secretary, Mohammadan Literary Association of Calcutta, persuaded the Muslims not to migrate as the Muslims had not been debated from exercising their religious rights.

Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri is compared with Shah Abdul Aziz Muhaddith Dehlavi for his wise leadership, prudence and meaningful

guidance. He tries to remove even unlawful practices that had crept into Muslim society. He elevated the moral and spiritual standard for the attainment of prosperity in this world and the world to come. According to Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi, "no one did so much for Muslims of Bengal as was done by Maulana Karamat Ali." Syed Abdul Hasem Ali Nadvi also appreciated his missionary activities.

His publications consist of *Dafi-ul-was, Tarjuma-e-Shimail Tirmizi, Tarjuma Mishkat Sharif* part one and *Miftah-ul-Jannath*, etc., Besides many others. He died in 1873 A.D. at Rangpur and was buried in Mohallah Munshipara, where his annual urs is held with due solemnity. A Madrassa Quraniya established in the grand mosque built by Hussain Shah Sharqi at Jaunpur, has been still running for more than one hundred fifty years.

He was succeeded by his second son Maulana Hafiz Ahmad who was born in Calcutta in 1834 and educated in Lucknow and Jaunpur, but has passed the greater part of his life in Bengal. He died at Sadar Ghat, Dacca, in 1899 A.D. after his return from Haj. He is buried in the compound of the mosque of Chowk. His missionary activities were spread over a vast area, i.e., Bakharganj, Noakhali, Comilla, Sylhet and Cachar. Another of his famous *Khalifas* was Khawaja Shaikh Tamizud-Din (d. 1899 A.D.) at Sibnarainpur in the District of Cachar who successfully carried his mission.

During the time of Lord Mayo (1869 A.D.), Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri led the prayer of Idd in Calcutta Maidan, in which more than fifty thousands Muslims participated in 1881 through the good offices of Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, Id-uz-Jhoha prayer was led by Maulana Hafiz Ahmed Jaunpuri, in which more than seventy thousand Muslims joined, Calcutta had never seen such a large gathering.

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Karim Bakhsh (18th Century)

A Panjabi manuscript in the library of Dr. Hifz-ur-Rahman caught our attention. On examination we found that it was written in a very neat hand, on old Panjabi paper. It could not have been less than seventy-five years old, perhaps, it was more.

This work, as Karim Bakhsh himself states in the preface, was a Panjabi translation of *Tafrihu'l Azkia fi'l Ambia* of Abu'l Hasan; most probably the author was a pupil of this Abu'l Hasan, though he does not say so; but he has not forgotten to tell us that Abu'l Hasan was a disciple of Shah Abdul 'Aziz Muhaddas of Delhi.

The translation in Panjabi is entitled *Tazkiratu'l Ambia*. At the end of the work, the translator attached a small *Bara-Mah*. This *Bara-Mah Muhammadi*, as he calls it, amply proves what we said in the Introduction, that some Sufis imitated the Vaisnavas and sang of Muhammad in the same way as the latter sang of Krishna.

Not only this, but References made in such descriptions also point to Hindu customs, such as going to bathe on festival days, and changing of dress colours in mourning, etc. The Sufi's Mathura was Medina and he himself the forsaken Radha, while his Gokul or Brindaban was the place of his residence.

The Sufi's months and their names were Panjabi as was his concept of the weather of each month, and he described his mystic condition accordingly. To illustrate the truth of our

statement we give below the Bara-Mah *Muhammadi* of Karim Bakhsh.

Although we tried to discover the life-history of Karim Bakhsh we were unsuccessful. We only know that his *takhallus* or *nom-de-plume* was *'badar'*. His custom of using 'b' in the place of 'v' indicates that he belonged either to the Jullundur or to the Hoshiarpur district. He was a Sufi, for an orthodox Muhammadan would not write in the strain in which he wrote his *Bara-Mah:*

Cetar, the first **month of the year**

Cetar cintta har dam camke, taraf madine java mai
pakara jali roze sandi ro ro hal sunava mai
bha bichore biyog vikhaya vassalo pani pava mai
je kar yari kare nasiba badar pia ang lava mai

Vesakh**, the second month of the year**

Karan besakh taiyari saiya ralmil nahavan javan nu
utth utth pave palang darinda mai tatti de khavan nu
mai tatti te tatt bhalatti jami darad uthavan nu
tere bajh rasula kehra kadda hal sunavan nu

Jeth**, the third month**

Jetho heth gama de ai darad bichora khada je
jald madine saddo hazrat nahi ajiz mar jada je
khak sare te cak gariba jogi bhes batada je
ai jan laba te hazrat dam dam darad satada je

Har**, the fourth month**

Har mahine hare ghataq ro ro hal bajava mai
duti dushaman kull zamana kyo kar jan bacava mai
cori chuppe bhaiya kolo taraf madine java mai
oh kehra din bhagi bharya jad piya ang lava mai

Savan**, the fifth month**

Savan saun na birho deda ro ro cika mara mai
aih maihbub habib khuda de kis dar jaye pukara mai
dushman pale duti vehra kikar umar guzara mai
ai jan laba te jani jan tere to vara mai

Bhadro**, the sixth month**

Bhadro bhah bichore bhavaki, jal bal kola hova gi
khali maihal daravan saiyo, haju har parova gi
ghar de vali zat na pucchi, kis agge ja rovagi
cal madine khavind agge hun hatth bannh khalovagi

Asoj**, the seventh month**

Asoj as nahi kujh baki mai asi kurladi ha
tere dard bichore hazrat khun jigar da khadi ha
likkhia lekh nasib azal da ai jholi hun padi ha
sarvare alam dohi jahani teri goli badi ha

Kattak**, the eighth month**

Kattak kaun sune fariada tu sarvar sultana hai
tu mahbub rasul khuda da vali dohi jahani hai
teri khatir paida hoya, jo jimia asmana hai
dunia andar hashar dihare tu mera khasmana hai

Magghar**, the ninth month**

Magghar mukk rahi ha hazrat ay karo dil dari mai
lakkh lakkh vari vari java ghol ghata ikk vari mai
khesh kabila ghol ghumava ho kurban nakkari mai
je ikk jhat measar ave dohi jahani tari mai.

Poh**, the tenth month**

Poh mahine sarvar bajho jo sang mere biti je
shala dushman nal na hove jahi bichore kiti je
ki akkha mai ishk kavlia maut ape mang liti je
zaihar payali ishke vali mit akkhi mai piti je

Magh**, the eleventh month**

Mahi magh na mai ghar aye khali sej daravegi
paiya barafa sardi shuraki, sardi pir khapavegi
beli meli sang na beli badar haveli khavegi
ah hazrat didar vikkhao thok kaleje javegi.

Phagan, the twelth month

Phagan bhukkhi suhe sade tai bajho kujh yad nahi
guzaria sal na sajjan aye ja koi faryad nahi
aih maqbul rasul khuda de bin tere dil shad nahi
jay pukara vice madine kyo hundi imdad nahi

In *cetar*, worry is ever lively; I should go to Medina; and holding the lattice attached to the tomb, weeping, weeping I tell my state; the fire of separation has disunited us; on it I pour the water of union; if destiny oradins our friendship, *badar*, I would embrace the dear one.

In *vesakh*, my friends make preparation to go together to bathe, my bed rises and attacks me like a wild beast to eat me, the hot one; I, the hot one, enveloped with heat, am born to undergo pain; without you, O apostle (Muhammad), whom should I find to tell my condition to?

In *jeth*, I am buried under sorrow, the pain of separation devours me; call me soon to Medina, O Hazrat, or poor I shall die; (smearing) ashes on the head I, the poor cowherd,

change into a *yogi's* garb; I am near death, O *Hazrat*, every minute pain troubles me.

In the month of *har*, I heave sighs and, crying, sing my tale; the whole age is a back-biting enemy; how can I save my life? Hiding and in secret from my brothers towards Medina I go; what a lucky day that will be when I embrace my dear one.

In *savan*, separation does not let me sleep, weeping, weeping I scream; ah beloved, dear to God, to which door shall I go and call ! Enemies whom I cherished, all of them slander me; how shall I pass my life? Life has come to the lips (I am near death). O my life, I sacrifice my life for you.

In bhadro, the fire of separation has kindled; I will burn and become coal; these vacant palaces frighten me, O friend; a garland of tears will I make ; the master of the house has not asked for me. Before whom shall I go and weep? Let us go to Medina; before my Lord with joined hands shall I stand.

In *asoj*, no more hope remains, I, the sinner, am wailing; because of the pain of separation from you, O Hazrat, I am tasting the blood of my heart; my destiny was written in eternity, and that I am now receiving in my bosom: Lord of the world in both the worlds, I remain your humble slave.

In *kattak*, who will hear my complaints (when) you are sovereign and Lord? you the beloved apostle of God, are master of both the worlds ; for you alone was created all that is sky and earth; in this world my days are like the last judgement, you are my Lord.

In *magghar* I am ending my day, *O Hazrat*, come and hearten me; lakh and lakh times I may be sacrificed for you, but let me be sacrificed once and for all; I will sacrifice my family and friends and I, worthless one, being devoid of quality, will sacrifice myself; if I get one favourable glance, I am saved in both worlds.

In the month of *poh*, without the Lord, what has happened to me? O God, grant it may not happen, even to an enemy, what separation has done to me; what should I, a morsel of love, say? I have myself asked for death; the cup of love's poison I have drunk with closed eyes.

In *magh*, my love has not come home, the empty bed will frighten me; the snows have fallen, the cold has increased, the pain of the cold will trouble me; the friend and companion is not with me; ah! *Hazrat*, give me a glimpse of you (or else) the injury will reach my heart.

In *phagan* I am hungry, red has become plain, without you i remember nothing; the year has passed, the dear one has not come, of that I do not complain. O God's approved apostle, without you my heart is not happy; shall I go and call in Medina? Why have I not been helped?

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Kelianvala, Gulam Hussain (19th Century)

Gulam Hussain, a leading sufi, was born in the nineteenth century. Nothing is known about him except that he belonged to Kelianvala on the banks of the Chenab river. He has written two siharfis on Hir's love, entitled *Siharfi Hir*, and one *Bara mah*.

His style is simple and lacks that artificiality so noticeable in *Maghmum*. His thought was

old but he imparted feeling to it. A couple of his poems are given below:

Mim mutthia kutthia ishk tere
gai zauk vicc viha rajha
Hoi nafi teri asbat picche
chaddi apani zat safat rajha
Hoi mahav tasvir mai husan tere
dite vahim khial utha rajha
Baki zat hai zat husain teri
rahi lu lu de vicc sama rajha.

(Mim : I am enamoured of your love and in happiness I am lost, Rajha. I have become negative for your positive and I have lost my own entity and qualities, Rajha. I am engrossed in your beauty's picture and all foolish thoughts I have given up. What remains of my own substance, says Hussain, is your substance which is present in each pore, Rajha.)

Her replies to her mother's good counsel in this manner :

Be bass matti sanu dass nahi
asa samjh leiai teri rass maai
Kabe val kareni e kand meri
kehri nal hadis de dass maai
Rajha jan de vicc makan mera
riha jiv nahi mere vas maai
Mahi nal Husain fakir hosa
tere kheria de sir bhass maai.

(Be : enough, give us no more advice, we have understood your meaning, mother. You turn my back to the ka 'aba, according to which hadis, mother, tell me ? Rajha is the shelter of my life, my soul is not under my control, mother. With the beloved, Husain I will be a faqir and on the head of your kheras will be ashes, mother.)

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Khalil, Shaikh (16th Century A.D.)

Shaikh Khalil was one of the descendants of Shaikh Faridud Din Shakar Ganj (1126-1269 A.D.) and n eminent sufi saint of Bihar. He was the spiritual guide of Sher Shah (1539-45 A.D.). It was this saint, who managed truce between Sher Shah and Emperor Humayun in 1539, when Humayun was defeated.

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Khan Jahan (d. 1459 A.D.)

Khan Jahan, popularly known as *Khan Jahan Ali* was another warrior sufi saint of Bengal. He is also known as *'Khwaja Ali'* by the local people. He flourished towards the middle of the 15th century A.D.

Victories at Jessore and Khulna are said to have been achieved by him. He settled at Bagerhat (in the Khulna district) and led an ascetic life. He had large number of followers, the chief among them being Shaikh Muhammad Tahir, also known as *Pir Ali*.

Khan Jahan died in 863 A.H./1459 A.D. and was buried at Bagerhat. His mausoleum is still held in esteem by the people.

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Khandakar Pir, Hazrat (19th Century)

Hazrat Khandakar Pir was contemporary of Azan Faqir. His name was Abdul Ghani. Nothing much is known about his life and activities. Like Azan Faqir, he also preached the teachings of Islam in Eastern Assam. Azan Faqir had posted him to the Naga hills for the purpose of preaching Islam among the Nagas and other tribal people.

It is said that some of the Nagas had become his disciples. This is the reason that he is also called Pahari Dewan. His descendants, known as *Kamaldaiyas*, are still found in both lower and upper Assam.

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Khidr, Khawaja (18th Century)

Khawaja Khidr who deserves our attention, was a Sufi of Western Assam and was held in high esteem by the people, both high and low. It is assumed that he was born in Shiraz in Persia and belonged to the family of Hazrat Noor. During the early part of his life, he was a chemist and a merchant.

But suddenly a great change came into his life and he turned to be a mendicant traveller. A Persian inscription on a rock, saying Abe hayat wo chashma-e-khidr' (The water of life and stream of Khidr) is found near the site of a stream on the foot of the south-eastern slop of the Nilachal Hills, in the district of Kamrup, Assam (known as *Kamakhya Hills*.) The *pir* was so famous and well behaved that he was said to have been paid high respect and honour by the people of the area.

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Khizr, Shah (1210A.D. — 1236A.D)

The origin of the Qalandariya order is still a matter of speculation. Perhaps, Shah Khizr was the first saint of this order who visited India in the time of Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.D.). He met Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and spent some time with him.

Later, he visited Jaunpur and Sarharpur and enrolled disciples. After a brief stay at Sarharpur, he left for Asia Minor, but the *silsilah* continued to flourish in India.

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Khurasani Naqshbandi, Hazrat Abdul Qasim (d. 1896A.D.)

He was a noted saint of Naqshbandiya Majaddadiya Order. Born and educated in Khurasan, he migrated to Qandahar and became Murid of Syed Muhammad Ata Jan. He migrated to India in the middle of the 18th century and settled at Goalpara in Assam, where his tomb lies on the beautiful hillock in the middle of the town.

He was amiable by nature and freely mixed with the common people, which made him popular among the masses, both Hindu and the Muslim. He died in 1896 A.D. and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage, where annual *Urs* Sharif is observed on the 21st of Safar.

He did much for the propagation of Islam in Goalpara and, prior to it, at Rangpur (Bangladesh). He tried his best to teach the Muslims proper ways of performing *namaz* and *roza* and give up all evil practices prevalent in Muslim society of those days. Many miracles are attributed to this saint which attracted the Muslims and Non-Muslims alike. He had a large number of followers. He was so well-versed in Islamic theology that once he entered into Munazira (literary dispute) with Maulana Keramat Ali Jaunpuri at Rangpur.

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Kirmani Bengali, Shah Abdullah (13th Century A.D.)

He was Bengali by birth and one of the early disciples of Khawaja Mainud-Din Chishti (1142-1236 A.D.). He founded a new order of Kirmani, which was very popular in Bengal and other parts of India in those days. According to records he originally hailed from Kirman, a city in Persia.

In his boyhood, he came to India and visiting many northern parts, came to Patna, where he became the followers of Shah Arzani who ordered him to go to Bengal. At first, he stayed at Bergaon Birbhum and then he moved to Khustigiri.

Here, he stayed permanently. It is said that he had great power on serpents. His name is repeated with charms in the district of Birbhum, even today.

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L

Langar, Shah (16th Century)

Tradition says that Shah Langar was a prince of Baghdad, but he renounced the royal life and came out in search of spiritual knowledge.

After wandering through many countries he finally reached and settled at Muazzampur in Dacca. His tomb is situated at Muazzampur.

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Lankapati, Shah Ibrahim Shah Chaitan

At Para Shah Mundai in the District of Malda, is situated the grave of Shah Chaitan Lankapati. There is no further information about him. The accounts of these saints are no doubt meagre, but they throw valuable light on the extent and nature of the activities of the Muslim Sufis in Bengal.

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Laṭifu'd-Din

Latifu'd-Din disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, made the order popular, was Latifu'd-Din Rishi. It is said that after he enrolled himself as one of the disciples of the Shaikh, the latter asked him what he had achieved up to that time. Latifu'd-Din replied 'wealth'.

The Shaikh asked: "Did your father also achieve it ?".
He replied: " Yes, he did".
The Shaikh then asked : "To whom did he leave it ?."
Latifu'd-Din replied : "To me".
"Why did not he take it with him ?" asked the Shaikh.
He replied: " It was not worth taking". The Shaikh remarked: "He was not wise; he accumulated some thing he could not take with him. The wise man strives for something worth taking (when he dies)."

As already pointed out, Latifu'd-Din was a rich man, thus Shaikh Nuru'd-Din wanted to impress upon him that worldly goods were of no use for one on the path to God. Latifu'd-Din, after serving the Shaikh for some time, was asked to settle down at Uttar and was entrusted with

two newly enrolled Rishis, Pirbaz and Sharif Ashwar.

Latifu'd-Din, like many other Rishis, at first used to eat *upalhakh* (a wild vegetable), but when he migrated to Uttar, he lived on another wild vegetable known as *Kanchan,* even more bitter than *upalhakh.* The reason for this change is given that once he found *upalhakh* tough, and he enquired from Sharif why it was so. Sharif replied that he brought green herbs, while Pirbaz used to bring dry ones.

Latifu'd-Din then asked Pirbaz why he used to bring dry herbs. He replied for two reasons: firstly that when one cuts the green herbs they start bleeding. secondly that when they are boiled, they cry ' why do you kill and burn us?" Latifu'd-Din was moved by the arguments of his disciple and he gave up eating all kinds of green herbs as he believed that he was destroying another life to keep himself alive.

Towards the end of his life, Latifu'd-Din moved from Uttar to Poskar, because at Uttar people in large numbers used to come to him and ask for his blessings. It was at Poskar that he breathed his last and was buried.

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M

Mahmud, Shah
(15th CenturyA.D.)

Shah Mahmud was sufi poet who rose to eminence at Mangalkot. As tradition has it, he waged war with Bikarmajit, the Raja of Mangalkot, and won victory over him. He was a good scholar of Arabic and is said to have worked for the propagation of Islam. He lies buried at Arwal.

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Makhdum Shah Daula
(d. 1293A.D.)

Among the Sufis of high rank who drew the attention of the people of Bangladesh was Makhdum Shah Daula (1291 A.D.). He was a prince of Yemen. He came to Bangladesh to preach Islam and its doctrines. For this purpose he settled himself at Shahzadpur in the district of Pabna

He came with a large party including twelve darwishes, three nephews and a sister. This locality was under the sway of a Hindu Raja of Bihar. A battle between the Raja's army and the immigrants took place and it resulted in the death of all; only Khawaja Noor, who was among one of his companions, survived. He was married with a Prince of Sonargaon, near Dacca.

Although, this saint did not get sufficient time to preach the teachings of Islam there is no doubt in his mystical rank and position. His mission was carried forward and completed by his comrade Khawaja Noor.

An annual urs (fair) is held at the shrine of Makhdum Shah Shahid in the month of Chaitra (April) which lasts for about a month. A popular belief is that the saint came to Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; but this fact is not supported by the historians.

Shah Jalalud-Din Bukhari flourished in 1291 A.D. and Shamsud-Din Tabrizi, the preceptor of Maulana Jalalud-Din Rumí, died in the year 1273 A.D. Makhdum Shah Daula was a younger contemporary of these two darwishes. Hence, he was probably alive in the later part of the 13 century.

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Makhdum Shah Rajshahi (d.1592A.D.)

The shrine of this saint lies in the Rajshahi Government College campus. This is called Dariyapara. The inscription above the door of the shrine, bears the name of Syed-e-Samad Shah Darwish. The book *Purba Pakistaner Sufi Sadhak*, 1368 B.S./1961 A.D. says that his real name was Hazrat Shah Makdum Jalalud-Din Rupush.

But in absence of historical records this cannot be accepted. A certified copy of a petition maqe by the mutawalli dated, 1877 A.D., gives his name as Hazrat Mukhdum Rupush Auliya Sahib, who held rent free estate under a gift from emperor Humayun (d. 1556A.D.)

Rajshahi originally consisted two villages Rampur and Buwaliya, which gradually developed and whoever happened to come there settled there. It is said that Shah Makhdum was seen one day by local fisherman of Rampur village while he was crossing the river on foot.

The fisherman bowed before him and offered food in earthen dishes. The saint covered the food with his turban and muted something for a few minutes. When the turban was removed the food was turned into fishes and earthen dishes into gold. This miracle performed by him made the fisherman his devotees. The saint died on the 27th day of Rajab and as such every year annually Urs sharif is held on that date.

A Persian inscription reveals that his mausoleam was built by Ali Quli Beg, a servant of Shah Abbas Safavi of Iran (1587-1692 A.D.). A recent publication of Bengal Academy of Dacca, 1961, records the saint's death in 1592 A.D. at the age of 117 years.

Among the other minor saints were Hazrat Maulana Shah Daula of Rajshahi, Shah Ali Baghdadi, whose tomb is in Mirpur village (Dacca), and Shah langer in Muazzampur (Dacca).

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Maneri, Sharafuddin Ahmad (1262A.D. — 1380A.D.)

Sharafuddin Ahmad Maneri (1262-1380 A.D.), a leading disciple of Maulana Ashrafuddin Tawwama and a distinguished saint of the Firdausi silsilah of Bihar, was the son of Shaikh Yahya Maneri. He came to Sonargaon with his preceptor in the prime of youth. Sharafuddin is said to have spent many years in such total dedication to learning and spiritual training that he did not even read the letter containing the news of his father's death for several days.

During his stay at Sonargaon he fell ill and was advised by the physicians to marry. He married his slave girl who gave birth to a son. He then returned to Maner with his son and committing him to the care of his mother, proceeded to Delhi to meet Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya whose fame as a spiritual teacher had spread far and wide.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya did not admit him to the Chishti silsilah, but advised him to join the circle of disciples of Shaikh Najibuddin Firdausi, (also known as Najmuddin Sughra), a celebrated saint of the Firdausi silsilah. Thereafter Sharafuddin never returned to Bengal, and his subsequent career as a religious figure belongs to the history of Bihar. Tradition refers to yet another saint Badr 'Alam known as Badr 'Alam Zahidi, who lived and worked in Bengal.

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Meher Ali (1808A.D. — 1868A.D.)

Hazrat Syed Meher Ali Qadiri, better known as *Hazrat Ali Huzur*, was born in 1808 at Midnapur and died in 1868 at Taltala in Calcutta and was buried at Midnapur. He was a great saint and organiser.

By virtue of his high scholarship and forceful discourses, he successfully maintained a lot of missionary centres at Midnapur, Howrah, Hooghly Bankura, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Birbhum to the great benefit of the people at large.

His *khanqah sharif at Taltala Lane*, Calcutta, in the meeting ground of his disciples even today. Sufi Fathe Ali Waisi was his contemporary.

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Mir Muhammad (1372A.D. — 1489A.D.)

When Saiyid Ali died, his son Mir Muhammad, born in 744/1372 at Khatlan, was only twelve years old. Before his death, Saiyid Ali had written two documents for his son, one the *wasiyat-nama* (testament) and the other *khilafat-nama*, and had asked the disciples who were with him to send them to Khwaja Ishaq and Ja'far Badakhshi.

In his testament, Saiyid 'Ali had advised his son that he should first complete his education and then travel to improve his character and enlighten his heart and soul.

Mir Muhammad entered the discipleship of Khwaja Ishaq and learnt early lessons of Sufism from him, for three years and five months. Then he went to Ja'far Badakhshi, under, whose guidance he remained for seven months.

It seems that, while still young, Mir Muhammad attracted some disciples of his father and set off with them for Kashmir. This was the second wave of Kubraviyas entering into the Valley.

He arrived in Kashmir, in 796/1393, at the age of twenty-two where he made Sultan Sikander (1389-1413) as his disciple. The Sultan built a beautiful *Khanqah* for him in Srinagar, at the spot where Saiyid 'Ali had earlier stayed during his visit to the Valley. For its maintenance he granted the revenues of the two parganas and the revenues of a separate pargana he assigned for Mir Muhammad's exclusive use.

Soon after his arrival in Kashmir mir Muhammad plunged himself into the activity of teaching and preaching Islam. The most important person who accepted Islam at his hands was a high Hindu official Suha Bhatta, who later became his devout follower. The latter adopted Saifu'd-Din as his Islamic name and married his daughter to the Mir.

The advent of Mir Muhammad in Kashmir marked a turning point in its history. In the early years of his reign, Sultan Sikandar followed the policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims as practised by his predecessors. His principal officials such as Suha Bhatta, Udaka, Ladraja and Shankra were Hindus and no interference were made in their religious practices.

After the arrival of Mir Muhammad the attitude of Sultan Sikandar changed and an orthodox Islamic policy was introduced. The sell-

ing of wine, (public) dancing of women, music, and gambling were prohibited. The *jizya* on non-Muslims was imposed for the first time. Hindus were prevented from applying the tilak (religious mark) on their foreheads, and the custom of suttee (Hindu widow who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre) was banned.

Ancient temples such as at Pompur, Vijabror, Mortand, Anantnag, Sopur and Baramula were demolished. Jonaraja writes: "The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took delight, day and night, in breaking images".

The question arises whether Mir Muhammad was exclusively responsible for the change in state policy or whether the new regulations only had his tacit backing and were the changes dictated by political reasons. Both Hindu and Muslim sources are unanimous that Sultan Sikandar introduced Islamic orthodoxy on the advice of Mir Muhammad.

Jonaraja writes: "The king waited on him [Mir Muhammad] daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Muhammad before him, and was attentive to him like a slave." The medieval Muslim sources inform us emphatically that infidelity was uprooted from Kashmir through Mir Muhammad's influence.

The above statements show that Mir Muhammad was not ready to give the status of *Zimmis* to the Hindus of Kashmir and treated them as *Kafirs* who were not obedient to Islam but were at war with it. His attitude was strongly opposed by Saiyid Muhammad Hisari, another Kubrariya saint.

Saiyid Hisari hailed, from Hisar, where his ancestors had migrated from Saman, a village in Balkh. He seems to have been highly educated and an eminent Sufi. The date of his arrival in Kashmir is not known, but apparently he reached there some time between 1389 and 1393, before the arrival of Mir Muhammad, in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He took up his residence at Nauhatta, in Srinagar, where he spent the rest of his life as a recluse. The Sultan used to visit him daily and held him in great esteem.

After the arrival of Mir Muhammad the Sultan was increasingly drawn towards him, and according to hagiological literature, this brought Saiyid Hisari in conflict both with Sultan and Mir Muhammad. It is said that the latter used to complain to the Sultan that he showed greater regard to the young Mir than he did to himself who was very old.

The account of conflict between Mir Muhammad and Saiyid Hisari as given in the hagiological literature shows that their differences were personal; but there seem to have been deeper reasons behind the conflict between the two.

Mir Muhammad was no match for Saiyid Hisari, in fact the Mir had recognised him as superior to himself when he sought a *khilafat-nama* from him. The life of retirement and asceticism which Saiyid Hisari led prevents us from concluding that he opposed Mir Muhammad for worldly motives.

It is not unlikely that Saiyid Hisari did not like the way in which Mir Muhammad and his patrons were preaching Islam; and his complaint to the Sultan was against the unhealthy influence of the Mir. This is supported by the subsequent change in the attitude of Sultan Sikandar, as Jonaraja says that the Sultan "fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas," and abolished *jizya (turuskadanda)*.

Thus, feeling the change in Sultan Sikandar's attitude and particularly on account of Saiyid Hisari's opposition. Mir Muhammad decided to leave the Valley after a stay of twelve years (808/1405). He went first to Mecca and thence to khatlan, where he died and was buried near the tomb of his father.

Saiyid Hisari continued to live in Kashmir and died there. He was buried at mohalla Nauhatta. Throughout his life he led a celibate life and seems to have left no disciple of eminence.

According to some hagiological writers three hundred saints and scholars came with Mir Muhammad to Kashmir, but not more than the following nine are described by them. It seems that the number is much exaggerated and if others came also they were of minor importance.

Saiyid Husain Shirazi, commonly known as *Qazi Wali*, belonged to Shiraz, where he held the post of a *qazi*. Because of a sound knowledge of *figh* and *hadis*, which he is said to have possessed. Sultan Sikandar appointed him the qazi of Kashmir. However, he soon gave up his post and spent the rest of his life as a recluse at Narparistan, in Srinagar.

Another companion of Mir Muhammad was Saiyid Ahmad Samani bin Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din bin Saiyid Mahmud. He was also an *'alim* and the author of a lost treatise called *Tanwir-i-Siraj*, on the law of inheritance. Sultan Sikandar appointed him too as a *qazi*. After his death, he was buried at Fathkadal, in Srinagar.

Two other distinguished companions of Mir Muhammad were Saiyid Muhammad and Saiyid Sadru'd-Din. Saiyid Muhammad originally belonged to Loristan and Saiyid Sadru'd-Din hailed from Khurasan. Both of them were good architects and built the mosque (*Jami'-masjid*) at Sikandarpura, which was completed in 804/1401.

This mosque was constructed on the site of an old temple, which was razed to the ground. Saiyid Muhammad breathed his last in 819/1416 and was buried near the Jami'-masjid. Saiyid Sadru'd-Din, however, outlived him by two years and died in 821/1418, he was buried near Zainakadal in Srinagar.

Another companion of Mir Muhammad of some eminence was Saiyid Husain Khwarami. He was held in great esteem by Sultan Sikandar who appointed him the tutor of his two sons, 'Ali Shah and Zainu'l-'Abidin. It is said that when, on the advice of Mir Muhammad, the temple at Muniwar in Srinagar, was destroyed, Saiyid Hasain was asked by his preceptor to live there. He spent the rest of his life there and was buried in the same *mohalla*.

Saiyid Nuru'd-Din was the nephew of Saiyid Husain, who had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd-Din. According to Miskin, Saiyid Nuru'd-Din received his early education from Saiyid Husain. He is buried near *Rang-masjid*, in Srinagar.

Saiyid Jalalu'd-Din Bukhari was also one of the companions of Mir Muhammad. Nothing is known about him except that he lies buried at *Mazar-i-Salatin*, in Srinagar.

Saiyid Muhammad Madani, commonly known in Kashmir as "Madin Sahib", was originally from Madina. He left his home and entered the service of Timur. When Timur invaded India, he took Saiyid Madani with him. From Sindh he deputed Saiyid Madani, in 801/1399, as his envoy to the court of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir. Impressed by the patronage, Sultan Sikandar gave to Muslim saints and scholars. Saiyid Madani, after completing his mission as an envoy, returned with his family to Kashmir, and settled there.

In Kashmir he became the desciple of Mir Muhammad, but, unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Madani did not show any interest in teaching or preaching, and lived a quiet life at Rainawari, in Srinagar. He does not seem to have received any special favour from Sultan Sikandar, whose patronage had drawn him to Kashmir.

However, when Zainu'l-'Abidin came to the throne, he became a devotee of Saiyid Madani and asked him to move to his new capital at Naushahra. There, he built for him a *Khanqah* near his own palace. Saiyid Madani died on 11th Rajab, 849/13th October, 1445, and his tomb at Naushahra still exists.

Saiyid Ala'ud-Din Bukhari, another companion of Mir Muhammad, was the descendant of Makhdum Jahaniyan, the celebrated Suhrawardi saint. Sultan Sikandar, on the recommendation of Mir Muhammad, assigned the revenue of the village Sikandarpura in *pargana* Biru, for his maintenance. He settled down at

Sikandarpura, and was buried there after his death.

Saiyid 'Ala'ud-Din had four sons, Saiyid Ziya'u'd-Din, Saiyid Muhammad, Saiyid Taju'd-Din and Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din.

Saiyid Ziya'u'd-Din also called Saiyid Zirak, lies buried at the village of Kandhom in Bramula district, Saiyid Muhammad and Saiyid Taju'd-Din were buried at Sikandarpura, near the grave of their father.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Din died in his youth, leaving behind a young son named Saiyid Haji Murad. He was educated by his uncle, Saiyid Zirak, and later he went on pilgrimage, and then travelled to Iran and Central Asia. At Madina, he came into contact with Shaikh Ishaq, a Shattari saint, and became his disciple. But when he reached Khwarazm he met Shaikh 'Abdu'llah Burzishabadi, a Kubraviya saint, and enrolled himself among his disciples.

After receiving the *khilafat-nama* from him, Saiyid Murad returned to Kashmir in the reign of Muhammad Shah, and settled at the village of Krairi in the *pargana* Kruhin. Unlike his predecessors, Saiyid Murad did not accept government grants or gifts, but earned his living by cultivating a piece of land. He breathed his last in 895/1489 and was buried in his *khanqah* in Krairi.

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Mir Nazuk (d.1614 A.D.)

Mir Nazuk was at first the disciple of Baba Dawud Khaki and had received initiation in the Suhrawardi order. When Saiyid Isma'il came to Kashmir, Baba Dawud introduced the Mir to him. Finding Mir Nazuk full of promise, Saiyid Isma'il initiated him into the Qadiri order and gave him the *Khirqa* and *ijazat-nama* to enrol disciples in the order.

Mir Nazuk, unlike Saiyid Ni'matu'llah, did not approve of the practice of *sama*. It is not known whether Saiyid Ismail practised ṣama at all, but Baba Dawud, the Mir's earlier preceptor, certainly approved of it. Mir Nazuk is said to have even refused to give an interview to a *darwesh* who practised *sama*. He breathed his last on 9th Zu'l-Hijja, 1022/20th January, 1614, and was buried at Qazikadal, in Srinagar.

The charge of Mir Nazuk's khanqah at Khanyar, in Srinagar, was taken up by his eldest son, Mir Yusuf. He had received his education and initiation in the Qadiri order from his father. Mir Yusuf died of plague at an early age in 1027/1617. It was left to the lot of Mir Muhammad 'Ali (d.17th Zu'l-Hijja, 1070/24th August, 1660), the third son of Mir Nazuk, to popularise the Qadiri order in Kashmir.

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Mir-ul Arefeen (17th Century)

Mir-ul-Arefeen, disciples of Shah Jalal Mujarrad, was a Sufi of a higher order. The place where he passed a part of his life in prayer and austerity has became a centre of pilgrimage. A prayer place on the top of a hill and an ablution house on the bank of Dhaleshwari river (which falls into the Barak river) are still preserved. Near the site of the ablution-house are a musafir-khana and a mosque.

People visit this place and offer there *nazr-o-niyaz* to get their desires fulfilled. The place where Mir-ul-Arefeen used to offer prayer is situated on the top of a hill. His foot-prints still

can be seen on the stone-plate, which is believed to be his prayer carpet. It is said that this place was situated in a forest where wild beasts were found. The place is surrounded by the Railway Station of Panchgram, ONGC Camp and proposed site of Hindustan Paper Mill in the district of Cachar. His tomb is situated at Laur.

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Mirza Jandjanan, Mazhar (1700A.D — 1781A.D.)

Mirza Jandjanan (1111-95/1700-81), an Urdu poet and eminent Sufi, was born in Talabagh, Malwa. He was received into the Nakshabandi order by Sayyid Mir Muhammad Baba'uni, and into the Kadiri order by Muhammad Abid Sumami.

He was shot in Dilhi by a Shi'i fanatic in revenge for his critical remarks about the Muharram celebrations, but though, he survived three days, he refused to identify his assailant to the Emperor. He was - and remains - a famous religious leader. He had many disciples and was even credited with miracles.

As a writer, his position is not so clear-cut. His letters, in Persian have been published together with letters addressed to him; but they shed little, if any, light on his poetry, being mostly concerned with religious and social affairs. In Persian poetry, his *diwan* is his own selection of 1,000 from 20,000 verses.

The same fastidious self-criticism may perhaps explain why so little of his Urdu poetry is extant: what remains is found scattered in *tadhkiras*, anthologies and other books. Yet, he has been recognised as one of the four pillars of 18th century Urdu poetry, alongside Sawda' Mir Taki Mir and Dard.

Sawla complained that Mazhar's poetic language was neither Persian nor Rekkhta [Urdu], likening it to the proverbial "dhobi's dog, neither of the house nor the river-side". This remark is unjust, to judge by such of his poetry as remains, which makes us wish there were more.

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Miyan Mir, Miyadi (1550A.D — 1586A.D)

Bala Pir, popular names of the Indian Sufi saint Mir Muhammad or Shaykh Muhammad Mir, was son of Kadi Kalandar. He was born most probable in 957/1550 at Siwistan (Sehwan) in Sindh. His father died when he was 7 years old, and he received Kadiriyya instruction from him mother until the age of 12. He then became a murid and *khalifa* of *Shaykh Khidr* in the mountains of Siwistan (said to have died in 994/1586). Miyan Mir is also said to have maintained an Uwaysi contact with the spirit of 'Abd al-Kadir Djilani.

At the age of 25, Miyan Mir came to Lahore, where he enjoyed a reputation for austerities and spiritual powers, including *kashf* and foreknowledge, healing and resuscitation, converse with beasts and trees and nocturnal transport to the cave on Mount Hira near Mecca.

He received attention from the emperors Djahangir and Shah Djahan and the eldest son of the latter, Muhammad Dara Shukuh became his discipline and composed a tadhkira which is our main source regarding Miyan Mir. Mulla Shah Badakhshi, also a subject of this prince's attention was a principal *khalifa.*

Miyan Mir was also resorted to by Mughal soldiers and other Central Asian immigrants for healing or the resolution of difficulties. He died at the age of 87 Muslim years, of which more than 60 had been passed in Lahore, on 7 Rabi 1045/21 August 1635. Nawwab Wazir Khan erected Miyan Mir's fine tomb and its precinct, which stand in the suburb of Lahore (formerly the cantonment) which bears his name.

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Miyan-Mir
(1531A.D. — 1609A.D.)

Shaikh Abdu'l-Haqq and his successors led dual roles as both sufis and alims but a unique legacy of mystical sensitivity and devotional exuberance was handed down to posterity by Miyan-Mir and his disciples. Most of them (in later life) abandoned their careers as theologians and scholars, choosing to live as ascetics and hermits.

Miyan-Mir's ancestors came from Siwistan in Sindh. Both his parents were from families of qazis. Qazi Qazan, the father of Miyan-Mir's mother was a prominent alim who became a Mahdawi under the influence of Saiyid Muhammad of Janupur. Under the influence of her father, Bibi Fatima, Miyan-Mir's mother, also became a sufi and practised the Mahdawi form of asceticism and zikr which she had been taught by her father. Qazi Sa in Data bin Qazi Qalandar Faruqi, Miyan-Mir's father, also had mystical inclinations.

Miyan-Mir (Mir Muhammad) was born in 938/1531-32. He was one of five sons, one brother (Bolan) was loder, three (Usman, Tahir and Muhammad) were younger, all later became qazis, and there were also two sisters. As a child he did not receive a comprehensive theological and literary education and spoke the local Sindi dialect.

At the age of twelve, however, under the influence of his mother's daily prayer vigils, he decided that she should teach him some mystic rituals. Later in the prime of his youth he was allowed into the jungle to practice self-mortification. Before he had reached adulthood Miyan-Mir had been initiated as a Qadiriyya sufi.

Miyan-Mir's pir, Shaikh Khizr, was a sufi who passionately believed in rejecting all gifts, even offerings of *zakat*, unless they emanated from purely pious motives. Alone in the hills of Siwistan he would eat wild fruits and in winter wear only a small loin covering. He dug himself an oven (*tanur*) where he burned wood for heat in winter and also cooked.

On a particularly scorching day the Governor of Siwistan visited Shaikh Khizr to find him sitting meditating on a stone, unshaded from the burning sun. When the Governor's shadow fell across the Shaikh he awoke and requested him to depart so that he would not make a shadow. Shaikh Khizr also told the Governor that he was terrified even to include him in his prayers in case anything other than God entered his heart simultaneously.

A quite different reception, however, was extended to Miyan-Mir at their first meeting. After leaving his mother's house the Miyan walked into the jungle. There he found the 'oven', still warm, though the area was deserted. He became convinced that the 'oven' was the dwelling of a great saint. He waited patiently for three days for its inhabitant, during which time he took no nourishment.

Freezing with could he was sorely tempted to use the 'oven' for heat but crushing his lower self, he remained exposed to the freezing temperatures. When Shaikh Khizr finally appeared he told Miyan-Mir he had emerged from the 'oven' that very day and had not seen him. Later when recounting the story the Miyan explained that his *pir* must have become absent-minded about that time.

About 963/1555-56, Miyan-Mir was released from Shaikh Khizr's tutelage as he was no longer in need of his ascetic guidance. He began living in mosques in Lahore, spending part of his time attending the lectures of Maulana Sa'du'llah, an outstanding *'alim* and scholar of Akbar's reign.

In a short time Miyan-Mir had perfected his knowledge of both the traditional and rational texts prescribed for the 'ulama'. He also studied under Maulana Ni'matu'llah, Maulana Sa'du'llah's disciple and the teacher of Dara-Shukho's tutor, Mulla Mirak-Shaikh Harawi.

After the completion of his formal religious education Miyan-Mir turned to practical sufism. With a few disciples she began visiting the graves of eminent sufis in Lahore. Afterwards they would walk deep into the jungle where each would sit under a tree alone to meditate.

At prescribed hours of obligatory prayer they would assemble for congregational prayers. According to Dara-Shukoh this had been the Prophet Muhammad's way of meditating and the Miyan believed it was designed to obliterate all no-spiritual thoughts from the conscious mind.

Emphasizing the importance of this form of meditation and contemplation, Miyan-Mir argued there were two ways of God. In the first, He initiated a craving for Himself and then spontaneously drew the devotee towards Him. The *suluk* (sufi way) of meditation and mortification under the guidance of a perfect *pir* was the second path.

The first stage of the sufi journey of the neophyte enabled him to reach the *'alam-i malakut* during which his *pir* advised him to indulge in this method of meditation, which successfully severed the mind from all thoughts of other things. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hakim Siyalkoti reminded the Mir that this custom would keep the neophyte from congregational prayers.

This objection was rejected, however, on the grounds that prayers were no mechanical and called for absolute concentration without which they were useless. As far as, congregational prayers were concerned, Miyan-Mir asserted that he and his party never ignored them, and performed them even in the jungle.

By about 1016/1607-08 Miyan-Mir's fame in Lahore had become such a burden to him that he migrated to Sirhind where he became a recluse. There he fell seriously ill, particularly with chronic pain in the knees. According to Miyan-Mir, the Ghausu'l-A'zam appeared to him one night and cured him.

After a year in Sirhind, Miyan-Mir quietly slipped back to Lahore and settled in the quarter where the gardeners lived, known as the *muhalla* Baghbanan and later the Khafipur. Although, his presence gradually became known he tried to aboid contact with local Muslims, at the same time refusing all financial assistance.

When returning gifts, Miyan-Mir would always say that the giver had mistaken him for a beggar while he in fact was rich with God. He would go into the forest during the day, then retire to his cell at night. Later, he remained hidden in his room walking with the aid of a stick and believing in the assistance of God above.

His faith was so strong that he scorned sufis like Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, the recipient of lavish gifts, and expressed doubts about the famous Suhrawardi's spiritual achievements.

Dara-Shukoh records that one of his disciples claimed that the Miyan never slept at night and for several years used only one breath lasting for an entire night till sunrise. Even at eighty he was inhaling and exhaling only four times nightly. His life's philosophy was based on *Tawakkul* (trust in God) which was charac-

terized by his throwing out water on a hot Lahore evening to ensure that none remained for the next day.

The Miyan believed that *Khatra* (anxiety, disturbing thoughts) depended on imagination and that a loss of purpose resulted in a lack of anxiety. According to Miyan-Mir *namaz-i be khatra* (prayer without anxiety) involved an unequivocal commitment to God.

In 1620, the Emperor Jahangir, *en route* to Kashmir from Sirhind, was informed that Miyan-Mir was an outstanding ascetic. He had already left Lahore and was unable to return to see the great Shaikh. At the Emperor's invitation Miyan-Mir visited his camp and overwhelmed Jahangir by his mystical discourse. So impressed was the Emperor with the Miyan's asceticism that he dared not present him with any gift except for the skin of a white antelope to pray on. Two years later when Shah Abbas Safawi of Iran besieged Qandahar the Emperor humble requested Miyan-Mir to pray for him. Twice the Emperor Shahjahan called at Miyan-Mir's house in Lahore. Despite such attentions from the powerful Miyan-Mir managed generally to remain aloof from worldly authorities.

Just before his death Miyan-Mir suffered a severe attack of dysentery and, as throughout life his ascetic nature had been strongly opposed to any form of human help, he refused to allow the governor of Lahore's physician to treat him. On 7 Rabi I 1045/2 1st August, 1635, Miyan-Mir died. The last rites were performed by his disciples and servants, while the Governor (Wazir Khan) and other leading citizens of Lahore joined the cortege.

The Miyan's body was buried near the grave of his disciple, Miyan-Nattha. His other disciples, such as Shaikh Abu'l-Makarim and Hajji Mustafa Kulal, had also previously been buried close to the site. This area, about a mile south-east of Lahore, known as *Alam-Ganj* (World Treasury). The village of Hashimpur (later called Darapur) was close to Alam-Gang. After the Miyan's death, each Friday evening a large crowd would assemble at his tomb and circumambulate around it. Dara-Shukoh lamented that he had missed the Miyan's funeral, but he had said the mourning prayers in a dream.

Throughout his life Miyan-Mir strictly adhered to the *Shari'a* urging his disciples to do likewise. Insisting that the first stage in the sufic journey was obedience to the *Shari'a*, the perfect form of the *Tariqa* was reflected in heart. This in turn prompted God to withdraw the veil from human nature, thus revealing Himself through an understanding of the significance of *Haqiqa*. Therefore the *Shari'a* helped to regulate worldly affairs and led to the *Tariqa* stage of mysticism.

Miyan-Mir also believed that the *Tariqa* was the way to purify the animal soul (*nafs*) from which evil tendencies were derived and that it was the source of a perception of the *Haqiaqa*. In the *Haqiqa* the annihilation of one's self effaced all that was no Allah, leading to the stage of propinquity to God. In other words, says Miyan-Mir, man was constituted in the animal soul, the heart and the spirit. The first could only be reformed through obedience to the laws of the *Shari'a*, the heart then fulfilled the obligations of the Tariqa, and the renovation of the spirit depended on observing the rules of the *Haqiqa*.

On one occasion Miyan-Mir was asked to explain in a lecture the significance of the Qur'anic verse, 'Pray unto me and I will hear your prayer's. He explained that people were generally concerned about the results of their prayers. In this verse he believed that God had called on Muslims to pray after expelling all other thoughts from the heart. After this it was hoped one's prayers would be answered. If one prayed with the heart engrossed in thoughts other than Allah, surely these prayers violated the spirit of the injunction contained in the verse.

Miyan-Mir endorsed the views of Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Razi that the purification of the heart and concentration in prayer were possible only through lawfully acquired food and righteous deeds. For example, Allah reminds Mus-

lims, '...then they cry unto Allah, making their faith pure for Him only and '...Unto Him good words ascend, and the pious deed doth He exalt. These verses, according to Miyan-Mir, guaranteed the circumstances in which He answered prayers.

The traditional sufi custom of wearing a patched cloak was severely criticised by Miyan-Mir as a trademark which attracted attention to sufis who were then offered gifts and given a great deal of publicity. In place of the patched cloak, he himself wore a turban of coarse cloth and a cotton coat (*jama*).

He washed his own clothes in the river, urging his disciples to be clean and tidy. He and his disciples wore garments that did not distinguish them from other Muslims. He affirmed that the condition of discipleship was *bay'a*, rather than the wearing of a *khirqa*.

Although Miyan-Mir indulged in *sama'* he was not a fanatical devotee. Neither did he employ a musician (*qawwal*) as was the custom. Hindi songs were his favourite but out of respect for the *Shari'a* and because of his own self-control he never experienced states of ecstasy. Although, the impact of the music would be reflected in his face he always remained perfectly immobile.

An ardent follower of the *Wahdat al-Wahdat* Miyan-Mir considered it so profoundly esoteric that he refused to divulge any of its secrets to ordinary Muslims. He likened conversations about the *Wahdat al-Wujud* to an oasis mirage, meaning that it would not quench anyone's thirst.

The very first of the disciples initiated by Miyan-Mir was Hajji Ni'matu'llah Sirhindi. During the Mir's illness at Sirhind, he was so impressed by Ni'matu'llah's selfless devotion that he decided to make him a perfect sufi. Once, when recounting his spiritual experiences to a khalifa of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati, Ni'matu'llah was told that what he thought was the *alam-i- malakut* (sphere of spirits) was in fact the sphere of genii which would ultimately cause his ruin.

Ni'Matu'llah, thereupon, decided to abandon the devotional exercises he had learnt from Miyan-Mir, the result being that he became so emotionally distressed that he decided to undertake pilgrimage to Mecca to recover his equilibrium. When the Miyan discovered his plan to go to Mecca, he told him to recite certain invocations which would take him to the holy city of his own accord.

After repeating the invocations Ni'matu'llah reported the following morning that he could now be called a Hajji without having travelled to Mecca and from that time onwards he was known by that title. In 1017/1608-09 the Hajji died and his memory was very reverently cherished by the disciples of Miyan-Mir.

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Miyan-Natth (16th Century A.D.)

Miyan-Nattha, the Miyan-Mir's leading disciples was also a native of Sirhind. His ancestors had been oil-pressers and he himself was illiterate. As a youth he was enlisted into Miyan-Mir's discipleship some time around 1007/1598-99, therefore his relationship with his *pir* was a lengthy one. So deeply beloved was he that the Miyan never objected to Miyan-Nattha's rather bold, although witty remarks.

Towards the end of his life he became so obsessed with meditation that periodically he would spend successive days and nights sitting motionless on a wall, engrossed in contemplation. He would also hide in the jungle or in graveyards. While meditating he would neglect all refreshment. His *pir* would be so moved that he would send him some of his own rations.

Miyan-Mir informed his disciples and associates that Miyan-Nattha had the ability to enter the '*alam-i malakut* and correctly foretell future events. When a boil developed on Miyan-Mir's eyelid, Miyan-Nattha advised the use of a cucumber-seed paste, although a doctor had prescribed an operation. The Miyan acquiesced for he believed the remedy had been foreseen in the '*alam-i malakut* and, even though Miyan-Nattha was still an ordinary disciple, he had reached a unique level of spiritual insight.

It was generally accepted that Miyan-Nattha could communicate with leaves, animals and with all sorts of animate and inanimate objects. He could also stop rain and hail-storms. During his last illness (he died in 1027/1518-19), he would sit on the porch of his pir's house absorbed in meditation.

At the moment of death his body remained upright in the contemplative position and only when his hands were touched it was realized he had died. From then until his death, there was a void in Miyan-Mir's life and he grieved intensely over the death of his favourite disciple.

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Mohamad Baksh (18th Century)

Mohamad Baksh was another critic of this time. He gave thoughtful critical appreciation from Sheikh Farid upto his contemporary writers. As an author he wrote one big composition Saiful Maluk in his Kissa we find the sense of super naturalism like that of S.T. Coleridge in *Ancient Mariner* and *Kubla Khan*.

Saiful Maluk can be considered the blend of beauty, chivalry adventure and super naturalism all these above mentioned traits glorifies the spirit of romanticism in the medieval age of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Mohamad Baksh is generally quoted to estimate the work of writers. He says, "while reading the kafi of Bulleh Shah, tension and depression of the mind is gone, man seems to be swimming in the river of spiritualism." He has given the true criticism of Bulleh Shah.

Mohamad Baksh gives the criticism of Varis Shah he comments over his work and appreciates him in these words, " Varis Shah is the master of Panjabi poetry. No body can dare to criticise him. None has ability to finger out his single word even."

While criticising Sheeri-Faryad of Hashim Shah, poet doubts that this is not the same style of Hashim in which he has composed the kissa Sassi-Punnu. Mohamad Baksh writes, "Hazrat Khusro and Sheikh Nizami they have mentioned some other theme of kissa Sassi-Punnu in their books, but Hashim Shah gives another description. So, the composition cannot be considered concrete from the critical point of view, mainly the criticism of Mohamad Baksh is inserted in the last pages of his masterpiece Saiful-Malook.

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Kissa Yasuf Zulaikhan

Muhammad Baqi (1564 A.D. — 1103 A.D.)

The Naqshbandiyya sufi who gained the most remarkable popularity in India in a very short period was Khwaja Muhammad Baqi, or Baqi Billah Berang, (the son of Qazi 'Abdu's-

Salam Khalji Samarqandi Quraishi). He was born in Kabul in either 971/1563-64 or 972/1564-65. His father was both an 'alim and a sufi, and his mother was a descendant of the family of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar. From childhood, he was introspective and meditative.

In 978/1570-71 Maulana Sadiq Halwa'i, an eminent 'alim and poet from Samarqand, arrived in Kabul from Mecca and Medina and stayed there at the request of Akbar's younger brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Viceroy of Kabul. Muhammad Baqi became his disciple. Impressed with his student's intellectual potential, Maulana Sadiq allowed Muhammad Baqi to accompany him to Transoxiana. To the regret of some distinguished scholars there, Muhammad Baqi failed to complete the prescribed education of an 'alim, rejecting it for sufism.

Muhammad Baqi performed *tauba* (repentance) under many Naqshbandi saints of Transoxiana, firstly under Khwaja 'Ubaid, a *khalifa* of Maulana Lutfu'llah, then in the presence of Khwaja Iftikhar Shaikh of Samarqand. Initially, Khwaja Iftikhar had only reluctantly become *pir* to the young Muhammad Baqi, but he relented after becoming convinced of his sincerity.

Baqi's next spiritual influence was Amir Abdu'llah Balkhi. For two years he performed the zikr and meditation prescribed by Amir Abdu'llah Balkhi but remained spiritually unstable. After leaving Kabul for India in pursuit of a more inspired spiritual life he contacted some of his relations who held prominent government positions. Although, they attempted to persuade him to enter the service of the Mughals the Khwaja remained aloof from the worldly career of an *'alim* or of a military man.

In Lahore, Muhammad Baqi had an unrequited love affair. The sources refer only to a worldly (suri) beloved but most probably, as was the custom in Transoxiana, the loved one was a young boy. When the two were finally separated, the distraught Muhammad Baqi plunged into the ecstatic side of sufism, spending his nights reading mystical works describing love (both earthly and divine) and his days in aimless wandering through the streets of Lahore and the graveyards and nearby forests. For months neither rain nor the vicissitudes of the seasons deterred him from his search for a perfect sufi who could enable him to obtain spiritual peace and Divine love.

Finally Khwaja Muhammad Baqi heard of a *majzub* (ecstatic) famed for his spiritual perfection, only to be rejected by him and even stoned for his trouble. His mother, herself a devout and pious woman, who had accompanied him, was greatly disturbed by her son's mental and spiritual condition. She would pray for him nightly. After some time, the *majzub* relented and blessed the Khwaja; and the study of a mystical book further infused his heart with mystical illumination.

Khwaja Muhammad Baqi then travelled to Delhi and from there as far as Sambhal in western U.P in his continuing search for a perfect guide. From Sambal he again returned to Lahore, then to Kashmir.

In Kashmir the Khwaja came in contact with Baba Wali, who initiated disciples into the Naqshbandiyya order. In 1592 Baba Wali died, but by that time Khwaja Muhammad Baqi felt that the holy spirits of the Naqshbandiyya Khwajas had prophesied his spiritual eminence. He travelled through Balkh and Badakhshan where he consulted the local sufis. At Amkina near Samarqand, he was warmly received by Maulana Khwajagi Amkinagi, a spiritual descendant of Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din Ubaidu'llah Ahrar.

The stories of the Khwaja's swift initiation into the Naqshbandiyya order in three days are reminiscent of those connected with the initiation of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya by Shaikh Shihabu-d-Din Suhrawardi. Maulana Khwajagi advised Khwaja Muhammad Baqi to hasten back to India, and prophesied the success of the Naqshbandiyya *silsila* in the subcontinent through his teachings.

The more senior disciples of the Maulana naturally were jealous of his privileged treat-

ment but were silenced by the remark that before he had arrived in Amkina the Khwaja had already become a perfect sufi. What he (the Maulana) did was merely to stabilize the Khwaja's spiritual condition through his company for he, unlike other sufi initiates, was not required to start from scratch.

Leaving Samarqand, the Khwaja visited Lahore, where a severe famine had resulted in many people dying in the streets. In sympathy, according to hagiologists, Khwaja Muhammad Baqi refused all nourishment, sending his food ration to the starving. After a few weeks he set out for Delhi. On the road he gathered up those too weak to walk and put them on his own horse, but just outside each town he remounted in order to be inconspicuous in his charity. After his arrival in Delhi, the Khwaja lived in the Firuzabad fort near the Jamuna.

It is not known if Khwaja Muhammad Baqi's mother stayed in Lahore or accompanied him on the arduous journey to Kashmir and Transoxiana. However, she did migrate with him to Delhi, where she worked for him during a period when his health was poor.

As Khwaja Muhammad Baqi died on Saturday 25 Jumada II 1012/30 Nov. 1603 and is known to have lived there no more than four years, he must have arrived in Delhi in 1008/1599-1600. He then married two wives, and was survived by two young sons who continued to promote the Ahrariyya teachings of the Naqshbandiyya order.

We shall now discuss the most significant aspects of Khwaja Muhammad Baqi's teachings, referring to him by the title (Beqi-Bi'llah) under which he was more widely known in later life.

In a *ruba'i* in which Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah paid tribute to the spiritual perfections of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Ubaidu'llah Ahrar, he invited sufis to follow the Ahrariyya-Naqshbandiyya path, claiming it achieved the nearest to mystic perfection for sufi, and was markedly superior to other paths. The *sine qua non* of this *Tariqa*, as mentioned earlier, was the attainment of baqa' (reintegration with the Essence) while strictly following the laws of the Shari'a and nurturing love for the Prophet.

Theosophically the *Tariqa* was to be bases on the *Wahdat at-Wujud* of Ibn Arabi. *Fana'* (extinction), he reminded sufis, was the annihilation of human qualities or the death of the self. When God illuminated the heart of the devotee from a partical of the theophany of His Essence, his consciousness was transmuted and his being acquired the real state of *fana'*.

In that state both the name and individuality of the devotee disappearted and whatever was attributed to the devotee was in fact reintegrated with the Essence. That stage was known as *Baqa Bi'llah* (eternity in Allah). The transmutation into *fana*, prevented the reappearance of the human attributes in sufis although outwardly they retained their physical existence.

A *pir* guided his disciples towards that stage of mystic development. The experience of Tajalli or the self-manifestation of the absolute or vision of the Essence was a mystic stage dependent of the ascent of perfect sufis.

In correspondence Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah wrote that the Tajalli (selfmanifestation of the Absolute) of the onward journey along the mystical path was of three types:

1. The outward *(suri)* self-manifestation of the Absolute perceived by beginners;
2. The spiritual (ma'nawi) self-manifestation of the Absolute perceived by sufis with medium achievements;
3. The true self-manifestation of Absolute perceived by perfect sufis.

The perception of the self-manifestation of the Absolute did not imply the infusion of the Essence into the sufi (hulul) or the indentification of the Essence with human nature; it was an unintelligible mystery experienced only by those who had reached the stage of perfection.

Tauba, the initial aspect of the sufic journey, reiterated the Khwaja, was dissociation from sin, the heaviest veil shielding the mystic path. Sins against the Shari'a came into two categories, venial and heinous. The *Tariqa* called

on sufis to avoid both, but sin rejection was a preliminary stage only and the negative aspect of the tauba. The positive side of tauba was the removal of all veils and the development of a love for God and gnosis.

Commoners repented of their sins but sufis begged forgiveness for their forgetfulness while observing obedience to God and performing such duties as prayers, fasting, payment of *zakat*, undertaking pilgrimages, crushing their 'headstrong souls' and while feeling delight at purifying their souls so as to make them inspired or tranquil.

The second duty of sufis according to Naqshbandiyyas, said Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, was *zuhd* (renunciation). Its preliminary stage was the rejection of greed and the desire for money; the advanced stage would result in the abandonment of desire for this world and the hereafter. The attitude of a *zahid* (ascetic, also a kind of faqir, or dervish) to the world and its material benefits could be divided into three categories:

1. The greedy who were without wealth but were keen to acquire it;
2. The zahid who requested nothing but when offered wealth seized it;
3. The *qani* (contented) who neither requested nor rejected gifts.

The perfect form of renunciation sprang neither from hope of reward nor out of fear but, like Rabi' a's, was unconcerned with either.

The third requirement of the sufic path was *tawakkul* (trust in God). The perfect form of *tawakkul* sprang from a perception of the Unity of Being; the sufi experienced nothing but one. According to sufis this involved the absorption of individuality into the Essence. Although, this prompted confidence in God, man should not ignore his own efforts.

A child trusted his mother but still cried for milk and a man raised his hand in order to eat. Thus work was essential to engender sufficient strength for prayer and worship but work should never be performed to achieve sensual pleasure. Different rules were prescribed for the accumulation of worldly resources and their preservation but the cornerstone of *tawakkul* was that all resources were designed to strengthen love for God.

The fourth duty of a sufi was *qana'at* (resignation). Sufis should retain only what was essential for their physical existence, being austere in food, dress and style of living. Beginners along the sufi path accepted only what they needed; those who had reached a middle stage ate only as much as would enable them to stand for *namaz*, and wore clothes merely for protection from heat and cold. The perfect sufis, that is the muwahhids (followers of the Unity of Being), dissociated themselves completely from the love of anyone other than God.

The fifth requirement was *'uzlat* (self-seclusion). Mystics should be in the company of their family or disciples only when it was indispensable for the welfare of others, for the self-seclusion of perfect sufis was calculated to banish all thoughts except those connected with God from their hearts; they should constantly re-examine the spiritual condition of the heart. Perfect sufis were permitted to mix with people who helped them to promote their spiritual life and guided them on the right path.

The sixth requirement was *sabr* (patience), whether or not they achieved mystical illumination. *Tawhid* or the perception of the Unity of Being was essential to reach the stages of *tawakkul, zuhd, qana'at* and *sabr*. These sufic achievements were indispensable to a perfect perception of the *Tawhid (Wahdat al-Wujud)*, the final goal of perfect mystics.

Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah in his correspondence discussed the philosophy of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani (659/1261-736/1336), a vehement exponent of the *Wahdat al Shuhud* (Unity of Perception). The Khwaja believed that Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula's perception was based on a perfect consciousness of Unity but that the Shaikh was more dogmatic in his utterances on the transcendence of God than the theologians, affirming that creation was entirely external to God, who commanded attributes and actions. However, Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah said that the writings of Ibn Arabi were just as

soundly based on scholarship as on mystical experience and that the two co-existed, although uneasily.

A week before his death Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah was said to have declared that Tawhid *(Wahdat al-Wujud)* was a narrow lane while the highway for the faithful was different. Such a truth, he added, was confirmed to him through *ayn al-yaqin.* Although, he knew this earlier, at the end of his life, said the Khwaja, he had obtained a different consciousness. However these remarks do not specifically imply the conversion of the Khwaja to the *Wahdat al-Shuhud,* and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi believed his *pir* did not die a follower of the *Wahdat al-Wujud.*

In his lifetime the Khwaja unrelentingly criticised sufis who he believed to be observing the external form of the *Tawhid.* They were wayward, he argued, and also misled others by identifying everthing with Reality, even believing the universe to be an illusion and fantasy. This type of philosophy, the Khwaja asserted, was followed by sophists but it was not the highroad shown by the prophets. The truth was that which Ibn 'Arabi had formulated but which had been misinterpreted.

The great Shaikh had affirmed that the universe was contained in the Divine consciousness and that creation was the process of the externalization of that consciousness; all external existence could be compared to the reflections in a mirror which exist and at the same time do not exist, no existence being separate from the Being.

In short, the universe is the instrument of the manifestation of the Divine omnipotence and will. Names and attributes are identical with His '*ayn* (Essence). The Khwaja used another analogy,' the central point was the source of the formation of the circle and therefore the circle was shaped only by its relation to the central point. The same analogy applies to the conscious descent of the Essence or Absolute and the emergence of the Universe and the subsequent mystical ascent of the Perfect Man.

Commenting on the meaning of the Qur'anic verse: 'From the evil of the darkness, when it is intense', Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah asserted that the Act of Being was pure good and that evil was a relative concept. Thus, he rejected the possibility of the existence of good and evil as two separate identities. To take one example, good may be compared to sun and evil to night.

When the rays of the sun were no longer visible night emerged; the sun of course did not disappear, for this illusion was a temporary, relative phenomenon. So, it was with evil, which was similar to the relative non-visibility of the sun's rays. This was why men rightly thought their sins and faults were their own creation and were not caused by 'Pure Good'.

Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's enthusiasm for the *Wahdat al-Wujud* within the framework of the Shari'a was matched only by the emphasis he placed on humility and self-effacement. The Prophet Muhammad and the Caliph Abu Bakr were taken as paragons of humility and courtesy, and Khwaja Baqi argued that self-conceit was the mightiest obstacle to living a truly mystical life.

The Naqshbandiyya *pirs* concealed their spiritual achievements and were continually engaged in praying to God and giving thanks to Him, and in the recitation of the Qur'an and the performance of *namaz*. The Khwaja himself was notably courteous and polite in his behaviour, taking responsibility for any errors or sinful behaviour on the part of his disciples.

In his *khanqah* petty bickering was an anathema, and the Khwaja did not consider that he himself was superior to any one. He encouraged people to be pious by quoting allegorical anecdotes. Although he helped the deserving, he refused all financial assistance for his dervishes. They ware not allowed to perform *zikr-i-jahr* (loud zikr) and of course sama and dancing were taboo.

Nevertheless he himself remained in an ecstatic condition. His training in zikr was invariably accompanied by the concentration of his own spiritual attention *(tawajjuh)* upon the

individual disciple, enabling him to make rapid progress.

Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah avoided publicity and initiated only very keen disciples. Nevertheless immediately after his arrival in Delhi a number of outstanding personalities became his disciples. It was mainly due to the fact that his stay in Firuzabad Fort coincided with the return of the imperial camp from the Deccan in August 1601.

Shaikh Farid Bukkari, naturally accorded a warm welcome to the sufi from the homeland of his ancestors. About the end of 1601 Shaikh Farid was commissioned to eradicate the collection by corrupt officials of unauthorized revenue along the road from Delhi to Lahore.

His official duties thus brought him into frequent contact with the Khwaja who wrote several letters to Shaikh Farid. Ghausi Shattari is not exaggerating when he mentions that Farid Bukhari paid all the expenses of the Khwaja's *khanqah.* The Mujaddid also acknowledged the extensive patronage Shaikh Farid Bukhari extended to Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and his successors.

In the Mughal empire the distribution of land grants and of charity in cash was the duty of the Sadru's-Sudur, Miran Sadr-i-Jahan Pihani, who was unable to ignore a sufi of the Khwaja's eminence and often took his advice in these matters. A letter written by Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, although it does not specifically identify the recipient, was possibly addressed to the Sadr-i-Jahan. It recommended Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (the future Mujaddid Alf-i Sani) in theses persuasive words :

There is a man in Sirhind named Shaikh Ahmad. He is very learned and strong in piety. For some days he associated with this *Faqir* (Baqi Bi'llah) who found his achievements surprisingly impressive. It would seem that he was to be a lamp to brighten the whole universe and I am convinced of his mystical eminence. The brothers and the relations of this Shaikh are all holy men and some of them are known to this supplicant. They are talented and are spiritual gems.

The children of the Shaikh are also the embodiment of divine mystery... In short, however, large families, excessive poverty and unemployment have made their material condition distressing. If some annual cash grant were assigned to the family it would be most meritorious, and even if it were not exorbitant, it would be a much laudable step. It may be noted that the *faqirs* are the gateway to Allah.

Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah made another generous gesture to Shaikh Ahmad. When Miran Sadr-i Jahan requested that the Khwaja teach him *zikr* and the *muraqaba* (meditation) of the Naqshbandiyyas, the Khwaja acquiesced as to the former, but advised him to learn muraqaba from Shaikh Ahmad.

Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah wrote short treatises on his understanding of the Naqshbandiyya-Ahrariyya sufi path, the ideas expressed in them were also included in a series of letters and lectures. However, his ecstatic and passionately emotional mysticism is more fully reflected in his poetry.

His similes and metaphors were rooted in conventional *Wujudi* terminology but his sensitivity added a new dimension to the mystical vision. Some of his ruba'is were collected, and his favourite disciple, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (Mujaddid) wrote a detailed commentary *(the Sharh-i Puba'iyat)* on some of them .

Of all the successors of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah the most prominent was Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. However, the disciple who looked after his family, including his infant children, and built him a mausoleum, was Khwaja Husamu'd-Din Ahmad. He was born in 977/1569-70 at Qunduz, but five years later his father, Qazi Nizam of Badakhshan, migrated to Agra.

The influence of Khwaja Husamu'd-Din's father at the imperial court enabled him to find a favourable position in the hierarchy of the Mughal military and civil services. Later, he married a sister of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl, an Indian Shaikhzada and well-known historian and admirer of Akbar.

At the end of the sixteenth century he served in the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan under Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (964/1556-1036/1627) and held a *mansab* of 1,000. However, the Khwaja also pursued his interest in the mystical traditions of his ancestors. Separation from the mystic stimulus of Delhi soon exasperated him, and, like the war veterans of northern India, he disliked the protracted guerilla type warfare of the Deccan.

The *Khan-i Khanan* attempted to pressurize the Khwaja not to resign, as did Abu'l-Fazl who was appointed a commander of the Deccan wars in January 1599, and similar resignations from other Mughal *mansabdars* in the Deccan were certainly detrimental to the Mughal interests. The Khwaja soon had to be relieved of his duties, however, as he began constantly to lapse into ecstatic states and would be found wandering around the streets and bazaars in a crazy fashion.

Hagiological anecdotes to the effect that Khwaja Husamu'd-Din sought Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's protection against Abu'l-Fazl's harassments and that the Khwaja prophesied Abu'l-Fazl's later murder, are not borne out by historical fact. There is no question of pressure being brought to bear on Khwaja Husamu'd-Din after he had retired to Delhi.

After relinquishing his military post, he and his wife gave away all their wealth to local dervishes, choosing to live a life of poverty and asceticism. Wishing Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah to be his *pir*, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din went to Delhi; however, the reluctant Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah suggested he seek initiation elsewhere, although finally he accepted Husamu'd-Din as a disciple.

Khwaja Husamu'd-Din's total dedication to the sufi path impressed his *pir*, in whose service he exhausted himself. Permitted the special privilege of training disciples in compliance with his *pir's* orders, he instructed his first disciple in *zikr*, but this was the extent of his teaching career, for his *pir* at his own request relieved him of this responsibility.'

During Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's last illness, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din continued to serve him with characteristic zeal, during a period when most of his senior disciples were absent from the *khanqah* and the Khwaja's children were still very young. After his *pir's* death, Khwaja Husamu'd-Din's chief concern continued to be the welfare of the *khanqah* and the education of the children.

He believed that Khwaja Nasiru'd-Din 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar had been reborn in the form of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, and that even after the latter's death he himself would continue to receive unabated blessings from Khwaja Baqi's tomb. Each day in Khwaja Husamu'd-Din's life started with obligatory morning prayers in the Firuzabad mosque, then about an hour was spent in meditation, followed by supererogatory morning prayers.

Later, he would visit the tomb of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah about two miles out of the town. There he would remain until formal prayers at the end of the day, after which there was recitation of the Qur'an, before meditation and some more supererogatory prayers. Returning home he would care for the material wellbeing of his *pir's* family. Despite his secluded and austere life, visitors to the *khanqah* were never neglected either.

Delhi's nobility and upper classes were ignored by the Khwaja, but he wrote recommendatory letters on behalf of poor and needy Muslims. As a number of his letters were ill-received by various dignitaries, his followers attempted to dissuade Khwaja Husamu'd-Din from his enthusiastic epistles in support of his fellow-Muslims.

Khwaja Husamu'd-Din believed in the *Wahdat al-Wujud* philosophy of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and his other Ahrari *pirs*, showing little interest in the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* concepts expounded by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Khwaja Husamu'd-Din probably did not participate in *sama*, but the sons of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and other sufis in his *khanqah* did, ignoring Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's disapproval of what he believed to be a sinful innovation in the sufi *Tariqa*.

The Firuzabadi or the Delhi branch of the Naqshbandiyya *silsila*, which featured both the *Wahdat al-Wujud* of Khwaja 'Ubaidu'llah Ahrar and the Chishtiyya practice of *sama*, remained distinct and independent from the Sirhindi branch directed by Shaikh Ahmad. Among followers of the Firuzabadi branch, as we shall see, were the famous Shah Waliu'llah and his father.

After Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's death, controversy over the succession strained relations between his senior disciple and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, but Khwaja Husamu'd-Din remained neutral and free of ambition. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi became deeply impressed with the valuable service done by the Khwaja at his *pir's khanqah* and tomb, and his unceasing attention to Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah's family.

In his turn Khwaja Husamu'd-Din greatly appreciated Shaikh Ahmad's efforts to promote the cause of the *Shari'a* and to help other Muslims. The imprisonment of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi upset the Khwaja and he was anxious about the prisoner's welfare.

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Moinuddin Chishti, Khwaja (12th Century)

Every year hundreds of thousands of men and women throng at Ajmer to seek peace and solace at the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, the greatest Sufi saint of India. The Chishtiya school with its liberal and tolerant outlook counts a large number of people as its adherents and a visit to the shrine is considered a very pious act.

Moinduddin was a disiciple of the Persian saint Khwaja Usman Harwani of Chisht and came from Ghazni to Lahore in 1161. After chilla (i.e. spiritual purification) at the tomb of Data Ganj Bakhsh and brief visits to Multan and Delhi, Moinuddin decided to settle down at Ajmer. This was a bold and imaginative decision on the part of Khwaja because that time Ajmer was not only the seat of the Chahaman power but it was also a great Hindu religious and pilgrimage centre.

Chishti's settling down at such a centre gave Islam an opportunity to reach its message of equality and brotherhood amongst the so, called low caste suffering Hindus. Moinuddin conducted his religious and spiritual activity from Ajmer and to this city he stuck till the end. His shrine attracts common man by the thousand.

Chishti was a man of wide sympathies, catholic view and deep humanism. His ideology rested on three principles:

One: Sphere of onenessed: all in one. If we transcend the externals and look around we find the lover, the beloved and the love itself to be one. His pantheistic approach brought him very close to the Hindu religious thought of Upanishads.

Two: Service to humanity : To help the distressed, poor and down trodden is the highest from of devotion. He asked people to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfil the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry. In these simple sayings, Chishti raised religion above the level of rituals and ecclesiasti-

cal formalities and service to humanity became its *raison d'etre*.

Three: Generosity, affection and hospitability endear man to God. This mystic morality struck at the very roots of parochialism, casteism and religious exclusiveness.

The saints of the Chishti *silsilah* considered possession of property a serious impediment to the growth of one's spiritual personality. The subsisted on fatuh (unasked for charity) and inexpensive clothes and other necessities. Many, including Chishti, had no house of their own and lived under conditions of poverty. They considered fasting an effective expedient for weakening desire which created further desire and disillusionment. They reduced their diet to control the calls of the flesh. All this was more than preaching. Chishti acted on whatever he preached and led a simple and unostentatious life.

Khwaja Moinuddin did not favour association with the king or his court. The Chishti saints cut themselves off completely from kings, courts, and government service. They boldly said that the income of the Sultans was illegal, the atmosphere of the court life alien to the spirit of religion (Islam), the government employee an exporting class and things connected with Government obnoxious symbols of materialism. They, therefore, refused royalty's favours of jagirs, endowments and presents.

It goes largely to the Khwaja's credit that his followers prevented the growth of Indo-Muslim society on the perverted ideology of the governing class and held aloft equality and brotherhood. The Chishtis advised the Sultan to do justice and to ameliorate the conditions of the people. Owing to the influence of the saints, some Indian Musalmans developed interest in mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world. But for these saints, the people might have suffered more at the hands of fanatic orthodoxy and political favourtism.

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Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja Khawand (d.1674 A.D.)

Khwaja Khawand Mu'inu'd-Din was an eminent scholar who wrote many books on *Fiqh*, as well as historical works relating to his ancestors. He migrated to India after his father had settled in Kashmir. He was trained in the formal religious sciences by the famous Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya order by his father.

After Shahjahan exiled the latter, Mu'inu'd-Din was permitted to remain in Srinagar where he was in charge of his father's disciples, carefully avoiding contact with the political scene. During Aurangzib's reign he remained a significant figure. He died in Muharram 1085/April 1674.

His three sons all died in infancy, therefore the administration of the *khanqah* was taken over by Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din's widow. According to Muhammad A'zam, her charity in feeding and caring for the *khanqah's* servants and callers left a great mark on the annals of sufi history in Kashmir.

During his life Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din compiled a work in Arabic called the *Fatawa-i Naqshbandiyya* in collaboration with other members of the 'ulama' in Kashmir, Lahore and Delhi. The work was, in fact, the precusor of the *Fatawa al-'Alamgiriyya* compiled under Aurangzib's personal supervision by a board of 'ulama'.

The *Mirat-i Taiyiba* by Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din is a detailed account of his father's achievements; and a section of his *Kanzu's-sa'adat* in Persian, also includes a biographical account

of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud, while the rest of the work deals with the problems of *Fiqh*, concluding with a detailed analysis of the duties of orthodox Sunni rulers. This section largely follows the *Zakhiratu'l-muluk* by Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and the Suluku'l-muluk of Fazlu'llah Ruzbihan Isfahani.

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Mu'inu'd-Din, Khwaja (1139A.D. — 1236A.D.)

Both medieval and modern scholars have showered copious praise on Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti, but no reliable information regarding his early life, before he settled in Ajmer, remains. The only information recorded is the name of the area where he was born, the name of his teacher, and the fact that he had travelled widely. Strangely enough, the voluminous book, *Khairu'l-Majalis*, does not mention Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din in any connection, and the Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad refers to him merely in passing.

The earliest works which relate anecdotes of the early life of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti and his encounters with the court of Prithviraj at Ajmer are the apocryphal malfuzats. These tend to indicate that within about a hundred and fifty years of his death, the Khwaja had become a legend in India. The *Siyaru'l-Auliya'*, drawing on this literary source and also on family anecdotes, gives the following account of the Khwaja.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Sijzi was the embodiment of sufi virtues and famous for his outstanding spiritual achievements, which included the performance of miracles. He was the *khalifa* of Khwaja 'Usman Harwani, an eminent Chishti sufi who lived in Nishapur. Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din related that after he had entered the service of Khwaja Usman Harwani and been enrolled as his disciple, he then served his master for twenty years without a moment's rest. Finding him steadfast both in service and the practice of spiritual exercises, the Khwaja passed on to his disciple divine blessings which he himself had acquired.

The *Sultanu'l-Masha'ikh* (Shaikh Nizam-ud Din Auliya') believed that when Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din reached Ajmer, India was ruled by Pithaura Ra'i (prithviraj) and his capital was Ajmer. Pithaura and his high officials resented the Shaikh's presence in their city, but the latter's eminence and his apparent power to perform miracles, prompted them to refrain from taking action against him.

A disciple of the Khwaja's was in the service of Pithaura Ra'i. After the disciple began to receive hostile treatment from the Ra'i, the Ra'i, the Khwaja sent a message to Pithaura in favour of the Muslim. Pithaura refused to accept the recommendation, thus indicating his resentment of the Khwaja's alleged claims to understand the secrets of the Unseen.

When Khwaja Muinud-Din (the spiritual King of Islam) heard of this reply he prophesied: 'We have seized Pithaura alive and

handed him over to the army of Islam.' About the same time, Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Din Muhammad's army arrived from Ghazna, attacked the forces of Pithaura and defeated them. Pithaura was taken alive, and thus the Khwaja's prophesy was fulfilled.

The *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar* also contains the same account, and a large number of medieval and modern scholars confirm the validity of the story and recount fantastic miracles performed by the Khwaja at Ajmer. A modern author states rather naively:

> 'Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din laid the foundations of the Chishti order in India and worked out its principles at Ajmer, the seat of Chwhan power. No authentic details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It appears that his stay was disliked by Prithvi Raj and the caste Hindus but the common people flocked to him in large numbers.'

A very detailed, interesting account of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din is given in the *Siyaru'l-'Arifin,* whose author, Jamali, collected legends from both India khanqahs and Iran. As pointed out earlier, the anecdotes which his hosts in Irani related are not necessarily correct, but they are set in the perspective of contemporary mystical traditions, and Jamali cannot be censured for accepting them. Below is a summary of Jamali's account.

The Khwaja was born in Sijistan (Sistan) and brought up in Khurasan. His father, Khwaja Ghiyasu'd-Din Hasan, was a most pious and Godfearing man. When he died the Khwaja was fifteen years old. The Khwaja lived on the earnings from a garden and a water-mill, inherited from his father. One day, while working in the garden, a *majzub* (ecstatic) named Ibrahim Qunduzi passed by.

The Khwaja, kissing his hands, offered the *majzub* a seat under the trees, while placing before him a bunch of grapes. The *majzub* took out some sesame seeds, chewed them, and put them in Mu'inu'd-Din's mouth. This aroused in his a great spiritual illumination. After a few days, Mu'inu'd-Din sold his possessions and distributed the money amongst the local dervishes.

For many years, he lived in Samarqand and Bukhara, learning the *Qur'an* and studying theology. From there he travelled to harwan, a suburb of Nishapur, where under Shaikh 'Usman Harwani, he practised rigorous austerities for about two and a half years. The Shaikh was highly impressed and gave Mu'inu'd-Din a *khirqa,* appointing him his *khalifa.* The Khwaja set off for Baghdad and, reaching Sanjan, met Shaikh Najmu'd-Din Kubra.

He lived with the Shaikh for a short period, then moved to Jil where he stayed with Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani for eight weeks. The Khwaja's next long stay was at Baghdad, a week's journey from Jil. There he kept company with such sufi saints as Shaikh Ziya'u'd-Din, the uncle and teacher of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, Shaikh Auhadu'd-Din Kirmani and Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din himself.

From Baghdad, the Khwaja returned to Hamadan where he met Shaikh Yusuf Hamadani. From there, he went to Tabriz and saw Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi, the teacher of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi. Then he went to Mayhana and Kharqan and visited the tombs of Shaikh Abu Sa'id bin Abi'l Khair and Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Kharqani.

The Khwaja remained for about two years in that region, and then travelled to Astarabad where he visited the tomb of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Astarabadi. From Astarabad, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din went to Herat where he lived near the tomb of Khwaja 'Abdu'llah Ansari. Refusing to remain in one place, the Khwaja, accompanied by a servant, wandered throughout the area surrounding Heart.

His fame attracted a large number of people. He disapproved of such popularity and fame, and left for Sabzwar, where he converted the local Shi'i governor, Muhammad Yadgar, to Sunni orthodoxy. After some time, accompanied by Muhammad Yadgar, the Khwaja reached Hisar Shadman. Leaving Yadgar at Hisar

Shadman, the Khwaja travelled to Balkh. There he miraculously converted Maulana Ziya'u'd-Din Hakim to sufism.

The Maulana was a philosopher and considered sufism the delirious ravings of lunatics. He ran a seminary and a garden in the vicinity of Balkh. The Khwaja went to the Maulana's seminary, so the story goes, where he killed a crane and asked his servants to make a fire to roast it. The cooked bird was brought to the Khwaja who offered a leg to the Maulana and began to eat another himself. As soon as, the Maulana had eaten the leg he underwent a deep spiritual experience, after which all philosophical learnings were obliterated from his mind. He threw his philosophy books into the river and also abandoned his property. The Maulana's students became followers of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din. The Khwaja appointment Ziya'u'd-Din his deputy in Balkh and left for Ghazna.

In Ghazna, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din met Shamsu'l-'Arifin 'Abdu'l-Wahid, the preceptor of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Abu'l-Muy'id. From there, he reached Lahore and stayed near the tombs of Shaikh Husain Zanjani and Shaikh 'Ali Hujwiri.

Meanwhile, Mu'izzu'd-Din Muhammad bin Sam had conquered Delhi and, departing for Ghazni, left his favourite slave, Qutbu'd-Din Aibak, as head of his forces in the occupied city. On route to Ghazni, Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Din died. The Khwaja left Lahore for Delhi where he remained for some months. During this period, he stayed at a place which is now marked by the grave of Shaikh Rashid Makki. Traces still remain of the arch of the Khwaja's mosque.

Once again crowds of followers and devotees gathered around the Khwaja and he was forced to leave Delhi for Ajmer. Although, the region had already been 'glorified' (conquered) by Islam, the local tribesmen (kafirs) indulged in continual raiding near Ajmer. Qutbu'd-Din had appointed Saiyid Husain Mashhadi as the *darogha* (military governor) of the area.

The Saiyid served the Khwaja with great devotion. He was killed by tribesmen and buried in Tulambli. Many prominent *kafirs* of the region accepted Islam because of the *barakat* (blessings) of the *asar* (relics, monuments or traditions) of that (embodiment of) sufism, meaning the Khwaja, who contained 'the essence of the divine secrets.'

Even those who refused to accept Islam would send large offerings and *futuh* to what Jamali called *Hazrat Ishan* (His Holiness Court, here meaning tomb). Even today, the *kafirs* of that area are devoted to the Khwaja's tomb in the same manner as their ancestors had been. They visit it each year and 'prostrate themselves on the dust of the tomb of that eminent one and the full moon of the heavens of his sainthood.' At the same time, large amounts of money are paid to those who tend the shrine.

Despite some discrepancies noted in footnotes, and his acceptance of stock-in-trade anecdotes of sufism, Jamali's research on the Khwaja's career appears, to a large degree, to be factual. He was convinced that the Khwaja left for Delhi after Mu'izzu'd-Din's death on 15th March, 1206, and he seems to have reached Ajmer towards the end of the same year.

The inconsistencies between the Chishti legend and Jamali's study are irreconcilable, but the latter's account is supported to a greater degree by political events and the Khwaja's own philosophy of what entailed a saintly life. Politically, Mu'izzu'd-Din's victory in 1192 over Prithviraj at the battle of Tarain failed to make the Turks masters of the whole of northern India. Occupying troops stationed at Indraprastha near Delhi under Qutbu'd-Din Aibak were forced to make several invasions in the Doab and the regions around Ajmer to consolidate their power.

It was only around 1206 that continual Turkic raids finally liquidated Rajput resistance. Moreover after Mu'izzu'd-Din's death, Lahore had become the capital and this would naturally have impelled Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din to seek another home; he left both Lahore and Delhi and ultimately chose Ajmer, on the borders of the Delhi Sultanate, for this purpose.

By so doing, he followed the tradition of the founders of the Chishti *silsila*, who had chosen for their activities remote Chisht, rather than other great centres of political power either in Iran or Central Asia.

Jamali's evidence is substantiated by the seventeenth century work, *Gulzar-i Abrar*, whose author had at his disposal a multitude of sources. It adds that Saiyid Mashhadi exhibited great courage in the conversion of some zimmis to Islam, and by helping to make others subservient to Muslim rule.

It would appear that the Khwaja lived in Ajmer fort and his simple, ascetic life was an inspiration to both the Turkic *ghazis*, who swelled the Islamic forced through a lust for plunder, and to the Hindus who were forcibly converted to Islam. His style of living tended to remind both conqueror and vanquished of the social ethics of Islam, as interpreted by sufis, which attached no importance to material power and wealth, stressing only piety, simplicity and devotion to God.

A story about the Khwaja during his period at Ajmer involved a *dervish* who visited him, and asked what was expected of a true ascetic. The Khwaja replied that according to the Shari'a one who fully obeyed the commandments of God and abstained from what He had forbidden had, in fact, renounced the world.

But the *Tariqa* prescribed nine conditions each of which had to be followed, otherwise one could not be called a real dervish. Upon being requested to specify these conditions, the Khwaja asked his disciple, Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, to both explain and write them down so that such rules could be made known to a winder section of Muslims. Shaikh Hamidu'd-Din described the ascetic path as follows:

1. One should not earn money.
2. One should not borrow money from anyone.
3. One should not reveal to anyone nor seek help from anyone if one has eaten nothing, even for seven days.
4. If one gains plenty of food, money grain or clothing, one should not keep anything until the following days.
5. One should not curse anyone; if anyone is very hurt, one should pray to God to guide one's enemy towards the right path.
6. If one performs a virtuous deed, one should consider that the source of the virtue is due either to one's *pir's* kindness, to the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad on one's behalf, or to divine mercy.
7. If one performs an evil deed one should consider one's evil self responsible for the action, and try to protect oneself from such deeds. Fearing God, one should be careful to avoid actions which may involve him again in evil.
8. Having fulfilled all the above conditions, one should regularly fast during the day and spend the night in prayer.
9. One should remain quiet, and speak only when it is imperative to do so. The *Shari'a* makes it unlawful both to talk incessantly and keep totally silent. One should utter only such words as those which please God.

These lofty principles were the sole guide to the Khwaja's mystic path. His sufi views were based on the statements of Abu Sa'id bin Abi'l Khair, Khwaja Abdullah Ansari and Ainu'l-Quzat Hamadani, which involved a belief in the concept of an ecstatic love for God. This, according to the Khwaja, did not allow a differentiation between the lover, the beloved and love itself.

The distinguishing mark of one who had recognized God was his flight from crowds of people *(khalq)*. The *hajjis* walked around the Ka'ba, but the *arifs (spiritualists)* circumambulated the heart. The most superior kind of worship was to assist the helpless and to feed the hungry. All those possessing the following three virtues were friends of God: munificence like an ocean, kindness like the sunshine and humility like the earth.

After finally settling at Ajmer, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, who until then had been celibate, took two wives. According to tradition he decided to marry in order to imitate all the

Prophet's practices. The *Sururu's-Sudur* states he was then ninety, but this would appear to be incorrect. A few years after his arrival at Ajmer, he married the daughter of Saiyid Wajihu'd-Din, a brother of Saiyid Husain Mashhadi.

Ghausi Shattari's statement that the Khwaja and his wife lived together for twenty-seven years would seem to be reinforced by circumstantial evidence. The wedding seems to have taken place in 606/1209-10. The Khwaja's second wife was a daughter of a local Hindu chieftain who had been seized in war. Both are said to have borne the Khwaja children.

During his period spent in Ajmer, the Khwaja twice visited Delhi. According to the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, he had an *ihya* village near Ajmer. The *muqta* of Ajmer urged him to obtain a royal *farman* for the land. On the insistence of his son, the Khwaja went to Delhi to obtain a farman and stayed with Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar, who requested his master to stay in his house while he went to Sultan Iltutmish, who was well disposed to sufis.

Despite the Sultan's earlier requests, Qutbu'd-Din had never previously visited him and this unexpected call naturally elated him. He immediately granted the *farman*. Undoubtedly, this anecdote is apocryphal. Firstly, no *muqta* would dare to harass the Khwaja to gain a *farman* for wasteland. Secondly, the Khwaja could have sent a messenger to Qutbu'd-Din Bakhatiyar and gained a *farman* without personally going to Delhi.

In fact, a large number of the Khwaja's friends from the eastern Islamic world had migrated to Delhi and Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar had also settled there. The Khwaja made his first visit to the Sultan's capital sometime after 1221. It appears that Shaikhu'l-Islam Najmu'd-Din Sughra, who will be referred to later in greater detail, had joined with other sufis in inviting the Khwaja to Delhi. The latter made a further trip there apparently in order to be personally acquainted with the struggle between the *ulama* and the Chishtis and the general crisis brewing in the life of sufis in Delhi.

On 16th March, 1236, Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din died in Ajmer at the old age of ninety-seven. His earthly remains were buried at the place where he had spent most of his life. The original grave was of bricks, later a stone cenotaph was built over it, leaving the brick construction intact. Khwaja Husain Nagauri built a tomb over the grave. A khanqah on the tomb side was built by the rulers of Mandu, probably by Mahmud Khalji (1436-69). A gateway known as *Buland Darwaza* (High Gateway) seems to have been constructed near the tomb by Mahmud Khalji in 1455. The Malwa Sultans also built another mosque in the tomb complex, which was later extended by Jahangir and Aurangzeb.

Akbar's desire to made a pilgrimage to the Khwaja's shrine occurred after hearing the songs of some minstrels at Midhakur, near Agra, glorifying the Khwaja. He commenced his journey on 14th January, 1562. A number of Akbar's humanitarian reforms date from that time. His marriage to the daughter of Raja Bihara Mal, and the birth of the crown prince, Salim, which was attributed to the spiritual intervention of the famous Chishti saint, Shaikh Salim of Sikri, further increased the Emperor's devotion to the Khwaja.

Akbar's earlier visit to Ajmer had been as a devotee of the Khwaja. Later, the location of Ajmer in the heart of the Rajput states and on the route to Gujarat, which Akbar was to later conquer, gave Ajmer a new political significance. After his Chitor conquest, Akbar made a pilgrimage to Ajmer on 6th March, 1568. On this occasion, he presented the Khwaja's *khanqah* with a huge cauldron. Wealth from the offerings of Akbar and his entourage resulted in a dispute for it amongst the Khwaja's descendants.

In February 1570, Akbar reached Ajmer by foot from Agra to offer thanks for the birth of Prince Salim on 30th August, 1569. The dispute over alleged family successors of the Khwaja between Shaikh Husain, who claimed to be a descendant and his rivals, was placed before the Emperor for judgement. The Shaikh's opponents alleged that the Khwaja had left no

descendants and that the claims of Shaikh Husain were false. The descendants of Shaikh Salim and some qazis supported Shaikh Husain's rivals.

After a laborious investigation, Akbar ruled against the Shaikh and transferred the administration of the shrine to Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari, a trusted officer and a member of a distinguished family of holy men. It would appear that Shaikh Muhammad greatly improved the shrine's management while attempting to provide better conditions for pilgrims. Moreover, he looked after the erection of mosques and *khanqahs* in the territory. The great mosque of Ajmer was built under his supervision.

Early in 1614, Akbar's successor, Jahangir, stayed in Ajmer and presented a smaller cauldron than Akbar's to the shrine. Food for the poor was cooked and 5,000 assembled people were fed from the cauldron. The two survive, but the gold enclosure around the cenotaph, donated by Jahangir, has been replaced by a silver one. Shah-Jahan constructed a mosque of white marble in the tomb complex and added a gateway.

Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan distributed generous gifts to all connected with the Khwaja's tomb. A story associated with Aurangzeb's first visit to the mosque is as follows. Because the Emperor's officers had stopped the musicians from playing, they refused to accept the customary gift. On a subsequent visit, the Emperor prevented his officers from interfering with the playing of music performed in memory of the Khwaja. The anecdote relates that the Emperor was deeply moved by it and paid the musicians double the normal gift.

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Muhammad Ali, Maulana Syed (16th CenturyA.D.)

Maulana Syed Muhammad Ali Monghyri was the son of Syed Abdul Ali, whose genealogy goes back, in several lines, to Makhdum Syed Bahaul Haq Multani, who was a noted saint of the tenth century A.H. and whose ancestors belonged to Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad.

Syed Muhammad Ali was the disciple of Maulana Shah Fazlur Rahman of Uttar Pradesh at whose instance Maulana Syed Muhammad Ali came to Munghyr and permanently settled there and established the Khanqah-e Rahmaniya. He was succeeded by his son Syed Ahmed Ali Syed Lutfullah, Syed Nurullah, one after another. After the death of Syed Nurullah, his fourth brother Syed Minnatullah occupied the religious seat of the *khanqah*. Thus, the present *Amir-e*

Sheriat of *Khanquh-e-Rahmaniya* is the fourth in succession and the youngest son of Syed Muhammad Ali.

His primary education started at home and he completed his education in Hyderabad and Nadwatul Ulema, Lucknow. He is a forceful speaker and great organiser. Khanqah-e-Rahmaniya has recorded progress. It runs a Madrassah and Darul Fathwa, whose activities are confined to Bihar and Orissa. The branches of Amarat-i-Sheria are working in Orissa and Assam as well.

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Muhammad Din (17th Century A.D.)

Muhammad Din was a devotee of the Cishti saint Shaikh 'Ali Makhdum Hujwiri of Lahore. His *pir* was Mira Shah, who, according to the poet, is buried in Lakkhanwal in the Gujrat district. He was employed as a munshi or secretary but, being an initiated Cishti, he called himself a *faqir*. His secular teacher was one Maulvi Mahbub 'Alam. In the end of his *athavara*, he wrote a long supplicatory poem for the long life of his teacher and his progeny.

Muhammad Din's Siharfi on Ashraf is unique in Sufi literature, not as a literary or mystic document but as the life record of a fellow Sufi. Its worth is enhanced because it throws light on the methods of the popular Sufi teachers. The teacher Mira Shah or his *gaddi nishin* locked up Muhammad Ashraf, an enthusiastic seeker, in *cila* or seclusion and made him fast for one full year, after which period he unlocked the door and brought him out:

Sin sal hoya cile vicc sohne, sohne murshid ne phera payal.
(Sin: when for a year the handsome one has been in cila, then the handsome teacher returned.)

This seclusion or solitary confinement, as is natural, made Ashraf look different-most probably he looked like a ghost. The very sight of him was enough to frighten people, When he appeared in public, men and women fainted, but the credulous poet attributes this to the spiritual beauty which he believed Ashraf had attained during the period of seclusion.

Ranna mard ho gaye bihosh sare
mukkh dekhdia nu lagi sag sai.
(All women and men fainted, seeing the face they were transfixed.)

This seclusion, says the poet, procured Ashraf the divine vision, and, becoming a *faqir*, he began to wander in the streets, but died soon after. His death is proof enough that he lost his health while he was in seclusion, although his *pir* and fellow disciples attributed it to his anxiety to meet the Beloved. This sufficiently illustrates to what a low state Sufiism had sunk in the hands of hereditary successors and popular saints.

Besides this *siharfi* on Ashraf which is written in a pathetic style there is nothing ex-

traordinary in the verse of Muhammad Din. It is simple, commonplace and second hand. We will now quote a few lines from his verse:

Wau vakht niza da an pahunca
avi ghari o sajjana vastai
tere ishk ne mar khavar kiti,
kari kari o sajjana vastai
beri thilhi si ishk mizaj vali
par kari o sajjana vastai
Muhammad din kande khari sikkni ha
lai par o sajjana vastai.

(Wau: the last moment has arrived, come home, O friend, for the sake of (God). Your love has made me wretched, make me right or fit, O friend, for God's sake. My boat of love's temperament has been loosed (from the bank), take it across, O friend, for God's sake. Muhammad Din, standing on the shore I am pining; take me across, O friend, for God's sake.)

In all he wrote two *siharfis* on divine love, one *siharfi* on his friend Muhammad Ashraf, of whom we will speak later, one *bara-mah*, and one *athavara*. All these works, together with *bara-mahs* by Muhammad Ashraf, are found in the manuscript we have studied.

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Muhammad Rukn Al-Din, Shaikh (1271A.D. — 1380A.D.)

Shaikh Muhammad Rukn al-Din bin Shaikh Siraj al-Din Abul Muzaffar Junaidi (670-781/1271-1380) was a renowned sufi of Gulbarga in the early Bahmani period and he was popularly known as Shaikh Siraj al-Din Junaidi, which was in fact the name of his father. His father Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Siraj al-Din, who hailed from Baghdad, had settled at Fushur (Peshawar) and married the daughter of Sultan 'Abdullah of Fushur, and had four sons, of whom Shaikh Muhammad Rukn al-Din was the youngest.

Muhammad Rukn al-Din was born in 670/1271 at Fushur. According to the available genealogies, he was 12th in the line of spiritual descent from Shaikh Abul Qasim al-Junaid (d. 298/910) of Baghdad. He was a Quraish by descent, as his family traced itself to Hazrath Sulam bin 'Abd-e-Mannaf. His ancestor in the eighth line, 'Abdur Rahman Sulami, was the author of the earliest tadhkirah treatise on sufism, *Tabaqatus-Sufiyin*, in Arabic language.

Nothing authentic is known about the early life of Rukn al-Din. We are informed by Ghulam Muhammad that Rukn al-Din left Fushur for Delhi in 702/1302 and later perhaps accompanied the Tughluq forces to Warangal as a soldier. Later, he migrated to Daulatabad and became the disciple of Syed 'Ala al-Din Hussaini Jeweri (d. 734/1333) on whose instructions he moved, via Bijapur, to Kodchi, a village in Mubarakabad district.

He reached Bijapur in 730/1330 where he

lost his mother. On reaching Kodchi, he constructed a mosque and extended his hand for *bai'at*. He lived there for a long time and then migrated to Gulbarga, the Bahmani capital, during the reign of Muhammad Shah I Bahmani (759-776/1358-1375).

Shaikh Rukn al-Din died in 781/1380, and his mausoleum, now popularly known as *Raoda-e-Shaikh*, stands a few furlongs from the south gate of the Gulbarga fort. It was constructed by his staunch devotee, Yousuf 'Adil Khan, the founder of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. The mausoleum has two domes, one containing the mortal remains of the saint and the other of Shaikh Uwais Khondmiri, the third grandson of the saint.

Besides, these two domes, there is a mosque and a huge *Bab al-Dakhela* with two huge identical minarets. These buildings are still intact and are the best specimens of the early 'Adil Shahi architecture.

Little is known about presence of the Junaidi saints, including Rukn al-Din, and the position held by them during the Bahmani kingdom. It is thus of great historical significance to discover important details about their life and achievements. It is not intended here to trace the history of the origin and development of the Junaidi order in India; the aim of this article is to probe into the presence of the saints of this order in northern India and the Deccan during the medieval period. Quite contrary to the prevailing hypothesis, the order and its members played a significant role in the socio-religious life of the subcontinent during the medieval period.

Modern authors working on Indian sufism are of the opinion that only the Chishti and the Suhrawardi orders to a great extent and the Firdausi and the Shattari order to a limited extent played an important role, and that the rest, including the Junaidi order did not get an opportunity to work in India.

Abu'l Fadl includes the Junaidi order among the sufi orders which had worked in India till the time of Akbar. Also, K.A. Nizamis says: "Surveying the history of the Muslim mystic movements in India in the later years of the 16th century, Abu'l Fadl has referred to fourteen orders. While this list includes some *silsilahs* which did not play any part in the religious or cultural life of the south, it ignores others, like the Qadiriyah, the Shattariyah, and the Naqshbandiyah which, along with the Chishtiyah *silsilah*, occupy a significant place in the history of medieval Deccan and around which revolves the entire history of the Muslim mystical movement in that region."

A rare document of the 13th century Hijra unearthed for this paper from a private collection of a famous sufi family of Bijapur, provides valuable information about the *silsilah* and its saints. This genealogical table *(Shujra-e-Iradat wa-Ijazat)*, dated 1209/1794, is in Persian and is based on *Atwaru'l Abrar*, an Arabic treatise written between 706-795/1307-1392, by 'Ain al-Din Ganju'l 'Ilm, a reputed Junaidi saint of Bijapur. It lists a significant number of the sufis of the Junaidi order, most of whom were the Khulafa of Syed 'Ala al-Din Husaini Jeweri and lived in the Deccan.

It outlines their work in the Deccan and their spiritual, social and political role in the pre-Bahmani and Bahmani periods. This document throws light on the career of some illustrious men of the Junaidi order, about whom surprisingly enough, little is known. Prominent among them during the pre-Bahmani period was Syed 'Ala al-Din Husaini Jeweri.

Muhammad Jamal Qiwam informs us that 'Ala al-Din Husaini Jeweri was a Syed, a scholar, a teacher of high calibre and the Shaikh-i-tariqat of his time. He had great love and affection for the famous Chishti saint of Delhi, Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya (d. 725/1325). While Syed Jeweri was still in Delhi, the problem of *sama* '(musical audition) and its legality was being debated among the *ahl-i-Zahir* and the *ahl-i-Batin*, particularly at the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya.

Syed Jeweri collected a number of evidences in support of *ibahat-i sama'* (permissi-

bility of music) and presented them to Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya when the latter was to appear in the court of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq to argue the issue under dispute. Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya expressed his profound appreciation of the help which he thus received from Syed Jeweri.

Syed Jeweri was, in fact, a link between the north and the Deccan. He was perhaps one of the first of the Junaidi saints to come to the Deccan. He was a *khalifa* of Syed Qiwam al-Din Mahmud Hasan Ghaznavi al-Husaini, (627-710/1229-1310). The latter was an Imam (leader), *'alim* (scholar), *'arif* (gnostic) and was *Qutub-i Sadat-i Waqt,* or the head of the *sadat* of his time. His shrine is located in Delhi at the place where he had deputized for his father when the latter had moved to Kadamanikpur in U.P.

Syed Qiwam al-din was the son and spiritual successor of Syed Qutb al-Din Kabir Madani, whose full name was Syed Qutb al-Din Muhammad Ghaznavi Husaini, popularly known as *Syed Kabir,* (581-677/1185-1278). He was a well-known jurist *(faqih)* and was reputed to be one of the most pious people of his time.

Born in Ghazna, he had moved to Delhi after the demise of his father and later still moved to Kadamanikpur where he established a *khanqah.* According to Maulana Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Nadvi, Syed Kabir wrote a *safarnama* in Arabic, a copy of which is available in the Khuda Bakhsh library at Patna.

All these facts about these saints establish beyond doubt the presence of the Junaidi saints in north India and also their active participation in the socio-religious life of their period. The incident about Syed Jeweri helping out Nizam al-Din Auliya also goes to establish that there existed a cordial relationship between the members of the Junaidi and the Chishti orders.

When Muhammad bin Tughluq made Deogir the second administrative city of the Empire in 727/1327, the central organization of the sufi activity in north India disintegrated. This change resulted in mass migration of Muslims, including the sufis, towards Daulatabad. Syed Jeweri also migrated to Daulatabad in 729/1329, where he died in 734/1333. During his short stay at Daulatabad, he delivered lectures on *Hidaya, Bazduvi, Miftah* and *Kashshaf.*

Within a short time, he attracted a large number of students and left behind a number of disciples and *khulafa.* Prominent among them were: Shaikh Rukn al-Din of Gulbarga; Shaikh Ain al-Din Ganjul Ilm of Bijapur, author of a number of works on sufism, fiqh and history, the most well-known work being Mulhiqat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri and Atwaru'l Abrar; Shaikh Minhaj al-Din Tamim Ansari of Bijapur ; Khwaja Shams al-Din 'Uraizi, popularly known as *Khwajgi 'Uraizi; Shams al-Din Lamaghani; Zain al-Din Qattal* and others.

The divines of the medieval period generally enjoyed the respect of their contemporary rulers. There is overwhelming evidence, for example, that 'Alal Din Hasan Bahman Shah (747-759/1347-1358), the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, had profound regard for the divines of his time. Syed 'Ali Taba-tabi and Qiwam al-Din state that before his coronation, when he was still in Delhi, 'Ala al-Din Hasan visited the khanqah of Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya. The day Ala al-Din visited the khinqah of the saint, a great feast was arranged which was also attended by Ulugh Khan (future Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq). Just after Muhammad bin tughluq left the khanqah of the saint, the Shaikh, referring to Tughluq and 'Ala al-Din, remarked: "One king has left and another is waiting at the door; bring him in." When the saint's personal attendant brought Ala al-Din in, the saint received him with affection; pressed a piece of bread on one of his fingers and gave it to him saying that it was the chair (crown) of his sultanate. That is how Shaikh Nizam al-Din Auliya prophesied a bright future for Ala al-Din Hasan in the Deccan.

When Ala al-Din and his mother migrated to the Deccan and lived at Kodchi (Gangi), a suburb of Miraj, which later came to be known as *Murtazabad,* they both developed close re-

lations with Shaikh Rukn al-Din Junaidi, Rafi'al-Din Shirazi informs us that one day when the Shaikh was performing his ablutions, Ala al-Din put on the Shaikh's turban. Observing this, the Shaikh remarked : "Hasan demands from me the crown of royalty,' implying that Ala al-Din would one day become king. Likewise, one day on seeing 'Ala al-Din lift a large vessel full of earth, the saint remarked: "Hasan desires to shoulder the responsibility of the world."

It is interesting to note here that, before assuming kingship, 'Ala al-Din had received blessings of both Nizam al-Din and Rukn al Din. It was but natural that on assuming kingship he snowed great respect to these divines. He had close relations with Shaikh Rukn al-Din who performed 'Ala al-Din's coronation ceremony in the grand mosque of Qutb al-Din Mubarak Shah Khalji at Daulatabad.

Ala al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah also showed great respect for Shaikh Nizam al-Din by sending five mounds of gold and ten mounds of silver for distribution among the poor and the needy in order to bless the soul of Shaikh Nizam al-Din. According to Muhammad Qusim Ferishta, the gift was sent to Shaikh Burhan al-Din Gharib, a well known *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizam al-Din. Shaikh Burhan al-Din had migrated to Daulatabad after the change of capital and had lived there till his death in 738/1337.

However, it is obvious from the date of his death that Ferishta is evidently wrong because 'ala al-Din did not assume kingship until 747/1347. The king must have sent the gift to Shaikh Zain al-Din Dawud Shirazi (d. 771/1369), a disciple and Khalifa of Burhan al-Din Gharib.

Shaikh Rukn al-Din also became the patron of Ala al-Din's successor, Muhammad Shah Bahmani I as well as his successors. Shaikh Rukn al-Din occupied a place of eminence under the Bahmani kings who were enjoined on the day of their coronation to pay a visit to the saint before the actual coronation ceremony. There, they would put on a coarse shirt, a girdle and a turban made from the headgear of the saint and receive the blessings of the saint; and only then would they proceed for the royal ceremony at the palace. The early Bahmani kings also sought the blessings of Shaikh Rukn al-Din on other important occasions such as wars.

In 752/1352, Ala al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, after suppressing the rebellion of Muhammad bin 'Alam Lachin and Fakhr al-Din Muharadar, camped at Sager, where he received the Junaidi saint Shaikh 'Ain al-Din Ganj al-'Ilm and such scholars as Maulana Mo'in al-Din Harawi and others, and loaded them with presents.

Most probably, it was on this occasion that he also presented, through an official *farman*, the *jagir* of Kodchi to Shaikh Rukn al-Din by way of *nazr*, which the saint reluctantly accepted. The original farman is extinct. It is, however, reported by the present Sajjadanashin that in a Kanari version, naturally a later copy, an attested version of the farman is available with the descendants of the family at Kodchi. But all efforts to secure this copy were of no avail.

Besides this Kanari version of the *farman*, there are two more documents of value. One is a *wasiatnama* (will) of Shaikh Rukn al-Din, the date of which is not legible, relating to the distribution of the *jagir* of Kodchi among his sons, daughters, other members of his family and some others, such as the barber and the *safalgar*.

Another document, dated 776/1375, issued by him to his grandson Shaikh Shibli relates to the trusteeship *(tawliat)* of the two *chavars* of land from the *jagir* of Kodchi. Carrying no official bearing as such, the documents are still unique and rare in the history of Medieval Deccan, as they correspond to the early Bahmani period on the one hand and, on the other, amply prove that the saint was definitely the recipient of this jagir.

The *Wasiatnama*, which is in bad shape and difficult to read, carries the seal of Muhammad ibn Shaikh Siraj al-Din Abu'l Muzaffar Junaidi, and shows his descent from Rais al-qaum Junaid al-Baghdadi. As far as it

can be read, he presents the village of Kodchi of Mubarakabad (In'am) to his two sons Shaikh Ala al-Din and Shaikh Qutb al-Din, and daughters, Bibi Akha, Bibi Tahera and Bibi Mastura. He provided the details for the distribution of chavarats thus:

Half of the land and *nah thakan* (nine thakans) and *muhtarafa* (tax on trade men) .. (to) *nau* and *karan:* of the total *chavarats* of the village, eighteen chavarat for Shaikh 'Ala al-Din and his descendants, sixteenth *chavarat* for Shaikh Qutb al-Din and his descendants' twelve chavarat for Akha Bibi and her descendants' ten chavarat for Bibi Tahera and her descendants' nine chavarat for Bibi Mastura and her descendants.... Muhtrafah (to) and nau four chavarat of district... for *ahangar* (Blacksmith) one thakan for *hajjam* (barbar): one thakan for *gazar* (washerman): one thakan for *saf-algar* (potter): one *thakan* for *talwad* (watchman), one *thakan* for *sunar* (goldsmith): one *thakan* or *chambar* (cobbler): and one *thakan* for *balusak*.

He also says in the *wasiatnama* that all heirs have given their mutual consent, agreement and have endorsed it with their seal of approval. He also announces that Shaikh Abu'l Fadal is to be "my spiritual successor and will extend his hand for *bai'at*." He enjoins his heirs and their descendants to act according to the *wasiatnama* and the *farmans* of the Sultan.....and the Prophet and the *mashaiqs*. Document II, dated 11th Ramadhan, 776 A.H., is under the seal of Shaikh Muhammad bin Siraj al-Din abu'l Muzaffar Sharif Junaidi.

He gives *tawliat* (trusteeship) of two *chavarat*, with its revenues, of the village of Kongi (Kodchi) of Mubarakabad, located at 'Ainabad, to Shaikh Shibli. He directs his other heirs not to claim the custody of these two *chavarat* given to Shaikh Shibli, adding that if anyone does "I will turn away from him."

In the light of the detailed information contained in these two documents, it is not unreasonable to assume that as long as he stayed at Kodchi, he was the sole administrator of the said jagir enjoying all its revenues, and that to be in such an enviable position, he must have had close links with the government officers. It can also be inferred that he must have been held in high esteem by the local revenue officials and also by the populace.

The saint migrated to the Bahmani capital Gulbarga, about 200 odd miles from Kodchi, during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani I. Ghulam Muhammad says this change in the saint's residence was undertaken for the convenience of King Muhammad Shah Bahmani, who had to travel all the way from Gulbarga to Kodchi to visit the saint. On the saint's arrival at Gulbarga, the king constructed a residence for the saint not very far from his fort.

The exact date of the saint's change of residence, however, is not known. So is the case with the date of his *wasiatnama*. But we can surmise that it must have been written by the saint after 777/1376, the year his son Shaikh Qutb al-Din died. The *wasiatnama* clearly states that his grandson, Abul Fadl, son of Shaikh Qutb al-Din, will be his spiritual successor at Gulbaraga.

Little is known about the saint's descendants. Certain members of his family continued to reside at Kodchi but others had followed him to Gulbarga. Some names of his family members are mentioned in the *wasiatnama*. It will thus be interesting to make a study of the descending family genealogy of the saint, until the Bahmani times:

Syed Qiwamu'ddin Mahmud

Syed 'Alau'ddin Khondmir Jeweri

Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Siraj al-Din

Shaikh Salar (d.732/1331) Lucknow.	Shaikh Muhammad Rukn al-Din (b. 670/1271 d. 781/1380) (Peshawar-Daulatabad Kodchi-Gulbarga).	Shaikh Ahmad Slah al-Din (d. 729/1328) Bengal.	Shaikh Taj al-Din (d. 784/1382) Gulbarga.

Shaikh 'Ali al-Din eldest son	Bibi Akha	Bibi Tahera	Bibi Mastura	Shaikh Qutb al-Din

(b. 733/1332
d. 783/1381)
Kodchi.

Shaikh Shibli

(b. 732/1331
d. 777/1375)
Gulbarga.

Shaikh Abul
Fadl.
b. 840/1436 or
850/1446).

Shaikh Siraj
al-Din Thani

Shaikh Makh-
doom
Khondmir
Junaidi
(d. 934/1527)
Gulbarga.

Abu Rukn
al-Din

Note :- Unbroken lines indicate family lineage.
Broken lines indicate spiritual lineage.

Muhammad Shah Bahmani (759-776/1358-1375) following the tradition of his father, held Shaikh Rukn al-Din in high esteem. In 763/1362, after achieving victory against Nagdeo of Veluputtum, he deputed Prince Mujahid with one-fifth of the war booty to the residence of Shaikh Rukn al-Din, requesting him to distribute the same among the poor and the needy. similarly, before marching against the Ray of Vijaynagar, Muhammad Shah ! invited all the Ulama and divines, including Shaikh Rukn al-Din, to the grand mosque of Gulbarga on Friday, requesting them for the invocation of the success of his army.

Having won the bettle, he, on his way back, paid a visit to the residence of the saint to offer his thanks. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta records that the saint was held in high esteem also by Muhammad Shah Bahmani II (780-799/1337-97). He visited the saint's residence once when the saint was ill.

All these details show that the saint had close contacts with the royal families of his time: he and his successors accepted *jagirs, inams*, cash etc., he administered his *jagirs* with the authority that comes from sole ownership; he was obviously a man of means; he had a mass following. All this, combined with his spiritual status, made him a man to be reckoned with in the political, social and religious affairs of the Deccan.

Shaikh Rukn al-Din deviated in many ways from the traditions of his ancestors. An analysis of the ideology of the different sufi orders shows that except the Suhrawardis and the Shattaris, the sufis of all other orders believed in refraining from accepting any grants, or even maintaining any relationship with the rulers or the aristocracy.

Though the views of the Junaidi saints in this respect are not known, the very life of its founder, Abu'l Qasim Junaid of Baghdad, is enough evidence that he looked down upon such things. But Shaikh Rukn al-Din obviously deviated from these traditions. Another significant deviation on the part of the saint is the nomination of his successor from amongst his sons.

These deviations on his part and even more so on the part of his family members, especially in matters material rather than spiritual, led to the decay of their spiritual influence in the Bahmani society.

The saint died in 781/1380 at Gulbarga, and his mortal remains were buried close to his residence. After his death, Muhammad Shah II attended the third day *fatiha* ceremony and distributed huge amounts among the poor and the needy for the spiritual comfort of the saint.

After the saint's demise, his institution at Kodchi was looked after by his eldest son, Shaikh 'Ala'al-Din.

The saint's younger son Shaikh-Qutb al-Din had migrated to Gulbarga along with his father but since he had died during the life of his father, Shaikh Qutb al-Din's son, Shaikh Abu'l Fadl, that is, the Shaikh's grandson, was appointed as the saint's successor at Gulbarga. His descendants are still in charge of the saint's shrine.

During the closing years of the Bahmani kingdom, the capital was shifted from gulbarga to Bidar in 827/1424. Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani and his successors had laid the foundation of a new aristocracy based on Persian

immigrants, most of whom, were Shi'a. We also notice that a large number of saints had emigrated to Bidar from Kirman, Gilan and Multan and were held in high esteem by the rulers and the new aristocracy.

All this meant a decrease in the importance and influence of the religious men of Gulbarga. When Shaikh Makhdum Khondmir Junaidi was the in-charge Sajjadanashin of Shaikh Rukn al-Din's shrine at Gulbarga, Shihab al-Din Mahmud Shah Bahmani (886-924/1482-1518) came to Gulbarga in 901/1498 to celebrate the marriage of his son, Prince Ahmad, with the daughter of Yousuf Adil Khan, the governor of Bijapur.

Historians are of the opinion that while in Gulbarga, Shihab al-Din Mahmud Shah Bahmani paid a visit to the shrine of the saint. In accordance with the past traditions of the saint, Sajjadanashin Shaikh Makhdum wanted to tie a turban, a waist belt and place a robe upon the monarch. However, the reluctant Mahmud Shah withdrew his hand from the robe and left, leaving the ceremony incomplete.

Shaikh Makhdum, noticing the attitude of the king, placed the robe instead upon the shoulders of Yousuf Adil Khan, who was present by the side of the king. That was a sufi way of bestowing him with kingship. It was Yousuf Adil Khan who later built the saint's mausoleum and its adjacent monuments.

In later times, the members of the Junaidi family also developed matrimonial relationships with the Multani family of Bidar, the saintly family of the Qadiriyah order who were held in high esteem by the later Bahmani rulers. The Junaidi family continued to enjoy the respect of the people at Gulbarga and other places, even though their importance decreased over the years.

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Muhammad, Shah (1784A.D. — 1862A.D.)

Shah Muhammad is a prominent poet of heroic literature in this age. He is the landmark between the history and literature. Many historians have recognised the authenticity of his ballad and some of the historians have quoted Shah Muhammad for the historical facts also. Shah Mohamad was born in village Veeram Vadala district Amritsar in year 1784 A.D.

He belongs to Qureshi dynasty of the Muslims. Shah Muhammad has composed his ballads in the later Ranjit Singh period and his historical ballad captivated the mind of millions. All the Vars written in this period bow before the composition of Shah Muhammad for its supremacy. This composition of Shah Muhammad is known by different names:

1. Var Shah Muhammad.
2. Kissa Shah Muhammad.
3. Jangnama Singhan Te Frangian.
4. Shah Muhammad De Baint.

Shah Muhammad has been immortal by his hilarious forceful heroic ballad. Incidents narrated in the composition are very much near to the reality. Dr. Ganda Singh rightly states that Shah Muhammad can be considered the national poet of India .

Shah Muhammad surpasses all the creations of his contemporary poets. Shah Muhammad witnessed the glory and glamour of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's regime. Poet has seen with his own eyes the dominant personality of Maharaja and his stern military equipment.

Later on, poet also heard about the intrigues of Dogra Chiefs with consultation of Maharani Jindan. Maharani Jindan and his counsellors were responsible for the downfall of this mighty empire. Poet could not tolerate the unjustified intrigues and betrayal on the part of Dogra whom Maharaja earnestly believed.

Poet thinks that without Maharaja, Punjabi forces have been orphaned. As a poet Shah Muhammad has presented his impartial version about the fate of battle between two forces. Where he has praised the bravery of Sikh forces, there he has also appreciated the military planning of the English power.

When we see that the Muslim poet mourns the defeat of Sikh forces it reveals the cultural coordination between two communities of that age. He wrote: "If God favoured, the Sikhs will win ultimately, there is a big coordination and co-existence between two communities and with the English no body is concerned."

Mian Maula Baksh ' Kushta' in his book 'Panjabi Shayarian Da Tajkra', Shah Muhammad narrates about the episode of Sikhs defeat. His expression is full of feelings and sentiments. Similes and metaphors used by poet are quite suitable according to the situation. Language is simple, sweet and impressive.

Giving References to the battlefield Shah Muhammad writes, "It was the year of 1902 Bikrimi, when the fight between Sikhs and the Britishers started, it seemed as if the earth was thirsty of human blood. Sky was overcast with the dust and smoke. Brave warriors were not retreating themselves from the battlefield."

Shah Muhammad says that Rani Jindan was responsible for the dire consequences which led to the bloodshed and slaughter of the million in Punjab. So, the poet concludes that the deception and faithlessness is the root in the nature of woman. So, he condemns woman community. Poet says that woman has been the reason behind the downfall of every action in the history Ravana was led down due to the reason of woman. The fight between Kaurav and Pandav which claimed many lives was due to insanity of woman. So, Maharani Jindan was responsible for the defeat of the Sikh regime.

Sham Singh Attariwala is the composition of Shah Muhammad who will remembrance of inspiration for the coming generations. He is a symbol of confidence, courage, bravery and selflessness. Ka-Fatik contemporary poet of Shah Muhammad also praises Sham Singh Attariwala. So, Shah Mohamad considers Sham Singh was the unique warrior who fought with great vigour to the honour of Sikh forces.

Shah Muhammad remains the central pivot in the heroic poetry of this age. Kadar Yar and the other heroic poets-Dial Singh and Sahia Singh they need only the Reference in the history of Panjabi Var literature.

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Muhammad, Shaikh (1500 A.D. — 1563 A.D.)

Muhammad (806-970A.H./1500-1563 A.D.) popularly known as *Ghaus-ul Auliya*, was a great scholar and a very prominent Shat tari saint. The Shattari *silsilah* reached the high tide of its popularity under his leadership. It is said that Shaikh Muhammad nursed the Shattari babe and brought it to manhood. The prestige and the scope of the Shattari *silsilah* was further enhanced by his books on mystic thought and practices, e.g. the *Jawahir-i Khamsa*, the *Kalid-i Makhzan*, the *Kunz-ut Tawhid*, the *Bahr-ul Hayat*, etc.

His piety and scholarship brought to him a large number of disciples from various parts of Hindustan. Like his brother he was on good terms with the Mughal rulers, Babur and Humayun. After the defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah, he went to Gujarat and remained there for some time. When the Mughals re-established their authority he returned to Gwalior.

Some of his important disciples who worked at various places are: Shaikh Mubarak (Bangar Mau), Shaikh Nuruddin (Agra), Shaikh Akmaluddin (Burhanpur), Shaikh Sadruddin (Baroda), Muhammad Ashiq (Sambhal), Maulana Abdul Fatah Nagori (Ajmer), Shaikh Muhammad Jamali (Sarhind), Shaikh Jalal Wasil (Kalpi), Shaikh Jeo (Bidauli) Shaikh Shamsuddin Shirazi (Bijapur), Shaikh Ahmad Mutawakkil (Ujjain) Shaikh Ali Sher Bengali (Ahmadabad), and Shaikh Manjhan of Lakhnauti (Sarangpur).

Of these disciples, Shaikh Ali Sher Bengali and Shah Manjhan of Lakhnauti deserve mention here because of their association with Bengal.

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Muhibbu'llah Mubariz Ilahabadi, Shaikh (d. 1648A.D.)

Shaikh Muhibbu'llah Mubariz Ilahabadi was born in 996/1587-88 at Sadrpur, near Allahabad. After taking a formal course in religious education, he became obsessed with mysticism and visited a number of contemporary sufis for instruction. From Delhi he went to the khanqah of Shaikh Abu Sa'id, the scene of his formal sufic training. He then visited Rudauli where he became a friend of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chishti. Allahabad was his next call and was to become his home for some twenty years which were spent teaching sufism.

The death of Shaikh Muhibbu'llah occurred on 9th Rajab. 1058/30th July, 1648. According to Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman, his teachings convinced many learned 'ulama' who were initially hostile on the doctrine of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* of its validity. This view, however, is over-simplified. Although, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah could number among his admirers a prince (Dara-Shukoh), throughout his stay in Allahabad he encountered considerable obstacles through the enmity of the orthodox 'ulama' and the opposition of philosophers (such as Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri) to the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. The threat posed by the 'ulama' and their supporters was a more formidable one, and a large number signed a *fatwa* saying the Shaikh was both a materialist and an atheist who should be executed for his sins.

As already mentioned Shaikh Abdur-Rashid of Jaunpur rushed to Allahabad to vehemently support Shaikh Muhibbu'llah's interpretation of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. He argued that like other Muslim philosophers, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah did not in fact believe that all being emanated from Unity according to its nature, but he considered the Being to be distinct from the quiddity of things and Absolute Reality.

During the reign of Shahjahan opposition on a philosophical basis to the entire sufi movement and to ideas associated with the *Wahdat* December 1640, Shaikh Muhibbullah had produced a book entitled Manazir-i akhassu'l-khawass, which outlined the main teachings of Ibn 'Arabi. In 1053/1643 he also completed a treatise called Haft-ihkam on seven ordinances relating to the Divine realities of *Tajalli* (self-manifestation) and the Wujud. The *'Ibadatu'l-khawass* completed in 1053/1643 was a discussion of various aspects of the *Wahdat* from a popular viewpoint of which he later made an Arabic translation. The three pillars for a believer in *Wahdat* were outlined in the *Seh-Rukni*.

Among other works written by him are *Ghayatu'l-ghayat*, *Maghalit al-'amma*, *Sirru'l-khawass*, *Turqu'l-khawass*, *'Ibadat-i akhassu'l-khawass* and *Risala-i Wujud-i Mutlaq*. His Makatib contains a fine defence of Wahdat theories. But it was Shaikh Muhibbu'llah's Taswiyya (making Equal), written in Arabic, which received the most attention, excelling all his other works in popularity. In it he discussed the *Wujud-i Mutlaq* (Absolute Being) ideas of Ibn 'Arabi so successfully that they appeared to be original.

To a great extent the book was concealed from the common gaze. Although reportedly Aurangzib took grave exception to the work, this was probably due to the Shaikh's intimate relations with Dara-Shukoh, since Aurangzib, a scholar of some standing, could not possibly have seen the work as anything but a restatement of the Fusus al-Hikam. For example, the *Taswiyya* stated:

> Jabra'il (Gabriel of Muhammad was within the person of Muhammad. Likewise Jabra'il existed within the person of each Prophet whose spiritual power he represented. When that power overwhelmed the prophet, *Wahi* descended on him. Therefore Jabra'il was able to hold conversations with each Prophet in that Prophet's own language.

By this time, Shaikh Muhibbu'llah was dead. However, the Emperor was informed that two of his disciples were close at hand in the capital. One of them, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Qanauji (an imperial servant), when asked to explain the controversial passages in the *Taswiyya*, replied that he had never been connected with Shaikh Muhibbu'llah. The other, an ascetic called Shaikh Muhammadi, was told that if he were a disciple of Shaikh Muhibbu'llah he had two choices: he could either reconcile the inflammatory statements in the *Taswiyya* with the *Shari'a* or he could burn it to ashes. This was the Shaikh's reply:

> I do not deny being his disciple, nor does it behove me to show repentance for I have not yet reached that elevated mystic stage which the Shaikh had acquired and from which he talked. The day I reach that stage, I will write a commentary as desired. However, if His Majesty has finally decided to reduce the tract to ashes, much more fire is available in the royal kitchen than can be had in the house of the ascetics who have resigned themselves to God. Orders may be issued to burn the work along with any copies that can be acquired.

This seems to have satisfied the Emperor and the study of the work was no longer hindered.

A number of commentaries on the *Taswiyya* followed, including one by the son of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah, Khwaja Khwurd, written during the reign of Aurangzib. A somewhat more detailed commentary was produced by the eminent Chishti saint, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi who added an attack on the Mujaddid for his criticism of *Wahdat al-Wujud* as being only an initial or a basic stage in the evolution of mystic progression.

Unlike Shaikh Muhibbu'llah Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, the son of Shaikh Fathu'llah Gangohi, was a scholar who achieved some fame on account of his perfection as a sufi *pir*. As a young man, Muhammad Sadiq was very handsome and fond of cock-fighting. Dressed lavishly, one 'Id day he went to pay his respects to his uncle, Shaikh Abu Sa'id. Disregarding his appearance, Shaikh Abu Sa'id believed that he could 'see the light of sainthood shining through the lad's forehead.

After the boy's decision to become one of his uncle's disciples his parents were so disappointed that they attempted to hinder him from adopting this plan and they tried to exert pressure on Shaikh Abu Sa'id to persuade the boy to change his mind. Both refused to comply, Sadiq arguing that he was not prepared to see the vision of God in any form other than that of his proposed pir.

Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq was to become a great admirer of the Afghans, because of their courage in battle and their enthusiasm in the practice of their religion. Many of them became his disciples.

Amongst his writings he produced a sufi treatise in which he underlined the belief that *zikr* was useful to *fikr* (meditation), the latter being an aid to *huzur* (the sense of the presence of Allah), huzur aiding *shuhud* (the contemplative vision of God) and *shuhud* leading to *wusul* (union with God). The perfection of a mystic depended on the level of his achievement of *wusul*.

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Muhsin Auliya, Shah (d. 1397 A.D.)

According to the popular belief Pir Badar, Qattal Pir and Shah Muhsin Auliya came from Panipat to Gaur and from there Muhsin Auliya went to Dacca by crossing the river by a block of stone and reached the village named Dhiari, where he settled permanently. He had no son but a daughter, named Nurani Bibi or Nasrin Bibi and a nephew, Shah Sikandar. Before he left home for Bengal he married his daughter to Shah Sikandar.

After a long wait they came to Bengal to take the saint back to Panipat. As, he was unwilling to return, they settled at Dhiari with the saint. When Mushina Auliya died Nurani Bibi and Sikandar settled there and to them a son was born, named Shah Qutbud-Din. The inhabitants of the village are the descendants of these two.

The tomb of Mushina Auliya on the bank of river Sankha was in danger of being eroded. Zabadash Khan a local Zamindar saw the saint thrice in a vision saying to shift the grave to some safer place. But he did nothing. The local people removed the grave to a village named Battali. The shrine has brick walls but thatched roof. There were two Hindu families who repaired the thatched roof annually in the beginning of the Chaitra.

The block of stone which was used by the saint as the means of his transport to reach Chittagong is now fixed up beside the saints tomb at Battali which is much venerated by the Hindus and Muslims alike. There is a Toghra which contains the word 'Abid Majzub' the date of his death is derived from this chronograph to be 800 A.H. corresponding to 1397 A.D.

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Mujaddid Barkati, Hazrat Barkat Ali (d. 1926A.D.)

Mujaddid Barkati belongs to the Order of Mujaddidiya Naqshbandiya in Bengal. This order was founded by Hazrat Barkat Ali Shah

Azhari Uthmani. He was a native of Punjab in the district of Hushiarpur. He was chief *Khalifa* of Hazrat Khwaja Uthman Damani who appointed him for spiritual propagation in Bengal. According to his advice of his spiritual guide, he settled in Calcutta and he started his mission from his *khanqah*.

He propagated the teachings of Islam and Sufi movement in Bengal, Bangladesh, Bihar, Assam and Malegaon in Bombay. Till his death (d. 1926 A.D.), he stayed in his *khanqah* situated at college street, Calcutta. His famous *khalifas* were Hazrat Syed Shah Muhammad Abdud'dayyan of Calcutta, Maulana Syed Amimul Ahsan of Bangladesh, Maulana Abdus Salam of Bangladesh and Maulana Syed Salman Barkati Mujaddidi of Calcutta.

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Mujaddidi Naqshbandi, Muhsin Ali (d. 1954/55A.D.)

He hailed from Zanjarbali 10 miles away from Silchar, district Cachar (Assam). Having completed his primary education at Hailakandi, he went to Rampur madrasah Alia, for higher education, wherefrom he returned as a renowned Maulana and was reckoned among the top *ulemas* of Silchar.

He was the disciple and *khalifa* of Maulana Shah Wali-un-Nabi Mujaddidi Naqshbandi. But he took much caution before he admitted any disciple to his order. He was a pious man of pleasant manner; popular among both Hindus and Muslims, and took active part in *Khalifat* Movement started in India in support of the Turkish Sultan after world war I (1914-1917 A.D.) and the movement (1922-47 A.D.) of Indian Independence under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Shoukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Maulana Moshin Ali died in 1954-55 at the age of 80 and is buried at Zanjarbali, Silchar.

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Mujarrad, Shaikh Jalalud Din (13th Century A.D)

Shaikh Jalalud Din Mujarrad, a *khalifah* of Sultan Saiyid Ahmad Yesvi, came to Bengal from Qunia in Turkey towards the close of the 13th century A.D, Some scholars on the authority of *Suhail-i Yaman*, written in 1859, say that he was a native of Yemen and belonged to the Suhrawardi *silsilah*.

Shaikh is a historical figure since he is mentioned by Ibn Battuta. Some of the details found about him in latter records strain one's credulity. After completing his spiritual training he sought the permission of his preceptor to carry the mystic mission to new regions. Thus with seven hundred fellow disciples he set out for India fighting several successful battles on his way.

Finally, when he reached Bengal, he had only 313 followers with him. It appears that at this time the Sultan of Bengal had sent an expedition under Sikander Khan to conquer Sylhet. The Shaikh also joined this army and Sylhet was conquered in 1303 A.D.

After the conquest of Sylhet the Shaikh settled there and established a *khanqah*. He is

said to have converted many inhabitants of the place to Islam. The Shaikh led a very simple and pious life. Certain miracles attributed to him by Ibn Battuta and a number of traditions current among the people about him reflect the extent of his impact on the people of the region. The Shaikh lived and died at Sylhet where his grave is still visited by a large number of people of different faiths.

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Mukbil, Jangnama

Mukbil has been already discussed as romantic poet. This ballad narrates the story of tragic end of Hajrat Hassan. His wife Zenab by mistake poisons her husband but when she comes to know the reality she weeps and wails for her dead husband. She repents for the whole of her life in the separation of her husband.

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Mukbil Shah Jahan (18th Century)

Mukbil Shah Jahan was the first romantic poet of this age. He was prominent blind poet of the Panjabi literature. Mukbil can be compared with Milton of England. Homer of Greek and Surdas of India. They were all blind poets, who have influenced the generations of their respective cultures.

For the ages it has been the belief that Mukbil is the first romantic writer of the Heer-Literature. Though Damodar. Ahmed and Chirag were his predecessors yet Mukbil dominated the scene for a long time. So much so the Varis Shah, the King of Panjabi romantic poetry gets lot of inspiration from Mukbil's composition.

Varis was the disciple of league which was started by Mukbil. We find much similarity in many of the couplets composed by Mukbil and Varis. System, Rhyme scheme, setting of the copulates and command over the language is really marvellous in the poetry of Mukbil. He completes composition of Heer-Ranjha exactly in 433 couplets. Every couplet consists four lines and every line comprises 32 words. Where this is not possible in the composition of Varis Shah.

His system is uncontrollable and unplanned. Brevity and clarity are the vivid quality found in the verse of Mukbil. Story in the Mukbil's Heer ends in comedy. Heer and Ranjha they leave for Makka after marriage and Mukbil

completes his composition by the following lines :

From there, they set out for Makka,
For the rest, I know not.

Similes and Metaphors used by Mukbil are original and suggestive. Poet exclaims :

Lover's bead comprises,
The pearls of tears.
Grief is the thread,
which unites them all.

Mukbil being a blind poet, creates wonder in the composition of his lyricism. His productive imagination, aesthetic expression and original approach translates his aesthetic fact into physical phenomenon.

Mukbil weaves environmental background of his contemporary society and its traditions. At the time of Heer's marriage Mukbil gives the picture of conventional society.

Mukbil gives his own views about woman in his verse. "Woman is like a snake, who bites in the garb of confidence. Snake can not root out her poisonous nature, similarly sincerity can not change the nerve of insincerity in woman. This is the blood in the veins of every woman. Ranjha, a character produced by Mukbil says, " There is no use of friendship with woman, no one can convince her. Woman directs the right man on the wrong path of life. Her instinct is like that of a snake who deceives in the grip of confidence.

Some of the lines used by Mukbil in his composition have become proverbs. Prof. Parminder Singh and Prof. Kirpal Singh Kasel they write in their book 'Panjabi Sahit-di-Utpati Te-Vikas' on page 329.

Mukbil ends his composition in tragedy and his descendants followed this tradition, but it is not a fact. Mukbil completed his Kissa in comedy. Heer and Ranjha in the end they were married and they set out for the pilgrimage of Makka.

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Multani, Shaikh Ibrahim (d. 1463A.D.)

Shah Ibrahim was born at Multan and must have been senior in age when his father died at Bider. Being along in a new atmosphere at Bider, he was planning to return to his hometown Multan. However, he decided to meet the Sultan before his departure, hoping for some financial assistance which may have, perhaps, made him give up the idea of returning.

His efforts to meet the Sultan through a nobel named Rashid Harir did not bear fruits. Shaykh Ibrahim then wrote a book which he was said to have dedicated to the Sultan in which he catalogued fourteen sciences and gave their exact definitions. Scholars differ regarding the exact title of this work. An Urdu translation of a book written by his great grandson, 'Abd al-Qadir entitled *Ma'dan al-Jawahir* gives the title of the book as Alai. The same title has also been mentioned in *Mishkat an-Nubuwwah*.

Abd al-Jabbar Malkapuri, who had a copy of this book which he lost in the Moosi floods, names it as *Ma'arif al-Ulum*. Shaykh Ibrahim

Multani presented *Ma'arif al-Ulum* to the Sultan at the grand mosque of Bider on a Friday. Ala ad-Din Ahmad II, who used to attend the Friday prayers in congregation regularly, was deeply impressed by the knowledge of Shaykh Ibrahim. It is further stated in *Ma'dan al-Jawahir* that Shaykh Ibrahim drafted a Khutban, or a sermon, in Arabic language at the request of the Sultan.

On finding the text of the sermon to his intellectual taste, Sultan was extremery pleased. The Sultan then presented him with fourteen villages as In'am and also extended an open invitation to him to visit the court whenever he desired. This led to his permanent settlement at Bider and close contacts with the Bahmani rulers. Till the death of Ala ad-Din Ahmad II, their relations remained cordial.

However, Ibrahim Multani ceased to visit the court during the times of Humayun Shah Bahmani due to his notorious character. When Nizam Ahmad III assumed kingship (866-868/1461-1463) in his childhood, the government was run by a council of members comprising his mother Queen Mukhduma e-Jahan Nargis Begam, a lady of great sagacity Khwaja e-Jahan Turk and Malik at-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan. She appointed Shaykh Ibrahim Multani as the teacher of Sultan Nizam Shah and Prince Muhammad. When Muhammad Shah III (868-887/1463-1482) assumed kingship, he appointed Shaykh Ibrahim Multani to the top most judicial office of *Qadi al Qudat*.

Shaikh Ibrahim Multani accepted this responsibility only after getting the consent of the Sultan to the effect that he would also be treated equally as a commoner if and when the Islamic law were to be applied to him. Ibrahim Multani having played a significant role in the capacity of a jurist, died in 868/1463 at Bider during the reign of Muhammad III. He had two sons, Shaykh Ahmad and Shaykh Muhammad Shams ad-Din. The latter attained a place of eminence as a Sufi of the Qadiri order at Bider. Before we proceed to discuss the mystical attainments of Muhammad Shams ad-Din, it has to be kept in mind that his father might have had little to do with mysticism.

DESCENDANTS OF SHAYKH IBRAHIM MULTANI

Shaykh Ibrahim Ansari

Shaykh Baha ad-Din Ansari Daulatabadi — Shaykh Fathullah Multani

Shaykh Ibrahim Multani (d. 868/1463 Bider)

Shaykh Ahmad — Shaykh Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani Qadiri (Bider-862-935/1457-1528)

Shaykh Fathullah

Shaykh Ahmad

Shaykh Ibrahim Makhdumji Qadiri (d.970/1582) Bider	S. Isma'il Qadiri (d.985/1578 Pathri).	S. Ishaq Qadiri (d.887/1482) Bider.	S. Badr ad-Din Qadiri (d.881/1573) Bider.	S.Fakhr ad-Din Qadiri

Shaykh Rafi'ullah

Shaykh Ali

[Note: Unbroken lines indicate family lineage, broken lines spiritual lineage.]

Muhammad Shams ad-Din (862-935/1457-1528) was too young when he lost his father. There are indications that the Masha'ikhs and the 'Ulama' of Bider did not bother either to provide him with any moral instruction or education. One day Shaykh al-Masha'ikh Hasan Qadiri of Bengal a disciple and *khalifah* of Shaykh Baha ad-Din Ansari Daulatabadi, came to Bider with a large number of disciples.

On reaching Bider, he sent for Muhammad Shams ad-Din. When the latter met Shaykh Hasan, the Shaykh narrated that he had come to Bider on the instructions of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani who had ordered him in a dream to initiate Muhammad Shams ad-Din into the Qadiri order. Thus, he was initiated into the Qadiri order and was taught and trained in this *Maslak*.

It is further reported that after the departure of Shaykh Hasan, Muhammad Shams ad-Din was trained in the Qadiri Maslak and attained mystic stages by the spiritual guidance of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani. Later, he also received the

garb of *khilafah* from Shaykh Baha ad-Din Ansari Qadiri of Dawlatabad. This was the highest honour conferred upon him which also gave him permission to extend his hand for initiating men into the Qadiri circle.

Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani was a great lover of *Sama* (musical audience). He used to celebrate the 'Urs of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir Jilani for three days with enthusiasm and dignity which attracted large gatherings, *Sama* too was arranged on this occasion. The *Qawwals* used to sing Persian and Hindavi couplets an indication of the Dakani dialect becoming popular at Bider. Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani often used to be in trance in the *Mahfil-e-Sama*.

Along with this mystic love, he practised Shari'ah strictly in his daily life, spending most of his time in a mosque and performing all the five prayers in congregation. His sons were *Huffaz* and also knew the art of *Tajwid*. He vehemently denounced acceptance of royal gifts for personal or family use and openly declared that it was an unlawful income. The royal gifts which came to his *khanqah* were strictly meant for charity. He was determined that his disciples should distribute all the royal gifts they received among the poor and the needy by dawn. His own sons starved for days together but did not touch any of the royal meals which were sent to his *khanqah*.

In view of these divergent tendencies and in the absence of any of his works, which could have clarified his views regarding Sama, performance of A'ras and trance, it is difficult to state how far he had or had not been influenced by the Indian chishti ideology in this respect. He was an open critic of those who loved this world and neglected the hereafter. He did not even spare those high ranking officials who came to meet him. Once in the presence of Amir Barid (910-950/1504-1543), he denounced them in the following words :

"What sort of pride (fancy) are the worldly wise in ? Why have they forgotten the hereafter ? Is it because of their love for wealth ? How will this love of the world help them in their lives to come: The world is transient. This universe is temporary. After all, everything will perish. I wonder at the intelligence of these worldly people, whose understanding has been veiled God Almighty has bestowed on them only a small part of the world, which they love so much that they have forgotten His gifts and benevolence. They feel proud of the joy and happiness of the temporal world.

But, neither are they aware nor do they know that whomsoever God wants to keep away from Himself. He involves them in material pursuits. Such persons are excluded from and deprived of their share in the hereafter. Even since God Almighty has created the world, He has not looked upon it with mercy. He has always afflicted it with his wrath."

Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani once visited Gulbarga, perhaps in connection with the marriage of his eldest son in the family Shaykh Rukn ad-Din Junaydi. While at Gulbarga, he also paid a visit to the shrine of Syed Muhammad Husayni Gesudaraz. He had close and cordial relations with the descendants of Gesudaraz residing at Bider. Shaykh Abu al-Hasan, the son of Shah Kalimullah, a great grandson of Gesudaraz, once came to Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani to resolve certain abstract mystic passages from a work of Gesudaraz which were being challenged as heretical by Shaykh Khanan, a scholar of Bider.

Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani wrote a detailed commentary for the said passages, clarifying that the passages under dispute were within the framework of Shri 'ah.Muhammad Shams ad-Din initiated a large number of men, including his four sons, into the Qadiri order. His eldest son, Ibrahim Makhdum Ji Qadiri, who become his *Khalifa e-Khas* or Sajjadanashin, was married in the Junaydi family of Gulbarga and used to spend six months at Bider with his father and six months at Gulbarga with his in-laws.

His circle of disciples, therefore, was at these two places. He was said to have written a few books in mysticism but it is unfortunate that we do not find even the titles of these in any of the available sources. The disciples and *khulafa*

of Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani came from different strata of society and were spread over the Deccan, such as Golkonda, Kohir, Hantoor, Jampur and Bijapur. Of his five sons, he appointed the eldest as his spiritual successor. When Syed Muhammad Jawnpuri visited Bider, the sons of Muhammad Shams ad-Din Multani met him. The former was greatly impressed by the sound knowledge of these young men.

His eldest son, Shaykh Ibrahim Makhdum Ji Qadiri, (d. 970/1562) extended his hand for Bay 'at. As an special honour, he received the garb of *khilafah* which his father had received from Shaykh Baha ad-Din Ansari. Reported to be the author of a few works in the field of mysticism, he had a large circle of virtues of the pious men. He died at Rajpura, a village ease of Daulatabad.

Another close associate of Syed Jeweri was Shaykh Ibrahim Sangani (693-753/1293-1352). He had the honour of studying under Shams ad-Din Lamaghani and enjoyed the company of Minhaj ad-Din Tamini Ansari and Ayn ad-Din Ganj al-'Ilm. Later, he migrated to Bijapur where he died when he was sixty. Ayn ad-Din Ganj al-Ilm, in one of his works, referred to him as Ad'ham e-Thani. He had five sons, all of them disciples of 'Ayn ad-Din Ganj al-'Ilm. His two sons, Shaykh Sa'd ad-Din and Shaykh Sadr ad-Din, knew the Qur'an by heart and were scholars of high repute.

Though Ibrahim Sangani and 'Ayn ad-Din Ganj al-Ilm were co-disciples, it is interesting to note that the sons of the former were the disciples of the latter. Ayn ad-Din was held by his own co-disciples in high esteem on account of his piety and scholarship. Shaykh Wajih ad-Din, the younger brother of Shaykh Ibrahim Sangani, was also the disciple of Syed Jeweri. Little is known about him except that he had two sons who were also the disciples of 'Ayn ad-Din Ganj al-Ilm.

Shaykh Husayn Balhawi (688-741/1289-1340) was a companion of Syed Jeweri at Daulatabad. He later moved to Gulbarga where he is buried. His famous saying was : "Wisdom is the description of knowledge". Imam Iftikhar ad-Din Kojhi was the master of 'Ayn ad-Din Gang al-Ilm. He was a scholar of Islamic law and an expert Arabic grammarian. He fell a martyr along with Shaykh Imad ad-Din Dinawari during the Tughluq attack on Daulatabad. He died in 733/1332 and was buried at Hairoli near Daulatabad.

Two other disciples of Syed Jeweri, about whom details are available in the Bahmani historical and other works, were Syed Rukn ad-Din of Gulbarga and Shaykh 'Ayn an-Din Ganj al-Ilm of Bijapur.

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Munawwar, Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din

Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Manawwar was another important disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'. A grandson of Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din of Hansi, and the son of Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din, his childhood was spent in the highly mystical atmosphere of the *jama'at-khana*. On the occasion of receiving his *khilafat-nama*, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chiragh-i Dihli congratulated Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar and asked him to relate the secret instructions he had obtained. Shaikh Munawwar replied: 'The instructions of the *Sultanu'l-Masha'ikh*, which he discloses to

different disciples, embody divine secrets. These are imparted by a *pir* and cannot be divulged to anyone. Those given to you are yours and those given to me are mine.'

Qutbu'd-Din was allowed to settle in Hansi and at the time of his departure, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din gave him the copy of the *'Awarifu'l-Ma'arif* which his grandfather had given the Shaikh to be passed on to his grandson. Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din had originally obtained it from Baba Farid at the time of receiving his *khilafat-name*.

Along with other disciples of the great Chishti saint, Shaikh Munawwar was adversely presented to the Sultan by enemies of the sufi movement. The Sultan, according to Amir Khwurd, dispatched a *farman* of two villages to the Shaikh through Sadr-i Jahan Qazi Kamalu'd-Din, to test his asceticism. Quoting a precedent set by Baba Farid, the Shaikh requested the Qazi to admonish those who acted contrary to the traditions of their *pirs*. Chastened, the Qazi related to the Sultan Shaikh Munawwar's reply.

A further confrontation between Shaikh Munawwar and Muhammad bin Tughluq occurred during the latter's visit to Hansi. Before reaching the town, he ordered it to be inspected. The report informed the Sultan that one of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din's disciples lived in Hansi, but did not anticipate paying homage in the traditional manner to his temporal ruler. Upon being summoned to attend the Sultan's court, the Shaikh thanked God for not being forced to visit the Sultan at his own bidding. Putting his prayer carpet on his shoulders, and carrying his stick, he left Hansi accompanied by his son, Nuru'd-Din.

Although, he continued to plead that he was a stranger to court etiquette, on the advice of Firuz, who later succeeded Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Shaikh relented and was presented to the Sultan. It appears that the ruler was deeply impressed by the Shaikh's handshake, and mollified somewhat when he answered that he had failed to pay homage as he considered himself too unworthy to call on his rulers, adding that he had been occupied praying for the welfare of the Sultan and the Muslims in his solitary retreat.

Admitting, he had been misled regarding the Shaikh's character, the Sultan, through Firuz and Ziya'u'd-Din Barani, bestowed on him a gift of 100,000 *tankas*. On being pressed by them to accept the gift, the Shaikh consented only to receive 2,000 *tankas* which he gave in charity.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din, who will be discussed later, played a prominent role in the accession of Firuz Shah to the Delhi Sultanate, and was apparently a great source of inspiration to the army which marched from Thatta to Delhi. When it reached Sarsuti, about 300 kilometres from Delhi, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din said to Sultan Firuz that his prayers had helped the army to reach Sarsuti, but from there onwards was the spiritual domain of Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar and the Sultan should approach him for assistance. Qutbu'd-Din replied to the royal petition as follows: 'As my brother, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din has entrusted the care of the people to me, I pray God that Delhi may fall into your hands.

On reaching Hansi, Sultan Firuz visited Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din Munawwar. Since, the Shaikh was leaving for Friday prayers, he stopped outside his *jama'at-khana* and advised the Sultan both to stop drinking and refrain from continual indulgence in hunting, as the killing of animals should be necessitated only by human needs. When the Sultan asked the Shaikh to pray that his desire for this sport might be lessened the Shaikh became enraged and implied that his advice was not being genuinely heeded. The Sultan's gift of an expensive robe was refused.

Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din's son, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, who had accompanied him to the Sultan's court, rose to considerable eminence. When first entering the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the spectacle and pomp frightened him. But his father whispered to the child: 'Greatness and

power belong to God alone.' His terror immediately abated, and he saw the assembly of great nobles as a collection of mere lambs.

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Murad, Shah (18th Century A.D.)

Shah Murad, also known as *Hafiz Murad*, was a disciple and Khalifa of Sultan Naurang Shah. His tomb is situated at Londa Chand in district Dera Ismail Khan (West Pakistan). He is influenced by Shah Hussain and Bullhe Shah in thought as well as in the poetic art. He inherited from them all the characteristics of Vaishnava Vedantic Sufism, like wifely devotion, complete surrender to the will of God, concept of God as Redeemer of the Sinful. His *Baramaha* contains many lines, which have been taken from Bullhe Shah's *Baramaha*. He experiences the communion in the heart only and thus his unitive experiences are only internal.

Expressing his belief in the identity of essence and will of God and man, he says, " Mansur is right when he says "I am the Creative Truth". He further says, 'If I say 'I and Thou', God is displeased:

Har hovan tan har koi pakare,
Kiun Allah ap kahaia;
Main tun akhian Sahib mare,
Ban main kant kahaia.

He is bold enough when he ascribes the creation of evil to God. He says that God himself created duality of good and evil, Hindus and Muslims and the Paradise and the Hell.

Ya musnaf ya Ved Manive, hukam kiya do ranga;
Moman Shah Murad bhala ya Hindu koi changa;
Neki badi asan te lai, kis to hukam chalaiai;
Shah Murad Hukam do ranga, kis te amal karaiai.

God himself has created this confusion and expects from the individuals to make distinction between the good and the evil:

Rabb sahib ghamdhol machaya Shah Murad tamiz kare.

Here His belief in the supremacy of God's Will is staggered, as he has given some initiative and responsibility to man to select one from the two.

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Musa Suhag (1415 A.D. — 1475A.D.)

The *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* gives a brief account of an interesting Chishtiyya *pir*, Musa Suhag, a contemporary of the Suhrawardiyya *pir*, Shah Alam Bukhari (b. 817/1415 d. 880/1475). Accustomed to wearing glass bangles on his arms, in order to conceal his eminence as a mystic Musa Suhag lived among the street dancers of Ahmadabad.

After his death, Shah Alam dispatched his successor to bury the Shaikh with all due honour and ordered that the bangles should not be removed in keeping with a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad that one will be raised on the Day of Resurrection as one has lived in this world.

Shah's representative was also ordered carefully to conceal Musa Suhag's grave and it was therefore not distinctly marked. In spite of these precautions, the Gujaratis believed he was a great saint who could send rain and perform other supernatural miracles.

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Musharraf Ali Qudumi, Syed Shah (d. 1967 A.D.)

Musharraf Ali Qudumi was born and brought up at Sibnarainpur also known as *Fulaituk;* forefather of Syed Musharraf Ali Qadumi came to Sylhet along with Syed Shah Jalal Mujarrad. His family settled at Taraf and later on moved to Karimganj, Nilam Bazar, then they again moved to Sibnarainpur.

He was educated at Madrasah Alia, Calcutta and was appointed teacher in Silchar Government High School, Cachar. He was inclined to Sufism from his early days. So, he received spiritual training from a saint at Dacca who belonged to the Qudumia Order. He was zealously devoted to religious practices, i.e. Aurad-o-Wazaifa Zikr along with his followers who participated regularly on every Thursday night after evening (Maghrib) prayer.

He established a Madrasah to spread education and reform the people. Being himself a great scholar, he had got by heart thousands of verses of Maulana Rumi, Faridud-Din Attar, Hafiz Shiraji and Ibn-i-Farid. He has recorded his own biography in Urdu which could not see the light of publication due to his sudden death in 1967 A.D.

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Mustafa, Hajji (d. 1629 A.D.)

A senior disciple of Miyan-Mir was also an inhabitant of Sirhind Hajji Mustafa was originally a potter whose excessive meditation had produced an ecstatic condition in which he

so overwhelmingly felt the presence of God that he was unable to complete his obligatory prayers. The Hajji died on 14th Safar, 1039/3rd October, 1629.

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Mustafa Maghmum, Ghulam (19th Century)

This poet was born in the middle of the nineteenth century. The preface to his work entitled *Shama'-e-'Ishq* contains a few lines of Persian verse in which he introduces himself in this manner:

> 'My name is Ghulam Musfata and my takhallus or nom-de-plume is Maghmum. My place of residence is Maulvani on the bank of the river. My district is Lyallpur which is a new town, but its water, air, and scenery are for the peace of the soul.'

In this passage *Maghmum* tells us that Lyallpur 'is a new town' but then he calls it both a district and a town. We know that Lyallpur town existed long before, but the district was constituted on 1st December, 1904.

So, it seems that *Maghmum* brought out his *Shama'-e'Ishq* only after 1904. But when was it written ? After a careful study of the work we came to the conclusion that the poems found in this work were written at different times of the poet's life and that it was only towards the end of his life that he collected and published them.

Shama'e-Ishq contains Panjabi poetry greatly overlaid by Persian words and phrases. It opens with the *kalma* followed by the praise of God and the Prophet. Then it is divided into three *babs* or chapters.

The first chapter contains *ghazals* and *kafis*. The second *bab* has a *siharfi*. The third and last *bab* of the manuscript contains women's sayings and comprises *kafis* and *ghazals*.

The poems of the first chapter are full of Persianism. The poet, in the conventional way of that language, sings of the *bulbul*, the *nargis*, and wine. These compositions, to confess the truth, are beyond the comprehension of a Panjabi knowing only his own mother-tongue and the ordinary Urdu. The poems of the second *bab* repeat the same thought in different words and are full of Persian words. In the third *bab* the poet speaks of his Beloved like a Panjabi woman. There are very few Persianisms in this chapter.

From a literary point of view the verse of *Maghmum* is commonplace. It lacks individuality and vivacity. None of the wailing and weeping for the Beloved creates any effect on the reader. His poetry, in fact, is like a body without a soul. But he seems to be a clever rhymer and he possessed a good knowledge of the Persian language.

Maghmum wrote another poem named *Qissa Kapara*. We have not been able to find any manuscript of this work. We now give two examples of his Panjabi verse:

Sin sall vichore di jhal ve rahia
shama vang patang jal bal ve rahia
sun hot baloca khan punnu
mera din islam iman punnu
mera do jag man tiran punnu
hun hal sassi takk an punnu
tati ret thala tatti jal ve rahia
sute naram nihalari ral ke punnu
gal dal bahi gal val ke punnu
suti chadd gio val chal ke punnu
lio sar bimar na val ke punnu.

(Sin : I am bearing the pain of separation; like light and moth, I am flaming and burning; listen O Hot, Biloc Punnu Khan my religion, Islam and faith are Punnu. He is my pride and honour in both worlds; Punnu, now come and see the condition of Sassi. The sand of the desert is hot and I am hot and burning. We slept together in a soft covering, Punnu, encircling our arms round each other's necks, Punnu (but) you left

me sleeping, cunningly deceiving me, Punnu. Punnu, you have not inquired after the state of the sick one.)

The above is incoherent in thought and misses the real spirit. Here is another poem:

He hijar bichore tere dilbar jigar kaleje taya jalbal raha vajud tamami virhon cikha macaya marne andar shakk na koi, dam laba par aya jam vasal Maghmum lurinda, turya ruh tarhaya.

(He: your separation, Beloved, has heated my heart. All my body is burning, separation has raised the burning pyre. There is no doubt about death: life has come to the lips. Maghmum desired the cup of union but (his) soul departed thirsty.)

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Muttaqi, Shaikh Ali (1480A.D. —1567A.D.)

Shaikh 'Ali Mutttaqi's ancestors were from Jaunpur, while he himself was born at Burhanpur in 885/1480-81. When he was either seven or eight years old, his father, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din, the son of 'Abdu'l-Malik and the grandson of Qazi Khan al-Muttaqi, took 'Ali Muttaqi to Shah Bajan Chishti Burhanpuri in order to make him his disciple. Soon after Shaikh Husamu'd-Din died and the young 'Ali's education was supervised by his mother and relatives.

As a youth, 'Ali Muttaqi joined the court of the Sultans of Mandu and became wealthy. Soon his ecstatic tendencies prompted him to renounce the world and adopt sufism. He obtained initiation into the Chishtiyya order from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hakim (the son of Shaikh Bajan), securing from him also a *khirqa* of *khilafat* (succession). However, his piety and abstinence, the main features of his personality, remained unsatisfied by the routine of the Chishtiyya *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Hakim.

After a move to Multan he began practising austere ascetic exercises under Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Muttaqi, for about two years he also studied the *Tafsir Baizawi* and the Kitab *'Avn al-ilm* under his new *pir*. Apparently Shaikh Husamu'd-Din highly respected Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi for his personal qualities and would humbly bring him books. If Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi admitted him to his cell they would discuss various subtle intellectual and mystical problems. If the Shaikh refused to allow him in Shaikh Husamu'd-Din would not demand entry.

Some time later Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi left Multan to seek other *pirs*. His provisions included two bags, one filled with rice, lentils, flour, butter, oil, salt and cooking utensils and the other containing the Qur'an and some important books including the *'Avn cl-ilm* to which he often referred. He rerely stayed in mosques but would rent small houses when remaining for any length of time in a town.

After collecting fuel in the jungle he would cook enough food to last for some days. As he got older he ate so little that one portion of cooked food would last five to six days. Wandering from one place to the next, he lived in the jungle, concentrating on methods to achieve purification and piety. No-one was allowed to

wait on him, for he considered having servants an act of dependence on someone other than God. Only with great reluctance did he allow Sadr Hasan, one of his family servants, who had refused to leave him to remain.

During his travels, Shaikh 'Ali visited Gujarat. By then he was widely known and wherever he went he was mobbed by devotees striving to catch a glimpse of him. Most of the time he spent behind locked doors. However in order to satisfy some of his visitors, his servant would go inside the house and return with feigned blessings from the Shaikh.

Only at a congregational prayers was it possible to see him and that only from some distance. Periodically Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi would leave his cell to go into the jungle for prayer and meditation.

In Gujarat, prompted by divine inspiration, the Shaikh wrote a treatise on mysticism. In Ahmadabad he married in order to fulfil the obligations of the Sunna of the Prophet. After fathering a child which died in infancy, he decided to divorce his wife for the child would be able to intercede for them on the Day of Judgement and he had completed the duties required by the *Sunna* regarding the marriage. His wife asked that she be permitted to remain with him and serve him. Some of her relations also became Shaikh 'Ali's disciples, later building him a *khanqah* and mosque outside the Shahpur gate in Ahmadabad.

Sultan Bahadur (932/1526-943/1537) of Gujarat decided to call on Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi during his stay in the province. However, he was not granted an interview. Qazi 'Abdu'llah Sindi, a friend of the Shaikh's who had lived in Mecca and Medina and was a well-known saint, pressed him to grant the request and offered to engage the Sultan in conversation should the Shaikh not wish to speak.

Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi replied that he would be unable to restrain himself from asking the Sultan why he did not wear clothes stipulated by the *Shari'a* and live according to its tenets. The Sultan eventually did call and listened patiently to the Shaikh's lecturing him, later sending him a huge amount of money which he promptly passed on to the Qazi.

After the defeat of Sultan Bahadur by Humayun in 942/1536 Shaikh 'Ali felt it expendient to leave Ahmadabad for Mecca. In Surat, he and his companions were joined by Qazi 'Abdu'llah. When the Governor of Dil became aware of their presence he gave them accommodation in his fort.

After the defeated Sultan Bahadur arrived there he attributed his defeat to the heavy causalities suffered by his own Muslim followers in the war against the Mughals, Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi maintained an uncommitted silence and a few days later quietly sailed for Mecca.

In the Islamic Holy Land Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi entered the discipleship of Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan Bakri of Diyar Bakr, a famous and gifted sufi. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi thrived in the stimulating company of the many theologians and mystics he met there. Shaikh Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Sakhawi initiated him as a Qadiriya, Shaziliyya and Madyaniyya, making him a *khalifa* and awarding him a *khirqa* in all three. In the reign of Sultan Mahmud (943/1537-961/1554) he temporarily returned to Gujarat. Finally, he made another trip to Mecca where he dedicated himself permanently to study, writing and teaching.

Both as a teacher of Hadis and *Fiqh* and as a *sufi pir*, the methods chosen by Shaikh 'Ali were unusual. His training method started with his disciples transcribing manuscripts with ink he had manufactured himself. He would acquire books which were rare in the Arabian peninsula, then have copied and given to other scholars.

Often he paid high prices for finely copied manuscripts and felt obliged to the scribes for offering them to him. The acquisition of books became an insatiable passion with him. Once, when attempting to acquire a copy of the *Mawahib* Laduniya which was owned by a Meccan *Faqih*, Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi did not possess the twenty *Ibrahimi* needed. He attempted

to borrow the money from Asaf Khan, a vizier visiting from Gujarat, although previously he had refused to allow him to call on him. Asaf Khan did not have the full amount and offered to arrange it for the Shaikh.

Impatiently Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi called on another non-Arab merchant, borrowed the money and acquired the manuscript, paying one-third more then was quoted. He had several copies made and sent one to Gujarat. Further, copies were made from this in India, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the work became famous in the sub-continent.

Until incapacitated by old age, Shaikh 'Ali muttaqi earned his living by copying manuscripts. Later when officers and grandees of the Sultan of Turkey became Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's devotees, he received huge amounts in *futuh* (gifts). Stipends were also assigned to dervishes and other deserving people dependent on the Shaikh. Even the resources of Turkey were insufficient to meet the needs of the Shaikh's charities.

Frequently, he borrowed money from merchants to support Muslim widows, and asserted that regular repayment encouraged more donations of *futuh*. He made a practice of distributing meals at the 'urs (death anniversaries) of eminent *pirs* of different orders. In his old age, however, Shaikh 'Ali-Muttaqi preferred to pay cash to dervishes for he found the preparation of the food and the crowds that gathered on such occasions a great nuisance.

In his *khanqah,* there was never any adequate provision of food, and so only the most devoted disciples would live with him, the others finding themselves more comfortable accommodation elsewhere.

As mentioned previously, the Shaikh ate little food and developed the habit of mixing water with delicious food with the express purpose of spoiling its taste. One of the Shaikh's servants was particularly boorish and a notoriously bad cook. Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi tolerated such discomforts cheerfully. On one occasion he was given bitter soup. The Shaikh invited his servant to eat some too. Somewhat shocked by the taste of his own concoction, the servant told his master that he could eat it any way. Mixing water with the soup the Shaikh ate a little.

Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi was gifted as a teacher of the exoteric knowledge of 'ulama' and as a highly ascetic sufi. He made it a practice never to discuss *Tawhid* (*Wihdat al-Wujud*) and the aphorisms uttered by sufis while in a state of ecstasy. He also never publicly referred to the mystical statements of Ibn 'Arabi even neglecting to quote him when explaining portions of the sufic commentary on the Qur'an, the *Bahr al-Haqa'iq*, by Najm Daya (d. 656/1258). which was based on Ibn 'Arabi's views on the *Wahdat al-Wujud.*

His attitude to *sama* was a moderate one but like all Chishtiyyas he was deeply moved by it. Once, in Mecca, under the influence of a trance he went into an ecstatic condition and, although sick, rushed to the Ka'ba, where he pronounced himself to be the Mahdi. As, it was Friday and a large crowd had gathered, his announcement had a stunning impact. After an audience with Asaf Khan Gujarati and Shaikh Abu'l-Hassan Bakri, which he had sought to inform them of his new status, the latter was greatly impressed with the Shaikh's condition, which seemed to reinforce his claim.

His next destination was the palace of the representative of the Sultan of Turkey but he postponed his visit there and returned to his own house and fell asleep only to find on waking that he was normal again. He immediately recanted.

After this experience, Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi became a confirmed enemy of the Indian Mahdawis who accepted Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur as a Mahdi. He rejected their treatises which supported this claim on the basis of the Saiyid, like himself, being greatly under the influence of ecstasy. Some time during the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat; he travelled from Mecca to Gujarat to try to undermine the movement.

The Mahdawis in India were convinced neither by the Shaikh's out-pourings nor by the *fatwas* (legal decress) issued by the 'ulama' of Mecca and Median which the Shaikh carried with him to strengthen his case. They countered with other treatises refuting the works of the Shaikh and nicknamed him *Muftari* (Liar), to rhyme with Muttaqi (Pious). The Mahdawi influence in Gujarat so disturbed Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi that he returned to Mecca in disgust.

According to the Zadu'l-muttaqin the Shaikh classed methods for training sufis in two categories. The first entailed disciples rejecting all former habits. The *pirs* in the second category ignored the previous way of life of their disciples, managing through example gradually to reform them. They believed that a long association with the pious changed the nature of novice sufis.

This was the traditional Chishtiyya method of training which Shaikh Ali Muttaqi himself followed. As mentioned, the Shaikh engaged his own disciples in copying and collating manuscripts. Initially they felt themselves to be exploited; after some time, however, they became influenced by the mystical atmosphere in which they worked and their spiritual condition changed. Only after about a year were they instructed in *zikr,* meditation, contemplation and ascetic exercises and advised to spend their time in spiritual retreat.

Shaikh Ali Muttaqi did not honour his disciples with sufi khirqas; instead he advised them to hang a bag around their necks which hung down their left sides. The bag had five internal partitions. There was one very large one with two on its right side and two smaller ones on top of it. In them were stored a grave cloth, camphor and sweet herbs used to anoint dead bodies. The bag was given the Hindi name *jholi* (bag) and, as one might guess, was intended to remind the disciple that 'in life one is in the midst of death'.

When he first began the practice the Shaikh suggested that his disciples inscribe the word 'death' on the bags: later this practice was dropped. He alluded to the significance of this bag in a member of works.

After Safar 975/August-Sept./1567 signs of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi's approaching death became apparent. He was however, in such an ecstatic state that he still had a great degree of physical strength. His *zikr-i jahr* (loud *zikr*) was conducted in a voice which belied his true weakness. The verses his disciple Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wehhab recited stimulated him to spend hours talking about mystical love. One meal time when the food was being broken into pieces and mixed together with soup the Shaikh ordered it to be done according to the description in the following Hindi *doha* (verse)

> *Sun Saheli Prm ke bata*
> *Yun mil rahiye jiun dudh nabata*
>
> (O beloved| listen to conversations about love And mix together as sugar is mixed with milk.)

Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi finally died on 2nd Jumada, 975/4th November, 1567.

A prolific writer throughout his lifetime, Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi reputedly wrote more than one hundred books, a large number of them being short treatises. His magnum opus however, was an encyclopaedia of Hadis; the Khaz al-'Ummal. It was an attempt to rearrange in alphabetical order the *ahadis* compiled by Jalalu'd-Din Abu'l-Fzal 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Abi Bakr bin Muhammad's as-Suyuti (d.911/1505) in his *Jama 'al Jawamu* or *Jami 'al-Musnad.*

This was done using the chapter-headings of the works on *Fiqh.* Shaikh Ali Muttaqi's work was designed to facilitate consultation of these traditions by Faqihs, and is still recognized as a masterly contribution. His own teacher, Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Bakri, welcomed his pupil's outstanding contribution to the knowledge of *Hadis* with the comment that Suyuti's *Jama'al-Jawami* 'was a gift to the world, but Suyuti himself should be greatly indebted to the author of this new arrangement.

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Hajar of Mahal-lat Abi'l Haitam in

al-Gharabiya (Egypt), a distinguished Shafi'i jurist who had settled in Mecca in 924/1518-19 and lived there until his death on 23rd Rajab, 974/3rd February, 1567, was another of Shaikh 'Ali's teachers. Despite his extensive knowledge he found the *Kanz al-Ummal* a most useful Reference work, and invariably consulted the classifications of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi.

Shaikh 'Ali-Muttaqi was recognized during his lifetime as a great sufi by the Arab world and a distinguished scholar of *Hadis*. His disciples spread from the Yemen to Syria and from Gujarat to the Deccan. His successor was an Indian, Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahhab al-Muttaqi al-Qadiri who joined him in Jumada 1963/March-April 1556 aged about twenty. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab was probable born in 943/1536-37 in Mandu.

During his childhood, 'Abdu'l-Wahhab and his father Shaikh Waliu'llah moved to Burhanpur during some sort of political upheaval which Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab's biographer and disciple, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi, does not mention. The trip was apparently made in highly impecunious circumstances. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Wahhab and his father travelled through the jungle by foot. Practically starving, they sometimes spent their nights sitting in trees to protect themselves from wild animals. Shaikh Waliu'llah never faltered and his determination helped raise his son's spirits.

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Muzaffar, Shaikh (d. 1400/01A.D.)

Shaikh Muzaffar's the most prominent disciples of Shaikh Shara fu'd-Din ancestors came from Balkh. His father was the disciple of an eminent sufi of Bihar called Shaikh Ahmad Charm-Posh (One Who Wears Skins), a cousin of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din. But his son, who had obtained a good religious education,decided to become Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's disciple because of the latter's scholastic achievements. On his teacher's advice, Shaikh Muzaffar left for Delhi where he studied for two years, at the same time teaching in a seminary founded by Sultan Firuz.

When a feeling of intense spiritual ecstasy seized him, he returned to Bihar. Sharafu'd-Din ordered him to act as a menial domestic at the *khanqah*, serving other dervishes so that the conceit which usually overpowered an *alim* (which he had become through study) could be replaced by humility. Constant ascetic exercises in the seclusion of the *khanqah* made his body a mere skeleton of bones with little flesh.

Impressed by his spiritual achievements, the Shaikh advised him that this life was no longer necessary and that he was free to live anywhere of his own choice. Shaikh Muzaffar moved from Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's *khanqah*, but he strictly adhered to the sufi rule that whatever was received in charity should be given away the same day it had been obtained.

Through correspondence, Shaikh Muzaffar remained in touch with his *pir*. But he refused to allow others to see these letters from Shaikh

Sharafu'd-Din Yahya'. About two hundred of them were said to have been buried in the grave of Shaikh Muzaffar, according to a directive contained in his will. A bag containing twenty-eight letters survived, which were later compiled into a book-form and also published in 1870.

After his *pir's* death, Shaikh Muzaffar, his brother, Shaikh Mu'izz, and the latter's talented son, Shaikh Husain, decided to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage, via Chittagong. By 798/1395-96, when they reached Bengal, the Ilyas-Shahi Sultan, Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah (1389-1409), was ruling. He had greatly improved trade and commerce, developed the port of Chittagong and established cultural and diplomatic relations with China. The relations of the Ilyas-Shahi rulers of Bengal with the Hindus were cordial and they occupied high posts in the government.

The Sultan, however, also respected Muslim sufis and men of talent. He is known to have invited the great Persian poet, Hafiz of Shiraz, to migrate to Bengal. He welcomed the party of Shaikh Muzaffar and treated them as state guest. The Shaikh, however, was annoyed because of the delay by the administration in arranging their travel.

To his great disappointment, many high posts were held by the Hindus. He addressed Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din as his 'prosperous son' but reminded him to be holy and pious like Sultan Firuz Shah. In a letter the Shaikh wrote:

> "This Sultan Firoz, may God forgive him his sins! Had established association with many holy men. When for some days his holiness, Syed Jalalu'd-Din (Bukhari) may his resting place be blessed ! came to him, he met him and derived many benefits from his association with the Syed and showed constancy and firmness in them. He had, however, developed a tendency that whatever he said in anger on matters of murders and retribution, before his orders could take effect, he admitted that they did not mean his command but something which he had hastily said by way of accusation in a fit of anger without due considerations. Then he enquired about the opinion and the 'Fatwas' of the Qazis, and the Muftis had to cite precedents after which he gave his award. He used to say 'Oh God ! it is not the orders of your slave, Firoz, but thine command; the cannon laws of thine say so.' He learnt to say the 'Chasht' or the morning prayer and 'Tahajjud' (night prayer) from the saintly saint after the latter's arrival (at Delhi from Uch, near Multan). When the Sultan grew old he took his residence in his newly built mansion and had it proclaimed throughout the city of Delhi that whosoever might have any grievance or claims against Firoz, the slave of God, might come and put forward his charges and claims which he would satisfy."

In another letter the Shaikh advised the Sultan that high government posts should not be given to Hindus and wrote:

> 'The Exalted God has said, "Ye who believe! take not into your intimacy those outside the ranks." The long and short of the matter is that in commentaries and lexicons they have said that the faithful should not make the unbelievers and strangers their confidants and ministers. If they say that they do not make them their favourites and friends but for the sake of expediency, the reply is that God says that it is not expediency but the cause of trouble and sedition. He says "La yalunakum Khabalan" (they will not fail to corrupt you), i.e., "*La yagseruna* Ifsad-i-Amrekum' (they will not hesitate or spare themselves in creating troubles for you). Therefore, it is incumbent on us that we should listen to the divine command and cast aside our weak judgement. God says "Wadduna Ma Anittum" [may only desire (be) your ruin], i.e. when you make them intimate with yourself they will love to invoke you in evil deeds. An infidel may be entrusted with some work but he should not be made Wali (chief supervisor or Governor) so that he may have control over and impose his authority on Muslims. God says "let not the

believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers and neglect God: If any do that, in nothing will there be help from God except by way of precaution,that ye may guard yourselves from them. There are severe warnings in the Qur'an, the 'Hadis' and historical works against those who have given authority to the unbelievers over the believers. God grants opulence and provisions from unexpected sources, and He gives deliverance from them. "There is authoritative promise of provisions, victory and prosperity. The vanquished unbelievers with heads hanging downward, exercise their power and authority and administer the lands which belong to them. But they have also been appointed (executive) officers over the Muslims, in the lands of Islam, and they impose their orders on them. Such things should not happen."

About the end of 800/1397-98 or early 801/1398-99, the party left from Chittangong for Mecca. Shaikh Mu'izz died there as did Shaikh Muzaffar at Aden in 803/1400-01. Shaikh Husain returned to Bihar. His letters, quoted in the Akhbaru'l-Akhyar, are reminiscent of Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din's style. They are marked by a unique flavour gained from his understanding of the theories of the *Wahdat al-Wujud*. In one letter, Shaikh Husain pleaded that the main reason for conflict among people over the idea of God was the fact they were concerned with form.

Those who transcended such ideas managed to reach God and see His Being, and were known as *muwahhid* or unitarians for they saw and worshipped God alone. As such souls remained uninvolved in critical disputes, they were at peace with all. Every spiritual effort should be directed towards attaining the Great Ocean and Limitless Light of God. Sufis should gain an insight into this so as to be rid of *shirk* (polytheism) and reject *hulul* and *ittihad*.

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Muzaffar Shams Balkhi (1320A.D. — 1400A.D.)

Medieval Indian Sufi master. Born of a family from Balkh in Afghanistan, the date of his birth is unknown, but may have been in the decade of the 720s/1320s. After an education in Dihli, he joined his father in Bihar Sharif. His intellectual disposition led him to become a disciple of Sharaf al-Din Ahmad Maneri (d. 970/1562) instead of Ahmad Carmpush his father's poetically-inclined but less well-educated guide Muzaffar was sent back to Dehli again for further studies, and then the Tughlukid Sultan Firuz Shah appointed him lecturer in the royal *madrasa*.

After a conversion experience, he returned to Bihar, where Sharaf al-Din Maneri continued his spiritual formation. He reached the stage when he felt liberated from all worldly attachments except from his wife, but exclaimed to his guide that he would divorce her. Approving

of the sentiment, but not of the idea, Sharaf al-Din announced that his training was complete.

Muzaffar was incapable of staying in one place. He journeyed far and wide, spending time in Mecca and eventually dying at Aden in 803/1400. He received more than 200 letters from his spiritual guide Sharaf al-Din of which only 28 are extant (*as maktubat-i djawabi* in Sharaf al-Din, *Sih sadi maktubat,* Lahore n.d. 301-31). There is an extant, though unpublished collection of Muzaffar's own letters (mss. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Pers. no. 2619, and Acc.no. 1859/2 (181 letters in each ms.); a third ms. in the private library of Balkhi Sahib, Patna), and a small *diwan* (ed. Patna 1959).

His compendious commentary on Radi al-Din Saghani's *Masharik al-anwar* has not come to light. Although, he was the chief successor to Sharaf al-Din Maneri, he is more remembered as an intellectual than as a spiritual guide. He was succeeded in this latter role by his nephew Husayn.

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N

Nabi Pir (13th Century A.D.)

Nabi Pir was an eminent sufi saint of Assam. He was a brother of the famous saint, Azan Pir. Like other saints and religious persons of Assam his life and activities are also not known. We know this much that he came with his brother and stayed near Simalugari in the Sibsagar district of Assam. Some people claim to be the descendants of this saint.

After a deep scrutiny of the information, we have at our disposal about the saints of Assam and its neighbourhood, we can say that the historians and biographer of later period did not do justice with those saints. They did not take the trouble of collecting materials regarding their life and activities.

It is also strange to note that the saints, who were themselves scholars and learned persons except a few, did not write books about their missionary activities, their thoughts, principles and mode of teachings.

The presence of a galaxy of shrines, dargahs, khanqahs and other places of pilgrimage proves that Assam had been centres of Sufi Activities ever since the thirteen century A.D.

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Najabat (18th Century)

Najabat was Haral Rajput and originally he belonged to Matilan Harlan, District Shahpur. About his birth, education and parents no authentic proof is available. First time, the Governor of Punjab Sir Edward Macman collected some parts of Najabat's composition. And later on, Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul systematised the stuff. Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul published this collected material in journal of the Punjab.

Name historical society Vol. XVI No. I by the title ballad on Nadar Shah. Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul gave his view in the introduction of this ballad that some people believed that the composition had been written by Sayyad Charag, (who laid the foundation of Ravalpindi, city). Najabat was the disciple of Sayyad Charag. This ballad was popularised by Najabat, originally written by Sayyad Charag.

This version of Hari Kishan Kaul is unbelievable because Sayyad Charag was so fanatic and communal in his faith of Islam that he could have never used the symbol of Hindu philosophy as Najabat has used. So, all the people unanimously admit that the composition has been written by Najabat and not by Charag.

This Var describes the violence committed during Nadar Shah's invasion on India. Undoubtedly poet's sympathy goes with the victimised people, who were curshed by the cruelty of tyrant Nadar Shah. Innocent people were mercilessly slaughtered. Najabat has got great hatred for the cruel army of Nadar Shah. He not only condemmed them but ridiculed also.

Najabat has selected suitable words according to the atmosphere of battlefield. According to Prof. Parminder Singh and Kirpal Singh Ksel, poet Najabat has aroused the feelings of patriotism in his poetry. He backs the fighting force of India that they should run away from the battlefield if they retreated the Indian well never excuse them.

Poet calls Nadar Shah a tyrant, a traitor and a coward administrator. Poet says that the cruel attack on Indians will be blotted in the pages of History.

Actually Nadar Shah was expert in picturising the atmosphere of battlefield, perhaps he himself had been the soldier in some army. His vigorous words arouse the enthusiasm and even a coward man is filled up with great zeal and zest, to sacrifice for the cause of native land.

Language of Najabat so simple and lucid that Chandi di Var composed by Guru Gobind Singh, from linguistic point of view can not compete Najabat di Var.

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Nakshband, Baha'al-Din (1318A.D. — 1389A.D.)

Nakshband, Khwadja Baha al-Din, Muhammad b. Muhammad (718-91/1318-89) eponym of the Nakshbandiyya, a still active Sufi order that has been second in the extent of its diffusion only to the Kadiriyya (with which it has often been intertwined, especially in India and Kurdistan). The epithet Nakshband is sometimes understood in connection with the craft of embroidering, and Baha' al-Din is said, in fact, to have assisted his father in weaving the embroidered Bukharan cloaks known as *kimkha*.

More commonly, however, it is taken to refer to the fixing, in the purified tablet of the heart, of the imprint of the divine name *Allah* by means of silent and permanent *dhikr* to the people of Bukhara, whose patron saint he became. Baha' al-Din was known posthumously as *khuadja-yi bala-gardan* ("the averter of disaster"). with reference to protective powers bestowed on him during his novitiate. Elsewhere, especially in Turkey, he is popularly called *Shah-i Nakshband*.

Descent from the Imam Dja'far al-Sadik has been attributed to Baha' al-Din Nakshband, but although the Imam does always appear in his initiatic *silsila*. Contemporary and near-contemporary sources make no mention of *sayyid* ancestry. They stress rather the position of Baha' al-Din as the seventh in a series of Central Asian masters (*khwajagan*) of Sufism which was inaugurated by Abu Yusuf Hamadani (d.534/1140 in Marw).

Soon after his birth in Muharram 718/ March 1318 in the Bukharan hamlet of Kasr-i Hinduwan (later renamed Kasr-i 'Arifan, out of deference to him), Baha al-Din was adopted as the spiritual son *(farzand)* of Khwadja Muhammad Sammasi, the fifth descendant of Hamadani Sammasi immediately assigned the infant's future spiritual training to his own principal *murid*, Khwadja Amir Kulal.

Kulal counts as Baha' al-Din's immediate predecessor in the *silsila*, for it was he who transmitted to him the essentials of the Path: the link of companionship *(nisbat-i suhbat)*, instruction in the customs of the Path *(ta'lim-i adab-i tarikat)*, and the inculcation of *dhikr* (*talkin-i dhikr*) ('Abd al-Rahman Djami. *Nafahat al-uns*. 381).

Nonetheless, as befitted the founder of a new order, Baha' al-din kept the company of a

wide variety of spiritual instructors. Early during his association with Amir Kulal, he had a vision in which he saw his six predecessors in the *silsila*, beginning with Khwadja 'Abd al-Khalik Ghidjduwani (d. 617/1220), a successor of Hamadani. This vision amounted to a second initiation, for Ghidjduwani enjoined on Baha' al-Din- among other things the exclusive practice of silent *dhikr*, as opposed to the vocal *dhikr* in which Amir Kulal and his circle customarily engaged.

Once back in the world of external reality. Baha al-Din began to comply with this command, but Amir Kulal continued to hold him in high esteem. He ultimately pronounced his preceptorial duties to be at an end and freed Baha al-Din to seek out other Shaykhs: "both Turk and Tadjik"

The ethnic and linguistic differentiation between Turk and Tadjik was reflected in 8th/14th century Transoxianan Sufism in a dichotomy between the Yasawi order (founded by Khwadja Ahmad Yasawi (d. 562/1167 [*q.v.*] another disciple of Hamadani). Which flourished among Turkic speakers and the Persian speaking *khwadjagan* and their adherents. Since, the Nakshbandiyya was destined to spread to almost every region of the Turkish world in the space of a few generations, it was appropriate that Baha' al-Din should spend part of his apprenticeship with the Yasawi masters who were known to their contemporaries as the "Turkish *shaykhs*" (*mashayikh-i trak*).

First, however, Baha al-Din spend seven months in the company of another Tadjik *shaykh*. Mawlana Arif Dikgarani perfecting under his guidance the practice of the silent *dhikr*. He next spent two or three months with Kutham Shavkh, a Yasawi master resident in Nakhshab, before joining the following of a second Yasawi *shaykh*, Khalil Ata, for a full twelve years.

The chronological problems posed by the sources (works of hagiography, the Timurid chronicles and the *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta) are imposible to resolve, but it seems certain that Khalil Ata is identical with Kadan/Ghazan Khan, a singularly ferocious individual who ruled over the Caghatayid khanate for roughly a decade. It is tempting to see in Baha al-Din's association with Khalil Ata the origin of the penchant of several later Nakshbandis for establishing ascendancy over rulers, but such an interpretation is excluded by a careful reading of the sources.

After the overthrow of Khalil Ata, Baha al-Din retired to his birthplace to begin training his own disciples, most of whom came from Bukhara and its environs. He left the region himself only three times, twice to perform the *hadjdj* and once to visit Herat. There, he met with the ruler Mu'izz al-Din Husayn and explained to him the principles of his path.

He died on 3rd Rabi I, 791/2nd March, 1389, and was buried at Kasr-i Arifan. Surrounded by a continually expanding complex of buildings, the tomb became a place of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over Asia as well as the site, for Bukharans, of spring festivities known as *id-i gul-i surkh* ("red rose festival' ; see O.A. Sukhareva, Bukhara vol. XIX *vehe*, Moscow 1966, 38).

Baha al-Din's principal successors were Khwaja Ala al-Din Attar (d. 802/1393), whom he had honoured with marriage to his daughter. Khwaja Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419) a prolific author who counts as founder of the learned traditions of the Nakshbandi order. Mawlana Ya'kub Carkhi (d.851/1447) who originated in the region of Ghazni, Attar was the leading figure among these three, but it was Carkhi who proved the most important for the continuation of the Nakshbandi line; he was the preceptor of Khwaja Ubayd Allah Ahrar (d.896/1490) under whose auspices the Nakshbandiyya both established its supremacy in Central Asia and began its expansion in the wider Muslim world.

Baha al-Din left behind no writings (with the possible exception of the litany named after him, *Awrad-i Baha'iyya*) and he even discouraged his disciples from recording his sayings. The precise outlines of his teachings are, then, hard to discern, not because of the profusion of hagiographic legend that enshrouds so many Sufis, but because of the ex-

iguous and sometimes elliptic nature of the sources.

It is particularly difficult to establish why he should have become an eponymous figure, the central link in the *silsila* of which he is a part, instead of for example, Ghidjduwani. The eight principles of spiritual conduct (*kalimat i kudsiyya*) first enunciated by Ghidjiduwani have, after all, been reiterated in Nakshbandi handbooks down to the present; precisely the fact that Baha' al-Din added three further principles to the eight would seem to reinforce the primacy of Ghidjduwani.

These three were: *wukufi zamani* (temporal awareness), the constant examination of one's spiritual state during *dhiks. wukuf-i adadi* ("numerical awareness"), the enumeration of the times *dhikr* is performed in order to discourage the intrusion of distracting thoughts; and *wukuf-i kalbi* ('awareness of the heart') the direction of attention to the physical heart in order to make it participate in the work of *dhikr*.

All three principles relate, then to *dhikr:* combined with the fact that Baha, al-Din set himself apart from the other disciples of Amir Kulal through insistence on silent *dhikr*, this suggests that the question of *dhikr* was crucial for the early coalescence of the Nakshbandi order.

Other features of early Nakshbandi practice were also linked to the concern for sobriety and anonymity implied by the choice of silent *dhikr*. Among them are the repudiation of music and dance (*sama*); the deprecation of charismatic feats (*karamat*); the avoidance of retreats in favour of the keeping of pious company (*subhat*); and the shunning of distinctive forms of dress.

All these features are highly reminiscent of the Malamati movement of Nishapur, and it may be suggested that Baha al-Din Nakshband was the heir to the traditions of the Malamatiyya although not in a formal, initiatic sense.

Other recurrent features of the Nakshbandi path, such as fidelity to the *shari'a* in the political and social spheres as well as in devotional life, and a marked hostility to Shi'i Islam, were established in later periods; they cannot bé traced directly to Baha' al-Din. Similarly, the mildly critical attitude to Ibn 'Arabi adopted by some Nakshbandis of the Mudjad-didi line cannot be attributed retroactively to Baha' al-Din and his circle. Although, there is no trace of acquaintance with the concepts of Ibn 'Arabi in the dicta of Baha' al-Din, both 'Attar and Parsa were enthusiastic exponents of his work.

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Nakhshabi, Khwaja Ziyal (d. 1350/51A.D.)

Among the disciples of Shaikh Farid, the most notable was Khwaja Ziya' Nakhshabi. Virtually, nothing is known of his ancestors, but it appears they were from Nakhshab in the Sought province and had migrated to Nagaur during the Mongol invasion of that area. Khwaja Ziya'u'd-Din's fame is based on his scholarship and mastery of the didactic and on his sufi poetry which was often interspersed in his prose. A born raconteur, his works in Persian describe many well-known sufi teachings, but it was his charming style which made them memorable.

The *Silku's-Suluk* (String of Sutism) of Ziya'u'd-Din Nakhshabi describes the basic principles of the movement in 151 short chapters. The writer considered that only a knowledge of the *Tawhid* and the Shari'a excelled a general understanding of sufism. To him the intellect and love were diametrically opposed. The 'ulama' were masters of the intellect and faqirs were people of love, and both these elements dominated each other. Only prophets could dominate both of them, as human beings were the weakest of all creatures.

Prayers should be made prior to the occurrence of a calamity, wrote Ziya'u'd-Din. There was a story that the king of Nishapur sent a message to a dervish to beg him to avert a Mongol invasion. The dervish replied that it was already too late and only a surrender to the divine will was advisable at that stage. Moreover, according to the *Silku's-Suluk*, the virtuous only spoke when it was imperative to do so, and there were many people who for years had spoken only words from the Qur'an.

In one chapter of the work, Ziya'u'd-Din stated that men were divided into four categories. Firstly, there were the ostensibly pious, who were inwardly unworthy; these were the worldly. Secondly, there were people who were inwardly brilliant, but externally bad. They were *majzubs*. Thirdly, there were those whose inward condition was as evil as the outward one. They were the common people. Fourthly, there were people who were excellent both inwardiy and outwardly. They were the sufis.

Explaining that the world was a prison, Shaikh Ziya'u'd-Din related the following story. A man who was attached to the pleasures of this world asked for water at the house of a dervish and was given warm, bitter water. Upon complaining, the thirsty man was told by the dervish that human beings were prisoners and that they therefore never drank good water.

Ziya'u'd-Din Nakhshabi advised the 'ulama' to imitate sufis in the path of renunciation. He also urged the latter to heed the 'ulama' on religious matters. *'Alims* should adopt the customs of dervishes and they in turn should imitate the intellectual dedication of scholars. Without some of the qualities of a dervish an *'alim* was like an animal and a dervish without some of the virtues acquired from learning was ineffectual in his own spiritual journey.

Among Nakhshabi's other works, f' *Ashra-i Mubasshshara* and *Kulliyyatwa Juziyyat* are of interest, but he is mainly remembered for his work the *Tuti Nama* (Stories from a Parrot). This is the Persian version of the Sanskrit work entitled *Suka-Saptati* by Chintamani Bhatta. The original contains seventy stories which a parrot told his mistress on seventy successive nights in order to prevent her, in the absence of her husband, from meeting a lover. The tales are largely derived from the *Panchtantra* and *Hitupdesha*. The *Suka-Saptati* was so popular that, in the thirteenth century, it was translated into Persian, but this version was tediously long

and inelegant in style. The original seventy stories in Nakhshabi's version were reduced to fifty-two and the new work contained a large number of Hindi words. Nakhshabi arranged it in a more elegant style and substituted some new stories for the old.

Moreover, Nakhshabi dubbed the characters with Arabic names, adding a Persian background and changed the ending. In the Sanskrit work, the husband returns home at the end of the seventy nights, and after admitting her planned adultery, the wife is reconciled to him. The parrot admits he was Gandharb, and obtains his release, returning to the court of Raja Indra.

In Nakhshabi's work, however, the parrot detains the heroine for fifty-two nights, and reveals her evil intentions on the husband's return. The latter kills his wife and frees the parrot. The husband then embraces sufism.

It is difficult to assess how far Nakhshabi drew on the original Sanskrit, but it is apparent that he must have understood the language. The work he wrote on sex and coition, containing a classification of female physical types, is based on the *Rati Rahasya* (mysteries of Passion) by Kokapandita or Kukkoka who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Nakhshabi called it the Lazzatu'n-Nisa' (Sex Enjoyments). The work shows a deep influence of the Hindu view of desire and love or *Kama*, which involved a belief in education rather than inhibition in sex.

To Shaikh Nakhshabi, Islam was a religion which both offered and incorporated a middle path. In his Tuti Nama, he ended his preface with the poem:

'Oh Nakhshabi! Adopt the religion of those who follow a middle course.
The Prophet himself has ordained to do so.
The middle of the road policy is praiseworthy.
The commandment of Islam is moderation.

Nakhshabi died in 751/1350-51, but his poetry and his major work, the *Tuti Nama*, have helped to perpetuate much of the fame he achieved during his life.

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Nakhshabi, Shaykh Diya'al Din (d. 1350A.D.)

Nakhshabi, Shaykh Diya'al-Din, a famous Persian author (not to be confused with the famous Sufi Shaykh Abu Turab Nakhshabi, d. 245/860), very little is known of his career.

His *nisba* suggests that he came from Nakhshab, but he went to India where he became a murid of Shaykh Farid, a descendant of the celebrated Shaykh Hamid al-Din Naguri. The *Akhbar al-akhyar* of 'Abd al-Hakk Dihlawi (Dihli 1309/1891-2, 104-7) says that he died in

Bada'un after a long and contemplative life and that his tomb is there.

Nakhshabi was a prolifie writer who used his knowledge of Indian languages to translate Indian books into Persian His best known work is the *Tuti-nama* ("Book of the Parrot"), very popular in India and Central Asia, based on the Sanskrit Cukasaptati (partly translated into Greek by d. Galanos, Athens 1851).

In the preface to this book, Nakhshabi tells us that one of his patrons showed him an old Persian translation of this work and persuaded him to do it again as the language of the old translation was too simple and artless. Nakhshabi set to work and made a book of 52 chapters (called "nights") replacing some stories which did not seem to him sufficiently interesting by better ones.

The book, completed in 730/1330, is in the usual form of a framework with inset stories and is characterised by unusually fine language and bold metaphors and similes. Nakhshabi's language, however, seems to have been too difficult and precious for later generations, as by command of the Emperor Akbar, Abu'l-Fadl b. Mubarak rewrote the book in a simplified version (Rieu. 753b).

This version, however, was completely supplanted by Muhammad Kadiri (11th/17th century) who reduced it to 35 chapters. Kadiri's version became the foundation of a large number of translations into Hindi (Awari and Ghawwasi), Bengali (Candicarana Munshi), Turkish (Sari 'Abd Allah Efendi, printed Bulak, 1254/1838-9 and Constantinople 1256/1840-1) and Kazan Tatar.

There is also a metrical version in Persian by Hamid Lahuri (Bland, in JRAS, ix. 163). The same theme is taken by a number of popular versions which were disseminated in Persia in cheap lithographs under the title *Cil* (*cihil*) *tuti* ("40 parrots"). The text of one of these was published by V. Zhukovski (St. Petersburg 1901). Nakhshabi's work was known in Europe as early as 1792, when M. Gerrans published a free English translation of 12 nights, Kadiri's version was translated into German by C.I.L., Iken (Stuttgart 1822). This edition contains an essay on Nakhshabi and specimens of his *Tuti-nama* by Kosegarten. The Turkish version was translated into German by L. Rosen (Leipzig 1858). So far, no complete translation of the original work of Nakhshabi has been published.

Although, there is a French translation in ms. in Munich. E. Berthels has translated the book into Russian, but this version is also still in manuscript. (The eighth night was published in original text and German translation by H. Brockhaus Leipzig 1843, and in *Blatter fur literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843, nos. 242, 243, pp. 969 ff.).

His other works never attained anything like the popularity of the *Tuti-nama* but have almost all come down to us. Among them are: Gulriz "Scattered roses", a tale dealing with the loves of Ma'sum-shah and Nushaba. Djuziyyat u kulliyyat ("Particulars and generals") also called Ctl namus (Rieu. 740a), an allegory which deals with the descriptions of the various parts of the human body considered as the noblest work of God and as proof of His greatness; Ladjdjat al nisa', a Persian version of the *Kokasastra*, an Indian work on different temperaments and sexual intercourse. *Silk al-suluk*, a collection of sayings of celebrated mystics (lith. Dihli 1895), and *Nasa'ih u mawa'iz*, a brief treatise of a Sufi nature (Rieu, 738 a).

His treatise *'Ashara mubashshara* is only known from its mention in the *Akhbar al-akhyar* (see above). All the prose works of Nakhshabi are embellished with *kit'as* scattered through them, which show that he was also an excellent poet.

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Naqshbandi Mujaddid, Hazrat Amjad Ali (d. 1946/47A.D.)

At a distance of 11 miles from Silchar town at the village of Gobindpur, there is a *khanqah* of this saint. He was the *khalifa* of Shah Muhammad Ibrahim Khan Sahib alias Nosha Khan Sahib Rampuri Naqshbandi Mujaddidi. The district of Sylhet (Bangladesh) and that of Cachar (Assam) are humming with his adherents in thousands. He died in 1946-47 at the age of 72 years.

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Nasru'd-Din (d. 1451A.D.)

One of the favourite disciples and constant companions of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din was Nasru'd-Din commonly known in Kashmir as Nasr Rishi. He was the son of a wealthy family, living at Sazipur in the *pargana* of Yech. Once, when young, he fell ill and his digestion failed entirely. His parents spent lavishly, but all in vain.

On his sick-bed, he dreamed that he saw a group of people and enquired who they all were, and who was sitting in their midst. They replied that they were the body of *abdals* and seated in the middle was the celebrated Shaikh Nuru'd-Din of Kaimuh, and they suggested that he visit him as soon as he could, if he wished to be cured of his disease.

He told his parents what he had seen in the dream. They forthwith set off to wait upon the Shaikh, taking their son with them. Nuru'd-Din asked him what was wrong and what was his name. He described his disease and said: "My name is Nasr and my title is Raothar ("wrestler" in Kashmiri)." Nuru'd-Din told him : "Are you able to live up to your title ?" Nasru'd-Din replied : "If I had your favour, I could." Then Nuru'd-Din told one of his disciples to bring

food for Nasru'd-Din and asked the latter to eat as much as he could.

As soon as, he had finished the food he found a spiritual change in himself and bade farewell to his parents, saying : "I have found my physician". They were shocked and said : "Our life will be miserable without you". Nasru'd-Din replied : "To make it sweet, be with God." Thus, he bade farewell to the world and remained with Nuru'd-Din until his death.

During his spiritual apprenticeship, Nasru'd-Din was entrusted with the care of other disciples of Nuru'd-Din. It is said that Nasru'd-Din fasted and ate ashes mixed with water at the time of after. This, he did alone, and nobody knew of it.

One of the Shaikh's disciples thought that he was drinking milk himself, but proving only *sag* (spinach) for them. He complained to Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. The Shaikh asked him to watch Nasru'd-Din and snatch his cup as soon as he had prepared it. When he finally succeeded, he brought the cup to Nuru'd-Din, who asked him to taste it; he found that it was not milk but ashes, and was covered with shame.

Nuru'd-Din, then, asked Nasru'd-Din to take rice instead of ashes. It is reported that Nasru'd-Din made it his habit to take only a hundred grains of rice daily. According to Miskin, Shaikh Nuru'd-Din used gradually to reduce the quantity Nasrud'-Din ate until finally he took only twenty grains of rice as his full meal. Once, when under the command of the Shaikh, Nasru'd-Din began a retreat of forty days with only four walnuts to eat. After ten days in solitude, he was trying to crack the first walnut and Nuru'd-Din, who happened to pass by, heard the sound. He asked what he was going.

Nasru'd-Din replied by breaking a walnut. Nuru'd-Din remarked: "I thought you were breaking your *nafs* and here you are cracking a walnut". When Nasru'd-Din finished his retreat, he presented all four walnuts to the Shaikh.

Nasru'd-Din was the constant companion of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din from the day he joined him. Out of affection the Shaikh used to call him by the name of "Nasro" and addressed some of his sayings to him. The following sayings of the Shaikh on the subject "come good, come evil, there is an end" are addressed to Nasru'd-Din.

> "When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlum, that day has passed, O Nasar.
> When we had only thin curry and unsalted vegetables to eat, that day too has gone, O Nasar.
> When the wife was near and warm clothing covered, the bed, that day too has gone by, O Nasar.
> When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us, that day also has passed, O Nasar."
> " In those glittering halls of lords [khan],
> The great were told to shrink back.
> I say pretty damsels singing songs there;
> They were sweeping the dust with Yak's tails.
> There I now observed cotton being sown.
> I saw, O Nasar, thou mightiest also go to see it".

When Shaikh Nuru'd-Din died, Nasru'd-Din succeeded him as the head of the Rishis at Chrar. It is said that before Nasru'd-Din died, the Shaikh appeared to him in a dream and told him that he had done much good work and suffered much hardship and it was now time for Nasru'd-Din to join him (in the next world). The Sahikh also asked him to entrust the charge of the Rishis at Chrar to Malik Jogi Raina, who was one of the nobles of the royal court and who used often to visit Nuru'd-Din and later Nasru'd-Din.

Nasru'd-Din, in accordance with the command of the Shaikh, approached Malik Jogi who refused to accept the offer. But during the night a sudden change came over him; he became restless, tore out his clothes and rushed to Nasru'd-Din, who was near death. He nominated Malik Jogi as his successor and soon breathed his last, in 855/1451. He was buried next to his prospector at Chrar.

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Nasirud-Din Baghdadi Qadiri, Hazrat Syed (d. 1936 A.D.)

Hazrat Baghdadi Pir Sahib was an important sufi of the Goalpara district. His name has been recorded among those who preached the doctrines of Islam to the people of this region. This savant of Islam was the son of Hazrat Qurban Ali who had come to India from Baghdad.

It is narrated by his followers that he first came to Bombay and then migrated to Uttar Pradesh in connection with his jewel trade, and lived there for a number of years. Uttar Pradesh, specially Aligarh at that time was humming with social and literary activities of Sir Syed Ahmad (1817-1898 A.D.) the founder of Muhammaddan Oriental College, now Aligarh Muslim University. Hazrat Pir Baghdadi joined Sir Syed Ahmad in collecting funds for the said college.

Having finished his job at Aligarh he came to Calcutta and Sundarbans (West Bengal), and from there he came to Sirajganj in the district of Pabna (now Bangladesh) with a view to dealing in jute, where he got married and lived for sometime. Then he came to Mymensing where he lived for many years, and had property with residential quarters. He had three sons by his first wife.

He had many disciples and followers at Sirajganj, Mymensing and throughout Bengal. From Mymensing he moved to Katarihara or Jaleswar at a distance of six miles from Lakhimpur in the Goalpara district (Assam). There was practically no human habitation there at that time. He settled there. He took a plot of 800 hundred bighas of land from the Zamidar of Lakhimpur with a view to constructing *khanqah*, mosque, madrasah and *musafir khana* and for cultivation as well. It is said that arrangement was made for food and lodging for the followers, travellers and the poor without discrimination of caste and creed.

With the passage of time the place Katarihara or Jaleswar developed socially, educationally and economically. There, he converted a Christian family and married a daughter of theirs. By the second wife, he had three daughters. The Pir Sahib left this world in 1342 B.S., 5th Magh, Tuesday at day time (1936 A.D. most probably).

Baghdadi Pir Sahib was a great and learned Sufi of Qadiriya Order. He was well-versed in Urdu, Persian and Arabic and composed poems in the three languages. He had a dynamic personality and possessed deep knowledge of the Holy Quran, Hadith and Fiqh. He always quoted freely from the Quran and the Hadith in presence of educated persons. He was proficient in economics, geography and politics also. His book, *Ash'ar-e Haqaiq*, is an ample proof of his genius.

The mission of the Pir Sahib was to impart education both Islamic and modern to the people. He established the Katirinara Mazharul Uloom Senior Madrasah without taking any aid from the government. He brought qualified teachers from Sylhet and Chittagong. At present, the Madrasah is under the State Madrasah Board, Assam.

The *urs sharif* (death anniversary) of this saint savant and Sufi of Islam is celebrated every year on the 8th of Magh of Bengali year at his *khanqah*.

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Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi, Shaikh

Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi was a little before noon on a hot summer day in Delhi in the early years of Sultan Ata'uddin Khilji's reign that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya', the greatest Indo-Muslim saint of all times, left his comfortless room on the upper storey, which was burning like an oven, negotiated the clumsy and dangerous staircase, and was about to proceed to a little room that adjoined his Jama at-Khana, a large hall with tall, clumsy pillars in which his disciples lived, prayed and slept according to the principles prescribed for the community life of the mystics.

But the great Shaikh, who kept his nights alive with prayers, meditations and recitations of select verses, was not destined to enjoy his much needed midday rest. For, casting his eyes around him, he discerned a man of about forty-five or so standing in the courtyard under the banyan tree, which some years later was to spread it 's branches over the roof of the Jama'at-khana, so that the Shaikh and his friends might sit comfortably in the shade.

Something in the man, one of his newer disciples, attracted the great Shaikh, for he possessed, in a remarkable degree the 'intuitive intelligence, (*Nafs-i-Gira*) of the mystics. The new disciple had come to his master, even as Shaikh Baha'uddin Zakariyya had gone to Shaikh Shahabuddin 'Umar, the founder of the Suhrwardi Silsilah, after years of study, preparation and self-training.

He was, to quote a metaphor of the Great Shaikh himself, like 'dry wood' which the mystic-master had but to breathe on and it would burst into flames.

The Great Shaikh gave up the idea of his midday rest, turned to the gate-room (*Dihliz*) and sent one of the servants of the *Khanqah* to summon the new disciple. "Sit down," said the Great Shaikh, surveying the man with those red, sleep-laden eyes of his, well aware that even his *Khanqah* was fortunate in the advent of such a mystic. "What is in your heart ? What is your aim? What work did your father do ?"

From all his higher disciples Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya' ruthlessly demanded the complete severance of all earthly ties. They must have nothing to do with kings and high officers. They must not earn any livelihood; a feeling of security about his means of livelihood would imply that the disciple depended upon something other than Allah.

So no playing for security, if you are a mystic. Starve and be the guest of Allah ! Earlier Chishti mystics had only permitted two forms of livelihood — Zamin-i-Ahya, the cultivation of barren land by the mystic's own hand, and Futuh, the unasked charity of his neighbours. But the Great Shaikh apparently disapproved of the former as it made the mystic dependent upon the tax-collector. Unasked charity was the only livelihood he would permit.

The new disciple was prepared for all that the human mind and frame can bear in the search for Haq or the Absolute. He had already cast aside 'all earthly ties, though he belonged to a well-to-do family. "My father," Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud replied, "had slaves who traded in woolen cloth. The object of my devotions is to pray for the long life of the Shaikh, to

attend to the shoes of the Durweshes, and to serve them with my head and eye-balls."

The Great Shaikh's mind inevitably went back to those far-off days when, though the most distinguished of Delhi students and one whom every one expected to have 'a fine career,' he had, almost without an effort, cast all worldly temptations aside and presented himself at the Jama'at-Khana of Shaikh Fariduddin of Ajadhan, determined to tread the mystic path. He possessed nothing, absolutely nothing, in those days. A kindly lady had lent him her Chadar to wind round his waist while she washed his only pair of garments. He had not even a copper coin to buy a little paper on which to jot down his master's instructions.

Here, the Great Shaikh could not fail to see, was a true successor to him, to Shaikh Fariduddin and to all the great Chishti mystics of the past. "Bravo ! Now hear me," the Great Shaikh said, "When after finishing my studies I went to Shaikh Farid at Ajodhan, a friend and class-fellow of mine, with whom I used to have academic discussions (at Delhi), came and put up at an inn.

He had a servant to attend to his needs. Seeing me in my grimy and tattered clothes, he exclaimed: Maulana Nizamuddin! What misfortune has befallen you ? Had you taken to teaching work at Delhi, you would have become the leading scholar (Mujtahid) of the time with prosperity and sufficient livelihood., I said nothing in my justification but merely apologized and returned to Shaikh Farid.

What would be your answer to such a question?' Shaikh Farid asked. 'As the Shaikh directs,' I replied, Tell him, He then asked me to order a tray of every variety of dishes from his kitchen and to take it on my head to my friend, who genuinely surprised, came to see Shaikh Fariduddin, and was so charmed by his conversation that he entered the circle of his disciples."

There was no stopping the great Shaikh once he had started on his favourite theme. He went to the heart of every problem - to the heart of every man. Tears flowed down the Shaikh's cheeks as in that small Looh-swept room he expounded the principles of mysticism to the new disciple, who, on his part, took in everything and understood everything.

This is how, woven round a simple story and a plain verse, the last of the great Chishti mystics received the spiritual benedictions of his master.

The *Khair-ul-Majalis* of the inestimable Hamid Qalandar enables us to piece together some events about the family and early life of Shaikh Nasiruddin. He came from a family of emigrants to India and his grandfather, Abdul-Latif Yezdi, was born in the district of Lahore; but the family migrated to Oudh and Shaikh Nasiruddin was born in that historic centre of Hindu culture. His father, Yahya, died when he was nine years old, but the family was in affluent circumstances and his mother gave him a good education.

He studied the *Hidayah* and the *Pazudi* with Maulana Abd-ul-Karim Sherwani; and after the latter's death, he completed his studies in all subjects at Oudh under the instruction of Maulana Iftikharuddin Gilani. His relations wanted him to take up some work, but he would not hear of it, and at the age of twenty-five he definitely chose the mystic path.

Years later (in 1353 A.D.) he gave an account of his life at that time and his conception of a well-spent day. " There were pleasant mausoleums (in Oudh) in those days and well-laid out mango-groves. Now both the mausoleums and the mango-groves have disappeared. Every morning I would go out of my house with my brother-in-law, Khwaja Mahmud, father of my nephews, Moinuddin and Kamaluddin, reciting my Wazifa (religious formulae). On reaching the mausoleums, I would say to him, 'Khwaja, you can go home or pray in one of the mausoleums like me.'

He would select one of these alternatives. I said my Zuhr (afternoon) prayer there, At Asr-time I gave the call to prayer; about ten or twelve persons would collect together and I led the

congregational prayers. After saying my Maghrib (evening) and Isha (night) prayers there, I returned home reciting my Wazifa all the time. I could get a short afternoon nap (Qailulah) under the mango-groves where the weavers had spread their nets between the tree-trunks; there was no fear that a thief would steal my shoes or my water-pot. On reaching home, I would retire to my room on the roof and spend the whole night in my religious devotions. Years passed like this.

It was not till the death of his mother, who was buried behind the Id-gah of Ajodhya (or Oudh) that Nasiruddin Mahmud could come to Delhi at the age of forty-three and establish himself in a corner of Shaikh Nizamuddin's Jama at-Khana to share in its community-life. But family ties still bound him to Oudh. His younger sister, Bibi Lahori, was dead and her son, Kamaluddin, was being brought up by his elder sister, Bibi Buba-badi, along with her own son, Zainuddin Ali.

These two nephews were destined to live with him till the end of his days. He often went to visit his surviving sister. Our records only give us an incomplete account of these journeys. "Once," he tells us, " I returned from Oudh with my brothers and the father of Khwaja Yusuf. In those days, I had reduced my diet.' 'He has given up his diet,' my brother said to Mubashshir, the servant of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.' Please report the matter to the Shaikh.' Mubashir went to the Great Shaikh and exaggerated the matter still further. The Shaikh sent me a loaf of bread weighing two seers and Hilwa (sweetmeat) with instructions that I should finish them." He found the task difficult owing to the delicate condition of his stomach but carried out the Shaikh's order none-the less.

On another occasion he reached Delhi in mid-winter and found the Shaikh's Jama'at Khana crowded. "Putting you up is no burden or trouble to me," the great Shaikh apologised to him." But there are so many travellers here. Your relations in Oudh will also be anxious about you. The last sentence was probably a reference to the impending Mongol attack under Targhi. Shaikh Nasiruddin squeezed himself into the Jama'at-Khana somehow, but a week later orders were received from Sultan 'Ala'uddin summoning everyone within the City-walls. Shaikh Nasiruddin found refuge in the house of Maulana Burhanuddin Gharib, who was destined years later to lay the foundations of the Chishtiyah-Nizamiya Silsilah in the Deccan. The two became very close friends.

On another occasion, when returning from Oudh, Shaikh Nasiruddin saw a ruined gate (Dewrhi) by the side of the river Gumti, and took it into his head to pull it down and build a mosque on the spot with the material. The name of the place is not given in our records, but it may safely be identified with Jauras, where the mosque still stands. The inhabitants of the place claim to be descended from the Sister's of Shaikh Nasiruddin. The work took him some months, and before it was completed he heard of the death of his sister, Buba-Abadi. He left his servant or companion, Qazi 'Arif, to complete the work and went back to Oudh.

After staying there for forty days, he started for Delhi with his nephews. He was not destined to see his native town again. "You are coming from the right side," Shaikh Nizamuddin said to him, "You have done well in bringing your nephews along." He now definitely settled in the house of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib' in the City, which was at a considerable distance from the great Shaikh's Jama'at-Khana at Ghiaspur. His visits to the great Shaikh were therefore infrequent, but according to the Shaikh's own principles meeting one's master too often was not necessary.

There followed some fifteen years of externally uneventful life, during which Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud's reputation grew steadily among the mystic circles of Delhi. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was one of those few persons who have never been troubled by sex-desire. He had even a theory about it. "Marriage," the great Shaikh said, "is permitted but celibacy is a matter of courage. If a man is so absorbed in thoughts of God that he feels no promptings of sex-desire and is not conscious of what it is,

inevitably his eyes, and tongue and limbs will be protected (Mahfuz). He ought to remain unmarried. But if a man cannot be so absorbed and his heart is prompted by sex-desire, then he should get married.

The essence of the matter is cosmic emotion (Mohabbat). If a man's heart is absorbed in God, this will influence his body, but if his heart is distracted, then his body will be distracted also." Following the example of the Great Shaikh, some of his distinguished disciples, like Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi, also decided to live a celibate life.

Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud, who had not the Great Shaikh's constitutional immunity from sex-desire, had solved the problem for himself while still in Oudh. "In those early days," he says, "sex-desire began to trouble me, and I felt very depressed. In order to suppress this desire I drank so much lemon-juice that I was brought to the verge of death. Still I said to myself 'Death is preferable to a life of sex-desire."

He lived up to the highest standards prescribed by the Great Shaikh, poverty and resignation being the chief of them for "the mystics at the stage of resignation (Rada, Tawakkul) is like the corpse in the hands of the undertaker." Like the Great Shaikh and all his Chishti predecessors, he would have nothing to do with the great ones of this earth. "There are two terms of abuse among the mystics," he told Hamid in his later years, "*Muqallid* and *Jurt* Muqallid is a mystic who has no master. Jurt is a mystic who asks people for money, who wraps himself up in a costly cloak (Khirqah), puts on a mystic cap and goes to kings and high officers. Why ? I am a Durwesh. Give me something."

The great Chishti mystics had always avoided the courts of kings, and we find Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud telling Hamid a story on the subject. "Once upon a time, there was a king who had made it a rule that everyone could have access to him when he was sitting in the public Durbar. Petitioners came with their applications in their hands, which were taken by the chamberlains (*Hajibs*) and handed over to the king. There were gate-keepers (Darbans) at the entrance but they did not stop anybody.

"One day a Durwesh clad in a patched cloak (Khirqah) came to the king's gate and wished to pass according to the custom without any hesitation.

"Turn back! the gate-keeper shouted."

"The Durwesh was perplexed, 'Khwaja,' he asked the gate-keeper, 'Is it not the custom of this court that no one is forbidden entrance ? Everyone is going in. Why do you stop me? Is it on account of my short and insignificant cloak (Khirqah) ?

"Yes, replied the gate-keeper, that is exactly the reason why I am preventing your entrance. You are wearing the garb of saints; and people do not come in this garb to this door. Go back. Take off your saintly garb, put on the dress of worldly men and then I will allow you to enter. But respect for this garb (of the saints) prevents me from permitting you to come in."

"The Durwesh gave up the request (to the king) which he had in mind. 'I will not give up the garb of the Durweshes, he replied."

In the years to come Shaikh Nasiruddin's principles vis-a-vis the Kings of the day were to be sternly tested. But for the present his one desire was to live the life of a mere devotee. "For years," he says, " I had entertained the desire that with a loin-cloth (Mirzai) round my waist, a coat round my body and a cap on my head, I might wander from mosque to mosque on hills and plains."

He asked his friend, the poet Amir Khusrau, who saw the Great Shaikh almost every day after dinner and was allowed to talk of almost everything he liked, to intercede for him with the Great Shaikh, so that he might be allowed to worship God in a corner. But Shaikh Nizamuddin, who even then was contemplating appointing him as his chief *Khalifa* or Successor at Delhi, would not hear of it. "Tell Nasiruddin," he told Khusrau, "That he ought to live among the people, submitting to their cruelties and blows and responding to them with humility, generosity and kindness."

Of his eminence among the disciples of the Great Shaikh there can be no doubt. Amir Khurd, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, who passed his early years in the precincts of the Great Shaikh's Jama at-Khana, says that "among the disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, Shaikh Nasiruddin was like the moon among the stars."

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya died on 18th Rabi II, 725 A.H. (March 1325) and his furnieral prayers were led by Shaikh Ruknuddin, grandson of the famous Suhrawardi saint, Shaikh Baha'uddin Zakariyya of Multan, who happened to be then at Delhi. Some three months or so before his death, he had at the instance of Amir Khusrau and others ordered Certificates of Succession (*Khilafat-Namas*) to be prepared.

The first mystic to receive his Certificate was Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, grandson of Shaikh Jamal of Hansi, the senior disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin of Ajodhan. Shaikh Nasiruddin came second, but the Great Shaikh made it clear that precedence in this matter was irrelevant and ordered them to embrace each other. In accordance with the directions of the Great Shaikh, his Successors left for various parts of India.

Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib' went to Gulbarga; Akhi Siraj, whose descendant, Shaikh Nur, was to make a great provincial reputation for himself, went back to his native province of Bengal; and Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar retired to Hansi, where his grandfather was still tenderly remembered. Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud along with a co-successor, Shaikh Shamsuddin Yahya, was left to lead the Great Shaikh's disciples and to continue his traditions at Delhi.

The Jamaat-Khana of the Great Shaikh was claimed by the descendants of his sister by right of inheritance. Shaikh Nasiruddin took up his residence in a house where his mausoleum now stands, prepared to face poverty and all other misfortunes. Today, he told Hamid in 1353 A.D., " I have a number of followers and also guests at my meals. But at that time I fasted for one day (without Iftar-food) and then for another day. I had a friend, named Nathu of Patwa. He brought two pieces of bread, God knows whether of Mash or barley. He had placed a little vegetable over one piece and the other piece of bread over it. He untied the cloth in which he had brought them and placed them before me. What a joy it was ! .... And how delightful it was when I had no lamp (Chiragh) in my house and no fire (in my kitchen) during the day. The number of my relations was so large that they could have provided for ten persons like me; but I gradually made them understand my mind and they gave up the thought of making any provision for me. If a man of the world came to see me, I would put on the cloak (*Khirqah*) of my Shaikh to hide my poverty."

It was under these conditions that Shaikh Nasiruddin was driven into a conflict with Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq.

The matter requires some explanation. "To the mystics of all creeds it is forbidden to associate with kings and government officers," says the apocryphal Malfuzat of Shaikh Fariduddin of Ajodhan. The sentence very neatly expresses the traditions of the Chishti *Silsilah*. We find Shaikh Nasiruddin at one place making a distinction between what we would now call the Revolutionary State, in which government posts are a means of service, and the Class-State, which is founded on power, dominations and the interests of the governing class. But the Revolutionary State, according to him, had only existed during the days of the Prophet and the Pious Caliphs. All political organisations since then have been Class-States, or rather Class-Governments.

Now it is one of the primary duties of the mystic to keep away from such a government; for a government servant or a government pensioner will not have a soul which he can call his own. A gift of Nathu of Patwa (God bless him!) is welcome because it is unconditioned. A government gift can never be unconditioned. You cannot, if you are a government servants, search for the Lord with a care-free soul and you are deceiving yourself - and others - if you think you can serve God and Mammon at the same time. The tradition of a century and a quarter in

India, and of a much longer period in foreign lands, demanded that the Chishti Shaikhs should avoid the courts of Kings. On the whole, one should be grateful for the fact that Islam came into India through the peaceful immigration of middle-class men and workers, and not as an appanage to the kings, their courtiers, their armies and their harems.

Shaikh Fariduddin had lived at distant Ajodhan, far from the atmosphere of kings and courts, and on the only occasion when he was visited by a high officer, Ghiyathuddin Balban Ulugh Khan (later on, Sultan Balban), he absolutely refused a gift of four villages offered by the latter. Shaikh Nazamuddin, living at Delhi, had to face the music but he refused to relax his principles. If high officers came to see him, he did not refuse them an interview.

He was always annoyed. "They waste the time of this Durwesh," he would say. It was with the greatest difficulty that Malik Qara Beg, a high officer of Alauddin, succeeded in inducing the Great Shaikh to go an audition-party (*Suma*) which the Malik had arranged in his honour. But that was the absolute limit. At a time, when the Great Shaikh and his companions were starving, Sultan Jalaluddin sent him the grant of a village as a gift. But he would not accept it and he told his companions that if they wished to leave him, they were welcome to do so.

Owing to Amir Khusrau, who was Jalaluddin's 'Keeper of the Qur'an, and poet-laureate, the Sultan developed a desire to see the Shaikh. But the Great Shaikh would not hear of it. "My room has two doors," he said, "If the Sultan come through one door, I will leave by the other." Ultimately, in order to avoid a surprise visit of the Sultan, the Great Shaikh left Delhi and went to visit Shaikh Farid's tomb at Ajodhan.

Sultan 'Ala'uddin Khilji, a terrible master for the bureaucracy, kept in stern check the Qadis (judges) and Sudur (guardians of charitable endowments) who drew a salary from his treasury, and the historian Diauddin Barni, writing in the early years of Firoz Shah's reign, laments that as 'Ala'uddin had subjected the judiciary to the executive, that bad custom had continued in succeeding reigns.

Though Barni, himself a disciple of the great Shaikh, forgets the teaching and principles of his master so far as to express his surprise 'that 'Ala'uddin never called the Great Shaikh to his Court or went to see him,' he assures us at the same time that no words ever passed the Sultan's lips to which the Shaikh could possibly object. There was, in spite of his indefensible crimes, a deep religious strain in 'Ala'uddin's mind and he allowed all sorts of religious people in his country to worship their God - and his - in whatever way they liked. He was prepared to help the Chishti mystics when they were in real need, but except in one case his assistance was not accepted. And where no payment had been made, 'Ala'uddin demanded no services.

Matters, however, came to ahead in the reign of Sultan Mubarak Shah Khilji. Khidr Khan, the Sultan's elder brother, whom he had ordered to be murdered in cold blood in the Gwalior fort, was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin. But Shaikh Nizamuddin was not concerned in the struggle of princes and seems to have taken no notice of the affair. Unfortunately, an ex-disciple of the Shaikh, who had been trained by the Shaikh in his Jama'at-Khāna, one Shaikhzada Jam, wanted to attain to greatness through Palace-intrigues and even dreamt of setting himself up as a rival to the Great Shaikh.

It was said that Mubarak had obtained the throne through Shaikhzada Jam's prayers. The Great Shaikh's prayers, of course, were not available for such matters; they were the exclusive monopoly of the poor, the helpless and the oppressed. One thing led to another and the bitterness in Mubarak Shah's heart increased. He had built a great mosque, the Masjid-i-Miri, and wanted the Shaikh to come there for his Friday prayers. But the Shaikh would not hear of it. "The mosque nearest to my house has the greatest claim on me," he remarked and went for

his Friday prayers to the Kailugarhi Mosque as before.

The Shaikh and the Sultan came together at one assembly - the Siyyum of Maulana Diauddin Rumi - but though the two accounts we have of the incident are slightly different, it is clear that neither the Shaikh nor the Sultan cared to take any notice of each other. Mubarak Shah went so far as to station his officers to see that no government servants went to the Shaikh's Jama'at-Khana, but Shaikh Nizamuddin ordered the expenditure on his kitchens to be doubled and the crowd of visitors to his Jama'at-Khana increased. Hurt to the quick, Mubarak Shah declared that he would summon the Shaikh by an administrative order, to be executed by force if necessary, on the first day of the new month.

It was a custom in those days, after the new moon had been seen, for all the high officers and distinguished men of the City (Delhi) to assemble at the Palace to congratulate the Sultan. The Great Shaikh, of course, never went, but he used to send his servant, Iqbal, to represent him; and Iqbal stood among the greatest officers of the land and congratulated the Sultan. It is not known whether this custom of the Shaikh was an inheritance from the days of 'Ala'uddin Khilji; if so, it betokens a great tolerance on the part of that terrible monarch.

Mubarak Shah, however, had been receiving Iqbal's congratulations during the four years of his reign, but he declared that he would submit to the insult no longer. The Shaikh must come personally, or he would be brought. Of course, kindly intermediaries, anxious to work out a compromise or to find a solution, were not wanting; and there was much coming and going of high officers between the Imperial Palace and the Shaikh's Jama'at-Khana.

They found the Shaikh adamant; far from accepting a compromise, he would not even condescend to discuss the matter. All he did was to go and pray in tears at his mother's grave. The inmates of the Jama'at-Khana waited in fear of the approaching day. But the day never arrived. On the night previous to it, Mubarak Shah was assassinated by the Barwars and his head was thrown amongst the crowd from the roof of the palace.

With the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the policy of the Empire once more underwent a revolution. The Sultan was a disciple of Shaikh 'Ala'uddin, a grandson of Shaikh Fariduddin of Ajodhan. Now Shaikh 'Ala'uddin had passed his whole life between his house and the mausoleum of his grandfather. Strictly speaking, he enrolled no disciples himself, but gave them caps and garments on behalf of his grandfather after they had been placed on his grave. He also regarded kings and high officers as filth and dirt.

When Shaikh Ruknuddin, on his way to Multan from the Delhi court, took the trouble of going to Ajodhan, Shaikh 'Ala'uddin would neither ask him to stay nor offer him any hospitality. Shaikh Ruknuddin, riding in his litter and followed by his disciples, just caught Shaikh 'Ala'uddin while he was on his way to his house from the mausoleum of his grandfather, and the latter had no alternative but to embrace Shaikh Ruknuddin.

But on returning to his house, he bathed and changed his clothes. "This man," he said " has brought to my Khanqah the stench of the Court." No influence of Shaikh' Ala'uddin is traceable in the posse of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The Sultan was very keen on supporting the rationalists (Ahl-i-Ma'qulat) against the traditionists (Ahl-i-Manqulat). This problem did not interest the mystics and centuries before they had determined to pass it by. Sultan Muhammad was, it has been said, very cruel to the Qadis and all 'externalist scholars' (Ulama-i-Zahiri) who were in the service of the government.

His attitude towards the mystics, was different. He wanted them to march in tune with the imperial policy and to become officers of the State. NO Delhi Sultan was stronger or more powerful than Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq at the beginning of his reign; his resources were great, and the annexation of a large part of the Deccan having put plenty of jobs at his dis-

posal, he was in a position to pay handsomely for services rendered. The mystics were required to discard their *Khirqah* (patched frock) for the silken gown and broad waistband of government officers. The Sultan said that he wanted their advice and guidance, but everyone knew that the Sultan only wanted discussion in order to have an opportunity of defeating and overpowering his opponents and that in the end he would be guided by his own opinion. Still, for the starving mystics, living on the charity of their neighbours, the temptation of a guaranteed livelihood through government service was too great. The elderly mystics, who had starved and prayed for years, were obviously incapable of either directing a campaign or supervising office-work. But it was different with young men belonging to distinguished mystic families, who had completed their education but had not yet gone through the prolonged mystic discipline of the Chishti *Silsilah*. They could shift on to worldly things. For details of personal cases I must refer the reader to the *Siyarul-Auliya* of Amir Khurd. Almost all the descendants of Shaikh Fariduddin were enrolled in the Imperial bureaucracy; the descendants of Sayyid Mahmud Kirmani, a much-loved disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin, who had later established themselves round the Jama 'at-Khana of Shaikh Nizamuddin, followed the same path. Of the smaller fry there was no reckoning. When years later the Tughlaq Empire in the Deccan and the distant provinces collapsed, most of them were threatened with material and spiritual ruin, as the Great Shaikh had predicted. The historian, Diauddin Barni - perhaps representing the majority - was too historian, Diauddin Barni-perhaps representing the majority-was too far gone to recover; the iron of worldly desire had penetrated too deeply into his soul. Others, like Amir Khurd, came back to the mystic path again. Only three important disciples of the Great Shaikh - Shaikh Shamsuddin Yahya, Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar and Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud - ventured to ignore the Sultan. The brunt of the struggle fell on Shaikh Nasiruddin.

Shaikh Shamsuddin Yahya, probably the oldest of the great Shaikh's disciple, was summoned to the Sultan's Court. "What are you doing here ?" he was told, "Go and preach Islam among the temples of Kashmir." Now converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishti *Silsilah;* the Great Shaikh himself had made no converts. As Shaikh Shamsuddin showed no intention of leaving Delhi, the Sultan appointed officers to take him to Kashmir. But Shamsuddin dreamt that the Great Shaikh was calling him to himself. He developed an ulcer in the back. The Sultan suspected a trick and ordered Shamsuddin to be brought on his cot to the Court, but on satisfying himself that the man was at death's door, the Sultan perforce allowed the Shaikh to die peacefully in Delhi.

Shaikh Nasiruddin's trial came next. The Sultan had collected some 370,000 horsemen for the conquest of Khorasan. The death of Sultan Abu Said, the last of the Il-Khans of Persia, had left no central power in the land and pretenders were succeeding each other in quick succession. The assassination in 727 A.H. (1326 A.D.) of Tarmshirin Khan, the last of the Chagta'i Khans who wielded any real authority and who at the high of his power had invaded India, had plunged Mawara-un-Nahr into civil war. The prospects from this point of view were not bad. But a lot of questions, political and military, could have been asked. Why must you conquer Khorasan ? What good are you going to do there ? Can you really establish yourself permanently in that distant land ? Will your army not be entirely annihilated in the terrible Dasht (steppe) that divides India from the region because no proper arrangements for conveyance and supply can be made ?.

But Shaikh Nasiruddin had no intention of discussing politics or military affairs when he was summoned to the Court to help in the enterprise. The Sultan was whipping up public opinion in favour of the campaign and from that point of view Shaikh Nasiruddin had his value. But the Sultan's plan of summoning the Chishti Shaikhs to the Court was a novel idea. Nothing like that had happened before. Of course it was

impossible to avoid the summons; the Sultan would use force, if necessary, as he did, later on, in the case of Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar.

So firmly, with quiet determination and full preparedness to meet the consequences, Shaikh Nasiruddin went to the Palace determined to insult the Tughlaq Sultan as no great Sultan of Delhi had been insulted before.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq, to do him justice, was very anxious to please his quest, quite forgetful of the fact that the Shaikh was not of the stuff that courtiers are made of. He seated Shaikh Nasiruddin on his right hand and wished apparently for an opportunity to explain his plans. But the Shaikh was determined not to hear them.

"I wish to march in the direction of Khorasan," the Sultan said, "I want you to accompany me."

"*Insha'llah*- God willing-," replied the Shaikh. The Sultan felt that this reply was really a refusal and complained that the use of this well-known phrase indicated the desire to put off a thing (*Tab'id*).

The Sultan and the Shaikh-both of them men of academic learning-quarrelled about the use of this phrase. The atmosphere naturally became unpleasant and the Shaikh brought the altercation to an end by his final declaration. "No enterprise can succeed without the use of this (conditional) declaration. It indicates affirmation, not avoidance."

Puzzled by his guest's attitude, the Sultan ordered the midday meal to be served. But if he thought that the Shaikh would consider this an honour, he was mistaken. No Chishti Shaikh had dined with a Sultan before and Shaikh Nasiruddin, we are told, extended his hand to the dishes before him with the greatest reluctance.

"Give me some advice on which I may act," the Sultan asked him while they were dining.

Shaikh Nasiruddin had no intention of mincing words like his erstwhile acquaintance, the historian-courtier, Diauddin Barni. His reply came pat : "Get rid of this passion of wild beasts which has taken possession of your soul."

The Sultan could have ordered the Shaikh to be beheaded, but he had not called the Shaikh for this purpose and the Shaikh, in any case had no fear of such an end. The continuation of any conversation, however, was no longer possible.

When the meal was over, Sultan Muhammad ordered a bag of Tankas and two pieces of green and black woolen cloth to be placed before the Shaikh. But the Shaikh paid no attention to the Sultan's presents. At that moment a secretary of the Sultan, Khwaja Nizam by name, who was a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya' and a pupil of Amir Khusrau, stepped forward. He took up the Shaikh's shoes, placed them before him and then carried the presents outside and assigned them to the Shaikh's servant, obviously for distribution among the Delhi poor. Then placing his forehead on the ground before the Shaikh, he returned to the Sultan.

He found the latter in a towering rage. "You short-statured fellow of a secretary (Dabir-i-Kotah) ! What happened to you that you carried the presents of the Shaikh and picked up his shoes in my presence?" Sultan-Muhammad's hand went to his sword-hilt.

"Had I not taken up the presents," Khwaja Nizam, who was also prepared to be a martyr, explained," the Shaikh would not have touched them and they would have remained lying on your carpet (Dulcha). As for picking up his shoes, it was an honour for me. If you put me to death, I am willing; it will rid me of the torture of your company." Sultan Muhammad, we are told, inflicted no punishment on his erring and insolent secretary.

One man against an Empire ! It was obvious that the underlings of the administration could make the life of a private citizen impossible, and Shaikh Nasiruddin had to meet the consequences of his attitude. Fireshta records a tradition that Muhammad Tughlaq decided

that the great mystics should render him token services and the duty of tying the Sultan's Dastar (turban) before he went to the Durbar was assigned to Shaikh Nasiruddin. The Shaikh refused and was thrown into prison, but after three months he reflected that his predecessors had submitted to force in such matters and that he should do the same. I am not inclined to put any trust in this latter-day tradition, but the following incident which is well authenticated, throws light on the working of the administration.

Khwaja Qiwamuddin, a disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin, who had entered government service, is said to have declared : "I was faced with a terrible time and subjected to government demands and punishments during those days of my suspension from government service. If I appealed to friends for whom in previous days I had an affection or wished to talk to them, they turned away their faces and would not hear my words. If I sent anything to be sold in the market, no one would purchase it. I was helpless and gloomy."

The only person who would still venture to receive him was Shaikh Nasiruddin. The Shaikh could do nothing for him so far as the administration was concerned; but he could at least extend his human sympathy to the persecuted man whom, from fear of the government, society was boycotting. So, Qiwamuddin called at the Shaikh's Jama'at-Khana. "But before I could explain the object of my visit," Qiwamuddin continues, "the Shaikh with his usual kindness began to ask me about my affairs and recited the following quatrain :-

"In short the Shaikh by his intuitive mind had discovered my inner thoughts and revealed them to me. I placed my head on the ground. The same ideas which the Shaikh has revealed were revolving in my mind, I said, 'the Shaikh's words have given strength and firmness to my heart."

Our records give no details of the persecution to which the Shaikh was subjected. In his conversation in the *Khair-ul-Majalis,* the Shaikh makes no reference to Muhammad Tughlaq or even to his life in those days. No rankling bitterness of any sort was left in his mind. Sultans come and go; it is no use bothering about them. God alone is permanent. We have to be content with the following cryptic statement of Amir Khurd, who was then in government service in the Deccan."

In the beginning of his reign Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, who had established his power throughout the length and breadth of India, inflicted injuries on Shaikh Nasiruddin, who, according to the general consensus of opinion, was the Shaikh of the age and had the whole world for his obedient disciples. But that man of eminent piety, according to the tradition of his Pirs, considered it his duty to be patient and did not retaliate in any way. 'The Sultan persecuted you so much,' they asked him. 'What was the reason?' 'There was an affair between me and my God,' Shaikh Nasiruddin replied, 'They settled it like this.'"

Towards the end of his reign when Muhammad Tughlaq had gone to Thatta in pursuit of Taghi, he needlessly summoned a number of religious men and scholars, among them Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud, from Delhi. They had to travel 'a distance of 1,000 Karohs (2,000 miles). It is not necessary to believe with Amir Khurd that the death of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was due to the fact that he did not pay to the scholars and the mystics respect that was their due. Shaikh Nasiruddin, a pacifist without reservation, was not one of the cursing (Jalali) saints. The whole of his life may be considered a comment on a line often recited by the Great Shaikh.

Sultan Muhammad's death left the army leaderless, and Barni says that Shaikh Nasiruddin was one of the leading men who called on Feroz Shah and requested him to ascend the throne. Like his friend, Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, he could have had no illusions about that pompous ruler, who was destined to bring the Empire of his predecessors to ruin. But with the army attacked by the Sindhis on one side and the Mongols on the other, the immediate election of a king was ab-

solutely necessary, and Feroz Shah was the best of a number of bad alternatives, Barni does not refer to any further contacts between the Sultan and the Shaikh and the stories set afloat about the relation of the Shaikh and the Sultan and his officers in later days must be dismissed as mere fabrications. Though the Conversations of the Shaikh do not refer to Feroz Shah by name - he was not worth mentioning, - they contain a scathing criticism of the condition of the country during the regime of Feroz Shah and his officers. A person who spoke so fearlessly could hardly have been in touch with the Sultan and the bureaucracy.

On returning to Delhi in 1353 A.D. Shaikh Nasiruddin once more took to his old profession - the profession of a Shaikh or Fann-i-Shaikhi, as Barni calls it. There were, of course, great religious scholars who basked in the royal favour; but though Shaikh Nasiruddin, like his predecessors, had to face the criticism of a large city, as a leader of religious life he had no rival in India. His Jama'at-Khana was crowded with every kind of visitor from morning to night, and it seemed as if the Great Shaikh had come to life again. Shaikh Nasiruddin had no material favours to bestow, but his Jama'at-Khana was a spiritual refuge for all. Amir Khurd, having lost his job in the Deccan and anxious that his spiritual life should not perish along with material prosperity, found that the influence of the Shaikh once more brought him to the right path. "I remember," he say, "hearing my uncle, Saiyid Husain, declaring that today the high position of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya is occupied by Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud. Outwardly and inwardly, so far as is possible, he does not deviate from the path of the great Shaikh.

In this work, he has surpassed all other disciples of the great Shaikh and attained to perfection'." His personal contact with the Shaikh confirmed the truth of his uncle's assertions. "The fragrance which used to emanate from the Majlis (company) of Shaikh Nizamuddin has also come to the soul of the author from the Majlis of Shaikh Nasiruddin and has revived his dead soul after more than thirty years. Mystics who have seen the Majlis of Shaikh Nizamuddin and appreciated its deep significance agree with this proposition."

A little after the death of Shaikh Nasiruddinin 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) Amir Khurd penned the following lines: "The external and internal devotions of this dignitary are more than the pen can describe. Those who have had the honour of kissing his feet have realised that his countenance was the picture of perfect piety. Towards the end of his life his work reached perfection; he became a pure soul. When I saw this miracle, I said to myself: 'Since he has reached perfection, it would be strange if they allowed such a pure existence to remain in this world.'"

Fortunately for us, a scholar calling himself Hamid, the Qalandar, son of Maulana Tajuddin of Kailugarhi, presented himself at the Shaikh's Jama 'at Khana and offered to compile his Conversations (Malfuzat) even as Amir Hasan Sijzi had compiled the great Shaikh's conversations in the *Fawa'idul-Fawa'id*. Both Maulana Tajuddin and his son, Hamid, were disciples of the Great Shaikh, who had on one occasion said to the father : "Your son will be a Qalandar." So Hamid when he grew up shaved off his beard "an intolerable worldly burden,-" and also shaved his head, moustaches and eyebrows, and put on the saffron garb of the Qalandars.

He had, of course, nothing to do with the Qalandars, properly so - called, and knew little about them. Like many others he had left for the Deccan, attached himself to Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib,' and began to compile his Conversations. But his work could not be completed owing to that Shaikh's death in Feb. 1341, and twelve years later Hamid offered to render the same service to Shaikh Nasiruddin. The offer was gratefully accepted. Hamid compiled a record of one hundred Conversations or Majlises of the Shaikh and named it Khair-ul-Majalis. "I have narrated things correctly." Says Hamid, "and Shaikh Nasiruddin has revised my work. From the beginning to the end there is not a word that has not received the consider-

ation and approval of the Shaikh and has not been spoken by him." After the Shaikh's death Hamid added a Supplement to the *Khair-ul-Majalis* giving a sketch of the Shaikh's life.

Shaikh Nasiruddin obviously kept his biographer under stern control and insisted that he should be presented to posterity as a religious teacher and not as a miracle-monger. "He never tried," Hamid complains at the end of his Supplement, "that anyone should consider him a great man. He has suppressed his ego to such an extent that if I call him a Shaikh, he is not pleased; and if I attribute miracles to him, he resents it and begins to reflect."

The Khair-ul-Majalis is a worthy successor of the *Fawa'idul-Fawa'id*, but it is a work of inexpressible sadness. I confess that I can never read it without tears. But this sadness is due to the Shaikh and not to Hamid, who loved the innocent joys of life and seems to have been blessed with plenty of vivacity. He composed verses like every one else, and so long as they rhymed, he could enjoy them without bothering about their quality.

His Qalandarship, apart from the fact that he never married and had no personal property, was only a pose. "I am a Qalandar in appearance," he says at one place, "but I associate with mystics." It was different with Shaikh Nasiruddin. The sorrows of all mankind were reflected in his heart.

1. A mystic, who merely prays, whatever the quality of his prayers and whatever his spiritual stature, is not, correctly speaking, entitled to be called a Shaikh. To be a Shaikh a mystic had to live and work among the people, to sympathise with their sorrows, to partake of their joys and to teach them the principles of mystic and religious life.

Occasionally he might be able to help them financially and in other ways, but this was the exception rather than the rule; for the Shaikh, if true to his principles, cold not generally approach high officers for any favours to his disciples. Many stories are told of the presents that came to the Great Shaikh, but the fact is that they never sufficed. " Gifts flowed into the Jama' at-Khana of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya like the waters of the Labia (a branch of the Jumna) that flowed before it," Shaikh Nasiruddin tells us, "People came from morning to sunset and even at the time of the night prayer.

But those who came with requests always exceeded those who came with gifts, and everyone who brought something also got something." Shaikh Nasiruddin, though he seems to have been the recipient of sufficient gifts, was not so fortunate and he did not consider it a part of his duty to be the collector and distributor of money. "The head of a (mystic) community," he says, "needs three things. *First*, Wealth so that he may be able to give to people whatever they ask.

The Qalandars of these days demand Sherbet. If a Durwesh has nothing, how is he to give anything ? And then they go out abusing him and are punished for it on the Day of Judgement. *Secondly*, Learning, so that if scholars come to him he can discuss academic matters with them. *Thirdly*, Cosmic Emotion (Jazba), so that he may be able to inspire the Durweshes. But I say: 'Wealth is not necessary. Learning and the Cosmic Emotion are enough.'"

A Shaikh's means of work were thus purely spiritual, and the precondition of all his work was the possession of the Nafs-i-gira or the 'intuitive intelligence.' He must, first, be able to enter into the heart of every man and this was only possible if he had great, unbounded human sympathies. Secondly, his experience should be wide enough to enable his to understand all classes and conditions of men.

The early mystics had recommended travelling as a means of spiritual development. But the Chishti mystics, after settling in India, gave up the habit of travelling. Shaikh Farid never went out of India. The Great Shaikh's peregrinations were limited by three points - Badaun, Delhi and Ajodhan. But the City of Delhi, with its teeming population, could show him all that he wanted to see of human life.

Shaikh Nasiruddin, apart from his compul-

sory journey to Sind, only travelled from Ajodya (Oudh) to Delhi and back. Unlike the Suhrwardis, the Chishtis did not indulge in needless travelling. The third element the 'intelligential' is hard to define. It was a Divine gift; it could be developed but not acquired by one who had not been endowed with it by nature.

Whether his visitors spoke of their sorrows or not, the Shaikh would be able to understand them. Inevitably his own mind would also be affected by their stories of misfortune and woe, told or untold. The Great Shaikh, on being informed that in a particular company they had praised the inner calmness of his mind, declared: " No one in this world is more sad and gloomy than I am. So many people come and tell me of their misfortunes and it all pierces into my soul and my heart.

It would be a strange heart that was not affected by the sorrows of his Muslim brothers. And then a great City with a large population ! Darweshes have sought refuge in the hills and the deserts in the desire that no one may come to put the burden of his heart upon them." It was the same with Shaikh Nasiruddin. "A visitor who comes to me," he told Hamid, "is either a worldly man or a mystic.

If he is a worldly man, his heart is attached to earthly things. When he enters (my room) and my eyes fall upon him, I ask him about his affairs. Even if he is silent, everything in his mind is reflected in my heart, and I am overpowered with sadness and gloom..... And other come terror-stricken and demand : 'Hurry up and do this.' (If I don't), they speak evil of me and are insolent. The Durwesh should be patient under all circumstances.

2. Of course people were not wanting who wished to utilise the Shaikh for their worldly needs, but Shaikh Nasiruddin would not waver from the mystic path of Tawakkul or resignation. I have only space for two cases. "A Durwesh came," Hamid records in Majlis XLV. "Some one had been cruel to him. The Shaikh said, 'Durwesh, be patient. if they are cruel to you, behave like a Durwesh and forgive them.'" he related a pertinent story of Hazrat Ibrahim Adham, but seeing that the Durwesh was still dissatisfied, he added : 'The path of the Durwesh is what I have explained; otherwise you know best.'"

But others would not allow themselves to be dismissed so easily. On another occasion Hamid records:

> "When the Shaikh had completed this story, a mystic came. He was a disciple of my Pir, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya."

As soon as, he sat down, he began to complain bitterly of the times. This is not the tradition of the Shaikhs of my Silsilah. I was surprised. What has happened to this Durwesh? Nevertheless Shaikh Nasiruddin, with the virtues that should belong to a mystic, heard him and gave suitable replies. The visitor then related the following anecdote:

> "Once a friend of mine, who was a disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin, came to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. I am the father of girls, he said, Do something for me."

Go and be patient, the Great Shaikh replied:

> "Shaikh!' He said, 'If you had one unmarried daughter, you would realise my distress.' 'What do you want me to do?' 'Recommend me to somebody.' At that moment the grandson of Zafar Khan happened to come and the Great Shaikh spoke to him. 'I have a flat (Serai) available in my house,' the latter replied, 'Please ask the Maulana to come and put up there. I will be at his service.' 'Now go, Maulana,' the Great Shaikh ordered. The Maulana went (to Zafar Khan's house) and his life was happy thereafter."

Shaikh Nasiruddin on hearing this remarked, Maulana! In those days there were plenty of disciples. To whom can one speak now? One should be patient.

I know that one should be patient and not complain,' the Durwesh replied, 'But today you are in the place of my Shaikh and it is permissible that I should speak to you of the sorrows of my heart. I have a slave-boy, who works as a labourer. I give him two-thirds of his wages and keep one-third for myself.'"

3. Like his great Master, Shaikh Nasiruddin also condemned government service, but also like his master he seems to have made a distinction. Government servants who were in the clerical line and had nothing to do with the policy of the administration were entitled to be enrolled as mere disciples, like Amir Hasan Sijzi and Amir Khusrau. But the Shaikh insisted that the higher spiritual achievements were not within the reach of such people. Amir Hasan and Amir Khusrau, he says, passing a severe but just judgement on his deceased friends, wished to compose (poetry) after the manner of Khwaja Sa`di. It proved impossible. What Sadi has written is due to the Cosmic Emotion (Sar-i-Hal). Khaqani and Nizami were men of piety. But Khwaja Sana'i was one of the hermits (Muqati'an) and had completely severed his relations with the word and the people of the world.

But on the plan of ordinary discipleship he had no objection to such people. At one place we find him approving the work of an educated visitor, who declared : "I sit in the Diwan the whole day, and they consult me about the procedure of every order that is passed." At another place, we find him considering whether he should enrol among his disciples a clerk (Newisanda) who was a Saiyid, a Hafiz, and a man of devotions, and deciding the case in the affirmative. "Government service will be no obstacle in his path," he decided, "He will be a mystic on account of his devotions."

It was different, however, with the great executive officers of the government. Two examples should suffice.

(2) An education man with the respects of a Malik, who was in trouble and said, 'He is being kicked on account of government demands.' The Shaikh observed, 'Government service bears such fruit, especially in these times. In the early days (of Islam) all officers were more devoted to the service of God than to the affairs of this world and most of them had attained to the stature of Shibli and Junaid.'

(ii) There came, next, to the Shaikh a great man of this world. He had been imprisoned and, appealing to the Shaikh, had been set free owing to his prayers. The Shaikh felt very happy. 'Welcome,' he said, 'Congratulations! Please sit down.' 'Owing to the blessings of the Shaikh,' he replied, 'They set me free last night.' 'If a thorn pricks a man's foot or an ant bites it,' the Shaikh observed significantly, 'he ought to know that it is the result of his own acts. And no misfortunes shall be fall you except what your hands have earned.'

At another place he observes: "When people obtain a little worldly office, they treat the people of God as they like and are not afraid of woulding the hearts of men. After all, the sighs of the oppressed have some effect."

We find many instances of persons not in government service-businessmen, traders, farmers, school-teachers - coming to the Shaikh. He asked them to be honest in the pursuit of their callings, and if they did so, their livelihood would be blessed. "It is a virtuous morsel - the cultivation of the land," he declared on one occasion, "Many farmers have been men of mystic emotion," And he proceeded to recapitulate what a farmer told the great Imam, Ghazzali:

> "I scatter the seeds on the soil with a contented heart and a tongue reciting the praises of the Lord. My hope is that everyone who eats of the produce will be blessed, and will expend the strength that he gets from it in obedience to the Almighty."

(4) Since the Revolutionary State of the mystic dream - a state that would concentrate all its energies to the service of 'the people of God'-was not within the region of practical politics, the Shaikh ignored the king and the bureaucracy of the day and declared that happiness was to be found in the mystic path alone, " Happiness is only found in the house of religious poverty," He told a visitor who had come to ask for his prayer concerning his application which was pending official consideration, "In the house of worldly men, there is only sorrow and sadness. There is, of course, sorrow and sadness in religious poverty *(Faqr)* also, but it is due to the search for the Absolute *(Haq)*, not to the affairs of this world; and, in conse-

quence of this sadness, there is joy and delight. The Prophet of Allah (blessing on him !) was a man of prolonged sadness and deep reflections.

Nevertheless in his middle age, the Shaikh had seen something of a well-organised State in the state-capitalism and controlled-capitalism of 'Ala'uddin Khilji, 'when every beggar, in Delhi (as he tells us) had a quilt (Lihaf, Bibancha) or even two.' But now government and society - even mystic society - were falling to pieces. The sight scared the Shaikh's soul.

In these days, he declared, 'Durweshes have decreased. In the time of Shaikh Nizamuddin (and Ala'uddin Khilji) twenty or thirty Durweshes - real seekers - could be found (in Delhi). Shaikh Nizamuddin would invite them as his guests for three days. What days were those ! The Shaikh recollected the plenitude and cheapness of those days - a man of wheat for 7,½ Jitals, of sugar for half a Dirham, of Gur for less than a Jital, and the price of cloth and other commodities in the same proportion.

If a man wished to invite a number of friends to a feast, two to four Tankhas would provide enough food for all.' Then he referred to the *Langars* (free kitchens) of those days in the City and its environs - the *Langar* of Ramzan Qalandar, Malik Yar Parran and some others.... Shaikh Badruddin Samarquandi, who lies buried at Sankolah, was a friend of Shaikh Nizamuddin. He often came to Shaikh Nizamuddin and the Shaikh went to see him in return. Shaikh Badruddin was often invited to feasts; people considered his presence a blessing. He was a man of ecstasy. At the Urs (annual death-festival) of his Pir, Shaikh Badruddin used to invite all the army - commanders (Lashkardaran), and Durweshes also came from all sides. What joy and comfort, blessing and grandeur ! Now neither those army-commanders, nor officers nor men are left. All have been ruined !'.... The Shaikh's eyes were filled with tears of memory and he wept for a little while."

To understand this passage we must study the so-called 'Reforms' of Feroz Tughlaq and bear in mind the increasing power of the bureaucracy, which the Sultan was unable to control. "What a time is this with which we are faced," the Shaikh observed. "If the world smiles on anyone, that man will turn his back on others, and will not permit anyone to share his good fortune. Though, he may know his neighbour to be poor and starving, yet the smell of his food will not reach his neighbour. Such is our generation."

But one section of this decomposing society still maintained its old ideals and standards - the student-community. The students of those days were good, declared Shaikh Nasiruddin. "But students of these days are good also". And again: "All students of those days were pious, but most students of these days have also a good deal of piety." Students always found a warm welcome in the Jama'-at-Khana of the Shaikh, especially senior students who had studied the Mashariq of Maulana Raziuddin Sanani (or Chighani), the most reliable collection of the Prophet's *Hadises* (Sayings), the Zamikhshari of the Mu'tazilite, *Kashshaf*, which though condemned by the orthodox for its heretical opinions, had to be studied nonetheless for its sound scholarship along with the *Nahv-i-Mufassal* of the same author.

The Shaikh, in spite of his old age, liked discussing academic problems with students and they took advantage of the opportunity of asking him to explain the difficulties of their text - books. This was the only silver lining to the cloud. The century that followed was not destined to have any political achievements to its credit. But in the realm of scholarship and religious thought the fifteenth century of Indian history is unrivalled.

Primarily the melancholy and sadness of the Shaikh's 'Conversations' are due to the misery of the world around him. But we must not forget the purely personal element. He was ageing. Add to this that he was expected to follow the time-table of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, which left no time for rest or sleep. The Shaikhs of earlier days, as Shaikh Nizamuddin himself tole Amir Hasan Sijzi, only received visitors between the Ishraq and Zuhr-prayers; but the

Great Shaikh refused to adhere to this custom and would see anyone at any time he cared to come. As a result, the stream of visitors left him barely enough time for his prayers. It was a tradition of the mystics that they should devote the time between midnight and morning to their prayers: but since sleep is necessary for life and health, they generally set aside some other time for their sleep.

Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi, a disciple of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrwardi, who passed across northern India in the time of Iltutmish, used to sleep between the Ishraq and Chasht-prayers. Shaikh Najmuddin Kubra, the founder of the Firdausi Silsilah, used to go to sleep immediately after sunset (Maghrib) prayer and used to wake up in time for his 'Isha' prayer just before midnight. But the Great Shaikh would not follow their example. He locked himself up in his room after the 'Isha' prayer, but people saw his light burning throughout the night, and when the servant of the Khanqah knocked with his Sahiri in the early hours of the morning - for the Great Shaikh fasted throughout the year - he would find him wide awake. The whole day he talked to visitors of all sorts, and the only sleep he got was a short midday nap.

But very often his visitors left no time for that even. I will not undertake to say how far mystic devotion can be a substitute for sleep, but the Great Shaikh's eyes were always red, and though he lived to an advanced age, he was always ill. "The Great Shaikh," Shaikh Nasiruddin tells us, "was always suffering from something or other - stomachache due to wind in the bowels (Khula') fever, headache (Sada') or piles. He was never well. Once in the midst of an audition party (Sama'), he was overcome and paralysed by stomachaches."

Shaikh Nasiruddin, in his old age, naturally found it difficult to follow the time-table of his master. Hamid tells us that, calling on the Shaikh early in the morning, he would find him broken (Shikasta) in spirit; on one occasion the words he spoke were quite unintelligible to Hamid. The following conversation between him and Hamid throws some light on what the Shaikh felt : "After this the Shaikh heaved a sigh. 'I and you - we are like the hungry Durwesh who passes before the shop of a cook, sees fine food prepared and smells it."

He stops and says: 'At least those who have the food should eat it.' Now I have no time for devotions or solitude. I have to interview people all the day, and have no time for my midday rest (Qailula) even. Very often I wish to rest at midday, but they wake me up and say, a visitor has come. Get up. 'You (Hamid) have leisure, why do you not give yourself to devotions ?'

The Khwaja, I replied, though apparently busy (conversing) with men, is in his heart engaged with God.

At night, he said, I can find some time for devotions, study and prayer. But during the day nothing is possible. Still I do not give up hope.

This he said in despair (Shikastawar) and wept. Then he recited the line: "The basket which I have lowered into the well, I am not in despair that it will come out quite full one day."

Sometime after the Khair-ul-majalis had been compiled, a curious attempt to assassinate or wound the Shaikh was made by a Qalandar named Turab. According to Hamid, the Shaikh as usual said his Zuhr prayer in the Jama'at-Khana and then retired to his room for his devotions. It was the time of afternoon rest and the few inmates in the Khanqah were either away in the City or resting. Finding the Shaikh alone, Turab entered his room with a knife and inflicted eleven wounds on him.

The Shaikh remained motionless, and it was not till his blood flowed out of the water-hole of the room, that his disciples began to suspect something. On entering the room they found the Qalandar stabbing the Shaikh. They would have punished him on the spot, but the Shaikh would permit nothing of the kind. Determined to add generosity to forgiveness, he summoned one of his favourite disciples, Qadi 'Abdul-Muqtadir of Thaneswar, along with a physician, Shaikh Sadruddin, and his nephew Zainuddin 'Ali, and asked them to administer

an oath to his disciples that they would not seek to harm the Qalandar. I hope your-knife has not injured your hand, he asked the latter, and presenting him with twelve Tankas, advised him to fly off as soon as possible. The ways of the medieval Qalandars were strange and inexplicable, and since the Shaikh himself would permit no investigation, it is useless speculating now on Turab and his motives.

Some three years after this incident, Shaikh Nasiruddin breathed his last on Ramadan 18, 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.).

It is not correct to say that Shaikh Nasiruddin gave no Certificates of Succession. Hamid, for example, tells us of the Certificate he gave to Maulana Hisamuddin and the instructions with which it was accompanied. But people naturally expected that like the Great Shaikh he would distribute a number of Succession-Certificates before his death to his disciples who had been anxiously waiting for them and, in particular, that he would appoint a successor for Delhi, who would also be the senior saint of the *Silsilah*.

His nephew, Zainuddin 'Ali, appealed to him to appoint such a Successor so that his spiritual line might not come to an end. The Shaikh asked him to draw up a list of the persons whom he considered worthy of the honour. But when Zainuddin drew up a list in order of merit and placed it before the Shaikh for consideration, the Shaikh simply refused to consider it. "Maulana Zainuddin !" he said, "They have to bear the burden of their own faith; it is not possible for them to bear the burden of others." The great line of all-India Chishti saints, which had started with Shaikh Mo'inuddin of Ajmer, was thus brought to an end. The future Chishti saints - and there were many of them - could not attain to anything beyond a provincial reputation.

After making this observation, Hamid continues, Shaikh Nasiruddin made the following will: "At the time of my burial, place the Khirqah I have received from Shaikh Nizamuddin on my breast, lay the staff of my master in my grave by my side; the rosary of my Shaikh is to be wound round my forefinger and his wooden bowl is to be placed under my head instead of the (Usual) clod of earth. His wooden shoes are to be placed by my side.' The persons present acted according to this will. Syyid Muhammad Gaisu Daraz washed Shaikh Nasiruddin's body. He then took out the twisted ropes from the cot on which he had washed the Shaikh's body and wound them round his neck. 'This is a sufficient Khirqah for me,' he declared."

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Nasirud-Din Nek Mardan, Shah (14th Century A.D)

Shah Nasiru-Din was great saint of Dinajpur. A number of stories and miracles of this saint are current among masses and numerous model tombs are found there. He died at the village of Nek Mardan named after his name. On the first day of Vaisakh, Bengali New Year's Day an annual fair is held with great pomp and grandeur. Though, very little is known about this saint, he seems to have wielded an immense influence on the people of Dinajpur in the early part of the 14th century A.D. away from abuses, hypocrisy and other evil practices.

His book *Tariqul Haq fi Bayan-e-Nurul* Haq in Assamese but in Arabic script, is an important production as it is reckoned as one of the oldest works in modern Assamese prose, which has been published by his grandson Muhammad Saleh Kazim in Assamese script. Sufi Zulqad died in 1891 A.D.

An extract from his book is given below:
'dujahanak sarge sai tar halaq loun mai.
kandi huna jadi dil lagai.
hakalore adite muhammad mustafak paida karile jai.
teok he bole khudai
teor halagor wor nai, mai wagiyani koun kenekoi.
he mumin musalemin bhai, allahar hukum dion sunai.'

(Harken ye, O, People; I praise him who created both the worlds and created Muhammad In the beginning of all For he alone is Allah whose praises endeth no O, ye, who believes Listen ye to the voice of this ignorant man. For I chant unto you only Allah's commands).

Commencing his book with a verse (an extract from which is given above, along with its translation), the author switches on to prose to deal with many topics covering precepts from the holy *Quran* and traditions of the Prophet. He has dealt with many Islamic practices along with their spiritual contents in simple prose which was prevalent in Assam at the time of his missionary activity.

Although, it is not my intention to enter into literary criticism of his writings I produced below an opinion by Daiba Chandra Talukdar, a Assamese literature on the literary quality of the prose form used by the writer. The book is written in Assamese prose. But as he was a scholar of Persian and Arabic he has used some Persian and Arabic words as well here and there.

However, this book points out to the fact that Assamese modern prose was taking a good shape even as late as that period. We are glad to find this sample of Assamese prose after the prosaic *Kathagita* and *Katha-bhagaqata*, written by Bhattadeva in the 16th century. The prose used in this book is of a superior quality to that used in the *Orunudoi*. Below we produce a few sentences from the book to illustrate the mystic significance of the teachings:

'Gotei bharastar mujut oi kalimai nebhedile, karo nistar ei jugat nai aru kunowe muhammad rasulullah bhakti koribo khoje, ihatar bhakti micha, kiyano allahi ei nure teor paida kari kata lakh bachar bhaktar dhara bojai duniya lai prithivilai pathiyale, teor dhare bhakti nakarile kone no kenekoi bhakti pale? Hazrater nuror agote kono keoke sarja nai, teore dwara bali chahirpare gaj hastilaike sakaloke sarjile.

(Gist of the above paragraph: Herein the author gives the Islamic version of the genesis of the Universe form the Light of the Prophet Muhammad, who was the first thing to be created. As the Universe had emanated from the Light of the Holy Prophet, Worship of Allah in any other way except that shown by the holy Prophet will not benefit man. This fact highlights the importance of the Kalima (article of faith), "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Prophet," faith in which is binding upon man for his salvation)

Besides Gauhati, Zulqad Ali's religious activities extended to Darrang and Nowgong as well. The growing population at Mangaldai (Darrang) needed a madrasah and a mosque, which were constructed by the Sufi Saheb, became the centre of propagation of Islamic teachings and is still going on.

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Nasiru'd-Din, Shaikh (1276 A.D.—1356 A.D)

The most prominent of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din's *khalifas* and his chief successor in Delhi, however, was Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud who became known as the *Chiragh* or Lamp of Delhi. His home town was Awadh and he was born in about 675/1276-77. Shaikh Yahya, his father, was a wool merchant and had lived in great affluence. When his father died, he was nine. His mother continued to have him educated as an *'alim*, but temperamentally, he was more attracted to asceticism.

By the time, he was twenty-five, Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud had abandoned the world and embraced the life of a sufi with its daily rituals of self-mortification, fasting and prayers. Leaves growing wild in Awadh, known as *sanbhalu*, served to break his fast and to also kill his sexual desires. He lived alone except for a few fellow dervishes. Early in the morning he would leave his dwelling in Awadh and walk to the local mango grove which also held some tombs. There he spent the whole day in prayer. A small group of Muslim weavers worked in the grove and with Nasiru'd-Din they would gather in congregation under the trees to pray while he acted as their Imam.

A number of Awadh's most noted scholars and holymen were the disciples of Shaikh Nizamu'd-din Auliya' of Delhi. This prompted Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud at the age of forty-three to migrate to Delhi to join the ranks of Chishti saints. He had by then completed eighteen years of strenuous mystical exercises, under the tutelage of local dervishes. So advanced spiritually was he that it was natural he would outshine many of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din's other disciples. Greeted warmly by the Shaikh, he was later initiated as a disciple.

Long periods of self mortification in the wilderness had made Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din unaccustomed to urban living. He asked Amir Khusraw, through whom requests to Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din were made, to obtain the latter's permission to retire to the jungles and mountains. But his pir had charted for him a different course, and the message was relayed that Nasiru'd-Din must remain in Delhi among the people, and suffer whatever indignities and hardships they might inflict on him. In return he must treat them with generosity and love. Amir Khwurd commented:

> 'The Sultanu'l-Mashai'kh entrusted everyone with duties which he found him fit to perform. To one he ordered to remain silent, and behind doors. To another he ordered to enrol a large number of disciples. To a third he would order that he live amongst the people, accept the suffering they may cause, and remain courteous to them.'

While living in the *jama'at-khana*, Nasiru'd-Din's fellow dervishes named him Ganj, the Treasury, implying that he was a source of spiritual bounty. According to Amir Khwurd, after his accession Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq began to harass Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud while the latter patiently endured his slights. However, Amir Khwurd fails to give details in support of his accusations.

As previously mentioned, the Shaikh, with Shamsu'd-Din Yahya and Fakhru'd-Din Zarradi, had been sought by the Sultan to assist him in his policy regarding the extermination of Monglos from Ghazni and Khurasan. However Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din appears to have escaped enforced migration to Daulatabad and remained in Delhi.

However, it would seem that Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din and other eminent Chishti sufis were compelled to accept government posts. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq depicts the Sultan as forcing Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din to accompany him on his travels and relates that on another occasion he was appointed his *jamadar*. But, following the teachings of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya', the Shaikh appears to have reluctantly accepted the duties assigned to him in a spirit of self denial.

The power of the 'ulama' and the sufi orders which the Sultan resented so strongly paled into

insignificance in contrast with the spate of rebellions against the Delhi Sultanate beginning only a year after his accession. These had assumed serious proportions as region after region overthrew the Sultan's provincial governments and seized independence. The popular slogan, 'down with the tyrant' (*zalim*), became a catch phrase and ambitious adventurers raised rebel standards. Many members of the 'ulama' and sufis, long -time enemies of Muhammad bin Tughluq, became their supporters.

Between 1348 and 1350, the Sultan was engrossed in suppressing Taghi's rebellion in the Gujarat region. After the failure of the insurrection, Taghi managed to escape to Thatta. By the middle of 1349, Muhammad bin Tughluq's rule had been restored in Gujarat and Kachch, and the Sultan had departed in Pursuit of Taghi. He passed through Gondal, in Kathiawar, where he summoned some important nobles, sufis and 'ulama' from Delhi.

Among them were the Sultan's cousin, Firuz, and Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din. According to Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din had installed Firuz on the throne. The Shaikh, however, was uninterested in politics, but rumours of a rebellion in the capital must have been widespread at the time implicating the Shaikh and Firuz in the alleged uprisings.

Both were summoned to Muhammad bin Tughluq's court as a precautionary measure, but before they could arrive, he had died at Sonda near Thatta in March 1351. An army of Mongols, had, in the meantime, arrived from Transoxiana to aid the Sultan against the rebels. Its leaders decided to take advantage of the power vacuum created by the interregnum to attack the leaderless Delhi army which had begun to disperse.

In an effort to save the army from attack and northern India from a possible establishment of Mongol rule, leaders of the 'ulama', sufis and prominent former officers of Muhammad bin Tughluq, made their forty-six year old favourite, Firuz, Sultan. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din, one of the leading king-makers, entreated the new Sultan to rule with justice, and in turn received a promise to that effect. As mentioned earlier, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din claimed that the imperial army reached Sarsuti safely because of his own prayers.

After his involvement in imperial politics in order to prevent a catastrophe, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din returned to his quiet life at his *jama'at-khana*. Sultan Firuz did not forget the sufis and showered gifts on their khanqahs which resulted in the usual strains associated with material prosperity. The *jama'at-khana* of the Sultanu'l-Masha'ikh remained firmly entrenched in its traditions of poverty and austerity. Untouched by material wealth, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din was also unaffected by political power. When Sultan Firuz called to see him he was kept waiting for some time, and no special treatment was given.

One day in 1353, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din had retired to his room for contemplation. There was no-one at the door of the *jama'at-khna*, and his nephew, Shaikh Zainu'd-Din 'Ali, who generally attended him, was absent. A qalandar, named Turab, entered the room and inflicted eleven knife wounds on the Shaikh's body. The bleeding was so profuse that it flowed into a drain in his cell.

While being stabbed, the Shaikh did not utter a sound. His disciples, on rushing into the room, were restrained by Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din from attacking the *qalandar*. The Shaikh paid Turab twenty silver *tankas* and sought his forgiveness lest the latter had suffered some injury while wielding his knife. The high government officials and Sultan Firuz were unable to punish the assailant due to the insistence of his victim. Turab was able to leave Delhi unmolested, even by a mob infuriated by the attack on the city's beloved Shaikh.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud, the Lamp of Delhi, lived a further three years. Prayers, fasting and vigils failed to undermine his routine of instruction to his senior disciples and care of the poor. Although generally exhausted from long hours of teaching and mortification, he continued to be strenuously active until a few days

before his death on 18th Ramazan, 757/14th September, 1356.

Although, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din had a large number of disciples, he considered none worthy of receiving the relics bequeathed to him from Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'. In accordance with his will, these were buried with his earthly remains. The *khirqa* was placed on his rib bones, the staff was laid beside his body, his rosary was wound around his forefinger, the wooden bowl was placed under his head and the wooden sandals on his breast.

Saiyed Muhammad Gisu Daraz, who will be mentioned again in Chapter Four, washed his master's body. Then, taking some cords from the Shaikh's matted bed, his disciple wound them around his head, declaring that for himself such cords made the best *khirqa*. Through Zainu'd-Din, Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din left this message for his disciples:

> *'Tell them, they have to bear the burden of their own faith.*
> There is no question of bearing the burden of others.'

The tomb of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud became a beacon for succeeding generations and the area came to be known as the *Chiragh-i Dihli*. A tomb was built by Sultan Firuz on the grave but the existing enclosures and mosque were erected by the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48) between 1142 and 1143/1729 and 1730. Other additions were made by later Mughal princes. The whole area is associated with the memories and traditions of a large number of sufis and saints, many of whom lie buried there.

The teachings of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din embodied in the *Khairu'l-Majalis* represented a peak in Chishti philosophy which had evolved in India during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Following the traditions of his spiritual ancestors, he emphasized both the necessity to associate with common people and a simultaneous withdrawal from them.

In the *Khairu'l-Majalis* Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din specified the meanings of two words that were anathema to a dervish. Firstly, there was a *muqallid*, or sufi without a *pir*, secondly, was the jarrat, a person who donned an excellent *khirqa* and the cap of a sufi and who visiting the sultans and his officials, begged for money. Such a person was a *jarrat* because he sold religion.

Common people were forced to go to a bazaar and sell their goods but a spiritualist should not ask for anything from others. He should bolt his door and pray for his spiritual and material needs which come from God. The *sine qua non* of a sufi life was the belief that 'the Beloved (God) is for us and our life is for the Beloved'. The highest form of penitence was the severance of all relations from everything but God.

There were two kinds of fetters, the Shaikh continued during one discourse. One related to the *Shari'a* and the other to the self. The first shackle was the family, and the second, sensuality. Love of God drove away all thoughts of the family. The Prophet Muhammad chose the life of a dervish rather than remaining affluent.

True comfort was to be found in the house of a dervish, there was only grief in the house of a wealthy man. The lamentations in a dervish's dwelling was only for the love of God; nevertheless it was a source of satisfaction and contentment to them.

A sufi should perform continual self-mortification of a very severe type, believed Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din. The sufi should eat, sleep and talk while remaining as withdrawn from people as possible. An initiate should place great stress on the use of his time to its greatest value. He should read the Qur'an pray, recite zikr and contemplate. If a dervish went to bed hungry, got up in the earliest part of the morning and meditated, he would experience divine light in his soul.

The essence of sufi discipline was control of the breath and this should be practised during meditation. Every breath was related to the mystic state. As long as he controlled his breath, his thoughts were not diffused and his time was

not ill-used. In the beginning breath control was a deliberate action, later it became automatic.

A sufi was one whose breaths were counted and the perfect sufi was a *sahib-i anfus* (the master of articulated breath). The breaths of faultless yogis, known as *Siddhas* were also measured. A dervish related he had learnt concentration from a cat by watching it sit before a rat hole in such a way that it had full control over its breathing so that not a single whisker moved.

Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud advocated that the government service was not necessarily an obstacle to contemplation and meditation. He quoted the following verse in support of his belief:

'The essence of sufism is not an external garment.
Gird up your loins to serve the Sultan and be a sufi.'

Conversations of the Shaikh's tend to give the impression that the reign of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din was an ideal one for the people of Delhi. It would appear that prices were cheap and, according to an anecdote related by the Shaikh, this was precipitated by philanthropic reasons.

The people of Delhi were reassured during political upheavals by the presence of the sufi orders and their *khanqahs* to which they had constant access. They would visit the tomb of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji, and tie threads and pieces of cloth around it so that their prayers and wishes might be granted.

There were a large number of *langars;* the people organized many public entertainments at little expense. Rituals involving religious music and dancing were often held around the tombs and gardens of the Shaikhs, and the use of *sama* was at its peak.

Large gifts from Sultan Firuz to the Chishti order restored the glory of many *khanqahs.* But the vitality of Delhi's spiritual life, as it had been during the time of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, was fast vanishing. Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din commented that the art of sufi teaching had degenerated into child's play, that is, something not to be taken seriously. His successors and some other disciples of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' wisely decided to carve Chishti centres in the provinces of the empire, rather than remain in the capital.

The popularity of Shaikh Nizamu's-Din Auliya had tended to give the impression that a parallel spiritual empire existed in Delhi beside the temporal one, although this of course was alien to Chishti teaching. In reality, the sufi spirit worked more successfully remote from centres of political power. There was something between me and God the most High which was settled in that way.

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Natawan, Shah

Shah Natawan whose *dargah* falls at Natanpur and which is famous after his name, was also a reputed saint. It is said about him that having crossed the Barak river, he had gone to Jalalpur, Gumra, in the district of Cachar with the intention of propagating the teachings of Islam among the people.

He lived there till his death. His tomb is, even today, a place of pilgrimage. Some are of

the opinion that he belonged to the company of Hazrat Shah Jalal; but some other scholars do not support this statement. According to them, he flourished after Hazrat Shah Jalal.

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Niamatullah, Shah

Shah Niamatullah was one of the notable saints, who made Dacca the centre of his spiritual activities. His tomb is situated at a place known as *Purana Paltan*.

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Niamutullah, Syed Shah (d. 1664A.D.)

According to the Khurshid Jahan Nauma, the saint was born at Karnal (at a distance from Delhi). In course of his travel, he came to Rajmahal. Shah Shuja (1639-1660 A.D.) was the Governor of Bengal at that time. He held the saint in high esteem at Rajmahal. He returned to Firozpur (Gaur, Maldah) where he died in 1664 A.D.

We find the name of this saint in the inscription of Shah Jalalud-Din Tabrizi's *khanqah* and other buildings, which were constructed and repaired under the supervising of the saint.

Another inscription found in Powa Macca Masjid at Hajo, District of Kamrup. Assam, built during the reign of Shah Jahan and Governorship of Shah Shuja also bear his name, mentioned reverently by Lutfullah Shirazi, the commander of Shah Shuja.

Hazrat Zakir Ali Al-Qadiri al Baghdadi arrived at Mangalkot (Burdwan) in 1764 A.D. and he died here at the age of 81 in the year 1778 A.D. Hazrat Murshid Ali Qadiri wrote on extract on his death.

'nur chashm shaikh mahiud-din ki bud
rahi mulk baqa shud an wali
guft salash a'si afsurda dil
zinda dil agah dil zakir a'li
1192 hi/1778 ain.'

(Apple of the eye of saints, Muhiud Din passed away to the land beyond. This scion of the saint renowned I, a sinner (the poet), the date record know that the heart of Zakir 'Ali liveth).

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Ni'matullah Shah Kirmani, Amir Nur al-Haq Wa'd-Din (1330A.D. — 1430A.D.)

The Ni'matullahi order, a subbranch of the Qadiri order, was founded by Amir Nur al-Haq Wa'd-Din Ni'matullah Shah Kirmani (731-834/1330-1430). According to his own statement, his

father. Mir'Abdullah, was a descendant of the fifth Shi'ite Imam, Imam Baqir. Born at Halab (Aleppo) in 731/1330, he grew up in Iraq and went to Mecca where he lived for seven years. He became a disciple and *khalifah* of Shaykh 'Abdullah Yafi'i (698-769/1298-1367), who traced his mystical lineage to Abu Madyan (520-594/1126-1197) of Egyptian branch.

He then moved to Samarqand, Herat and Yazd, eventually settling down in Mahan near Kirman attracting a huge number of devotees around him. He died at an advanced age in 834/1430 at *Mahan. Majmu'a dar Tarjuma e-Ahwal e-Shah Ni'matullah Wali* contains a long list of the works written by the saint. According to C. Rieu, besides his Diwan, he left a collection of Sufi tracts, the number of which is said to exceed five hundred.

En'amul Haq, while discussing the introduction of the Qadiri order in the Indian subcontinent, mentions the name of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani. It is certain that Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani refused to come to the Deccan on the invitation extended by Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani (825-839/1422-1436). However, his grandsons and, later, his son came to Bider and settled there. Thus, the introduction of the Ni'matullahi order in the Deccan can be traced from the times of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani.

Ahmad Shah, a shrewd politician, welcomed this influx since he was planning to have a new nobility, mostly drawn from alien elements. From Gulbarga itself, he deputed two holymen to Mahan extending an invitation to Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani to come over to Deccan to bless his capital. The deputation was headed by Nizam ad-Din Faruqi alias Shaykh Khojan, a resident of Gulbarga, who was himself a member of the Ni'matullahi order.

It can be inferred that this delegation had left Gulbarga for Mahan sometime between 825/1422 and 829/1425. It helps us to presume that by 829/1425 Ni'matullah Shah Kirmani and his order were well known in the Deccan, more so because a member of the said order was already residing at the Bahmani capital. Though the saint did not agree to leave Mahan, he deputed one of his disciples, Mulla Qutb ad-Din, with a *Kulah e-Irada'i* (cap of discipleship). *Jama e-Ijazah* (Robe of approval) and a letter addressed to the king in which he bestowed him with the epithet, *Wali*.

On its return, this delegation was received near Gulbarga. Ahmad Shah was thus initiated into the Ni'matullahi order. The result of the first deputation did not satisfy Ahmad Shah; he, therefore sent another delegation which also fetched limited results. Ni'matullah Kirmani, however, sent his grandson Shah Nurullah to Bider. Shah Nurullah was received outside Bider by Ahmad Shah in person, and this place was named as Nimatabad after the great saint.

Shah Nurullah was immediately raised to the status of Malik al-Mashaikh, giving him precedent over the families of Deccani Sufis, Syed Rukn ad-Din and Gesudaruz. Soon, he was married to the daughter of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. Then the appointment of Khalaf Hasan Basri to the post of prime minister, and other appointments of aliens to high administrative posts, clearly indicated the shift in the policy from the *Mulkis* to the *non-Mulkis*.

Just before Ni'matullah Shah Kirmani died, he appointed his son Shah Khalilullah then fifty-nine, as the Qutb of the order. Shah Khalillullah, after remaining in Mahan for a few years, went to Herat on the invitation of Shah Rukh the son of Amir Taymur, the emperor of the Sunnite Uzbeks. He was held in high esteem by Shah Rukh and his son Baysunghar. The reasons regarding his journey to Herat are not known.

However, the struggle for power between the Sunnite Ak-Koyanlus and the Shi'ite Kara Koyanlus had begun. Shi'ism was gaining a strong hold in Persia leading to the persecution of the Sunnis. Therefore, it may be presumed that under these circumstances, he moved to Herat. The other reason could be the patronage they enjoyed at the Uzbek court. Having spent a few years at Herat, he appointed his son, Shams ad-Din Muhammad, to stay at Mahan making him incharge of his father's shrine. The descendants of Shams ad-Din Muhammad be-

came the spiritual custodians of this shrine and from them continued the line of *Qutbs* at Mahan. Shah Khalilullah along with his other two sons, Shah Muhib ad-Din Habibullah and Shah Habib ad-Din

CHART

DESCENDANTS OF SHAH NI'MATULLHAH KIRMANI

'Abdullah Yafi'i
(698-769/1298-1367)

Shah Nur ad-Din
Ni'matullah Kirmani
(731-834/1330-1430)
Aleppo-Mecca-Mahan)

Shah Khalilullah
(d.860/1455)

Shah Nurullah P Mir Shams ad- Shah Habi-Shah Mu-
(d.834-35/1330-31)E Din Muhammad bu Muhy hibb ad-
(Mahan Binder) R (Mahan) ad-Din Din Ha-
Tafi
(d.864/1459) bibullah
I (Mahan - 830-980/
A Bider) 1427-
N 1502,
* (Mohan
L Bider)
I Shah Taqiy ad-Din
N
E
A Mir Shah Burhan
G ad-Din Khalilullah II
E (d. 925/1519)Taft)

D Shah Kamal ad-Din Shah Shah S h a h Zahirad-
E 'Atiyatullah Husayni 'Abdullah Safiyullah Din 'Ali
C
C Syed Shah Burhan Shah
A ad-Din Khalilullah Nurullah II
N Husayni
*
L Syed Shah Shams
I ad-Din Muhammad
N Husayni

[Notes - Unbroken lines indicate family lineage. broken lines spiritual lineage.]

Muhibbullah, moved to the Deccan and settled at Bider. He may have arrived at Bider some time between 836-840/1432-1436. His two sons were married into the Bahmani royal family, and Muhibb ad-Din Habibullah was given the Jagir of Bir and raised to the status of *Mansabdar*. For his military ability, he was given the title of *Ghazi* (holy warrior). The family played an important role in the Bahmani politics.

Shah Khalillullah died at Bider in 860/1455. Before his death, he had nominated Shah Habib ad-Din Muhibbullah as his successor and *Qutb* of the order. Shah Habib ad-Din, who was the youngest of Shah Khalilullah's son's, was born at Mahan in 830/1426. Despite the honour in which he was held at the Bahmani court, he lived a simple life in a khanqah which he had built at Bir.

He died at the age of seventy-eight in 908/1502 at Bider and was buried at the Khaliliyan, the family mausoleum, close to his father on the Bider-Ashtoor road. Before his death, he named his son, Mir Kamal ad-Din 'Atiyatullah al-Husayni, as his successor. His other three sons moved back to Persia and lived at Yazd in the *khanqah* built by their great grand-father, Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani. We do not have much information about Mir Kamal ad-Din 'Atiyatullah, the fourth *Qutb* of the Ni'matullahi order at Bider, but the names of later Ni'matullahi *Qutbs* are available in the family genealogy.

We also find references to one Nurullah II, son of Shah Zahir ad-Din Ali. The latter was one of the three sons of Shah Habib ad-Din Ali Muhibbullah. Nurullah II came to India and perhaps married a princess of the Bahmani court. From Bider, he went to Persia and after having performed pilgrimage, finally settled down at Bider which was where he died.

Ample details are available regarding the Mahan branch of the Ni'matullahis. Mir Shams ad-Din, the son of Shah Khalilullah, who was assigned the charge of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani's shrine at Mahan, died at Herat at the young age of forty. The reason of Mir Shams

ad-Din's arrival at Herat is not known. It may be due to the Safavid uprising or due to the patronage at the court of Herat, which his father also enjoyed. His son, Mir Shah Burhan ad-Din Khalilullah II, came to India but left for Herat where he was murdered in 925/1519.

His body was taken to Taft, thirty-six kilometers from Yazd, the then headquarter of the order in Safavid Persia. The members of the Mahan branch of this family continued to play an important role during the reigns of the Safavid and Qachars; but since that does not form part of this study, we shall only look at the disciples of this order in the Deccan.

We do come across references to other disciples of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani in historical and other sources. It can be said that they had also settled in the Deccan. His well-known disciples were: Abu Ishaq Fakhr ad-Din Ahmad Hallaj Shirazi, popularly known as *At'ama;* Mulla Qutb ad-Din, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din alias Shaykh Khojan Ahsanabad; Mulla Sharaf ad-Din Mazandarani; and Shaykh 'Ali Diwana.

These details provide ample testimony to the presence and influence of the Ni'matullahi order in Persia, Herat and the Deccan. However, we are less informed of the actual impact of the Ni'matullahi teachings son the local Deccani population. Being alien and unaware of the local social, cultural and linguistic scene, they did not seem to have the same following at the mass level as enjoyed by the early Chishtis and the Junaydis of Dawlatabad and Gulbarga.

It can also be said that being members of royal house, they may have had reservations in mingling freely with the common masses. Their role may thus have been limited to the royal house, the nobility and the upper state of the society.

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Ni'matu'llah, Shah (d. 1655/56A.D.)

During the reign of Shahjahan, Shah Ni'matu'llah Qadiri migrated from the Panjab to Kashmir. There he initiated Hajji Baba Qadiri who was a member of the Katju merchant community of Kashmir. When Shah Ni'matu'llah left, Hajji Baba, then sixty years of age, embarked on a pilgrimage.

After spending some time in Medina, he returned to Kashmir where he died in 1066/1655-56 Hajji Baba's son, 'Usman Qadiri, who was also known as *Baba*, succeeded his father and was a well-loved ascetic.

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Ni'matu'llah Shah Qadiri, Saiyid (d.1582A.D.)

The order, according to available information, was first introduced in Kashmir some time in the second half of the sixteenth century, by

Saiyid Ni'matu'llah Shah Qadiri. He claimed to be the direct descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qadir Jilani. Before coming to Kashmir, he had lived somewhere in India, most probably in the Panjab, where he was a disciple of one Shaikh Muhammad Darwesh Qadiri.

According to Muhammad Husain Qadiri, the author of *Futuhat-i-Qadiriya*, Saiyid Ni'matu'llah was a prolific writer, but he does not mention the title of a single treatise written by the Saiyid. All his biographers are unanimous in saying that he avoided the company of the ruling classes and spent most of his time in *sama*.

Saiyid Ni'matu'llah did not stay long in Kashmir and soon left for India. Among his disciples in Kashmir is mentioned Shaikh Mirak Mir. He was the son of one Saiyid Shamsu'd-Din Andrabi, whose ancestors had migrated to Kashmir from Andrab, in the reign of Sultan Sikandar. While Shaikh Mirak was young, his father died.

His relatives, who held important posts under the Sultans advised him to take up government service, but, drawn to a life of piety from childhood as he was, he declined. He spent most of his time in meditation at a *khanqah* in Srinagar, known as *Khanqah-i-Andrabi*, which seems to have been built by one of his ancestors. For forty years, it is said, he did not eat meat and married at a very late age, only after the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and advised him to do so.

At first he began to practise Sufism independently, claiming to have drawn inspiration direct form the Prophet. When Saiyid Ni'matu'llah arrived in Kashmir, he became his disciple and received initiation in the Qadiri order. Shaikh Mirak is reported to have claimed that he had attained a high spiritual stage and that many people had been benefitted by him. He died on 5th Safar, 990/1st March, 1582, and was buried a Mallaratta in Srinagar.

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Niyaz Ahmad, Shah (1759A.D. — 1834A.D.)

Shah Niyaz Ahmad was born at Sirhind in 1173/1759-60. His father died when he was very young and his mother cared for his education. After its completion at Sirhind he moved to Delhi at the age of seventeen and specialized in various branches of knowledge under Maulana Fakhru'd-Din. For some time, he worked as a teacher, and then, complying with the Maulana's instructions, established a *khanqah* at Bareilly in Western U.P.

He wrote a number of treatises on sufism but above all expelled in Arabic and Persian verses. It was in Urdu, however, that his ideas on sufism were most ingeniously and delicately expressed. The *Wahdat al-Wujud* was his favourite topic and he often expressed the idea that the Lord of the Ka'ba and the idol temple were one and the same.

On 6th Jumada II, 1250/10th October, 1834, Shah Niyaz Ahmad died. His successor was his eldest son, Shah Nizamu'd-Din. An important disciple of Shah Niyaz was Miskin Shah Sahib (d. 28th Jumada I, 1275/3rd January, 1859). From Kishtwar in Jammu Kashmir, he was initiated into the Qadiriyya and the Naqshbandiyya orders and finally became the disciple of Shah Niyaz Ahmad. At his *pir's* suggestion, he established a *khanqah* in jaipur. Shah Nizamu'd-Din's *khalifas* also founded *khanqahs* in U.P. and the Punjab.

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Nizamu'd-Din, Shaikh (d.1571/72 A.D.)

Shaikh Nazamu'd-Din, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Ma'ruf, was born in the last decade of the ninth/ fifteenth century. In his youth, he was an'*alim*, but he later adopted the life of a sufi. His *pir* appointed him his *khalifa* in Amethi in the Lucknow district. The Shaikh led a retired life in the village of Amethi, occasionally visiting surrounding towns such as Gopamau, Khairabad and Fathpur to see the local sufis.

Shaikh disapproved of sufi novices studying the *Fusus al-Hikim*, preferring such classics on sufism as the *Ihya' al-'uhan* of Ghazali, the *'Awarif al-ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, the *Risala al-Makkiyya* of Shaikh Imam Qutbu'd-Din 'Abdu'llah and the *Adab al-muridin* of Shaikh Abu'n-Najib as Suhrawardi.

He himself lectured mainly on ideas contained in the *'Awarif al-ma'arif* and often quoted at some length verses of the famous sufi poet, Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi. Professing to believe the *Hadis* of the Prophet Muhammad that salt could cure all the seventy diseases of Perso-Indian medical lore (obviously excluding death), he always carried salt on his person, consuming it even when lecturing.

Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din believed that the famous work on Arabic grammar, the *Kafiya fi'n-nahw*, was objectionable as a student text on the grounds that its author, Shaikh Jamalu'd-Din (d.646/1248), had omitted in his preface to offer the traditional praise to God, and to beg for blessings for the Prophet Muhammad, his descendants and companions. Contrary to the Indian custom of performing prayers barefooted he recited his prayers with his shoes on, as he believed the Prophet Muhammad had done likewise.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni related an interesting incident which he believed illustrated the Shaikh's supernatural powers. Travelling between Lucknow and Amethi, Bada'uni came across some police officers who had arrested a man disguised as a beggar on the charge of highway robbery, and had witnessed the man escaping from custody.

Later, when the Mulla and his companions arrived at the house of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, a beggar also called. To the amazement of the Mulla and others, he was refused hospitality. Intuitively, the Shaikh, who had not seen the arrest on the highway, had recognized the beggar as the thief.

Reluctant to initiate disciples Shaikh Nizamu'd-din made exceptions however. A boy called Hatim, whom he had discovered in the *khanqah* of Qazi Mubarak of Gopamau was one of them. He cared for the youth providing him with books, clothes and shoes. He grew up to be a prominent sufi and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din bestowed on him the title of Shaikh, an honour he granted to him alone. After Shaikh Hatim's death from an attack of asthma, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din missed his company, lamenting that he had no one with whom to talk.

In 979/1571-2 Shaikh Nizam died aged more than eighty. His successor was his son, Miyan Shaikh Muhammad. One of the latter's disciples was Shaikh Mustafa 'Abdu'l-Hamid 'Usman who lived in the village of Barauna in Jaunpur where he was very well-known. In his old age Shaikh Mustafa migrated to Purniya in Bengal where he died. His son, Diwan Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid, lived in Jaunpur and was initiated as a Chishti by his father.

Later, he also became a Qadiri, as the Qadiriyya order around Jaunpur had become increasingly popular through the efforts of the descendants of Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rashid, whose life has been discussed in Chapter two.

Shaikh Sufi was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-din of Amethi. After the death of his *pir*, Shaikh Sufi moved to Gujarat and for several years remained there studying the *Fusus al-Hikam* and the *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* under Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Gujarati. Shaikh Sufi wrote a commentary on the *Fusus al-Hikam* and delivered brilliant lectures on the technical terms used by Ibn 'Arabi in discussing the *Wahdat al-Wujud*.

The leading figure among the disciples of Shaikh Sufi was Shaikh Halim Ibrahimabadi, who mastered the *Fusus al-Hikam* under his *pir*. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chishti was taught by Shaikh Halim and also knew Shaikh Sufi.

The Emperor Jahangir was highly impressed by the scholarship of Shaikh Sufi, believing him to be an expert in history, biographical literature and sufic works, and appointed the Shaikh Prince Khurram's tutor. In the morning, the Shaikh would instruct the Prince in history from such works as the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, and in the evening would tutor him in mysticism and theology. He always began his sufi lessons with a letter from the *Maktubat* by Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Munyari and his comments on the contents instructed his pupil in the technical terms of sufism and Qur'anic exegesis.

It would seem that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign, the Mujaddid wrote a long letter to Shaikh Sufi explaining the mystic progression from the *Whadat al-Wujud* to the *Wahdat al-Shuhud*, but Shaikh Sufi remained devoted to Ibn 'Arabi.

One of Shaikh Sufi's friends was Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman Chishti. After being initiated into several sufi orders, his brother, Shaikh Hamid bin Shaikh Qutbu'd-Din, a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul-Haqq, initiated him into the Chishtiyya-Sabiriyya order. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman also considered himself to be an Uwaisi, claiming to have obtained initiation from the spirit of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti.

For some time, he lived at Agra, but in 1028/1618 settled in his native village, Dhaniti. After the death of his brother in 1032/1622, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman became his successor.

The Shaikh often visited the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdu'l-Haqq of Rudauli and those of other sufi *pirs* in Lucknow. It was in Rudauli that he met Shaikh Muhibbu'llah of Allahabad, drawing from his company great spiritual benefit. Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman wrote the *Mir'atu'l-asrar*, the *Mir'at-i Madari* and the *Mir'at-i Mas'udi*. His *Mir'atu'l-mukhluqat*, will be discussed in chapter eight. He died in 1094/1683 in his native village of Dhaniti.

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Nizamuddin Auliya, Shaikh (1236A.D. — 1325A.D.)

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1236—1325) who gave an all-India status to the Chishti *silsilah* and sent his disciples to the different provincial towns. These *khalifas* became central figures in their respective regions. Abdullah Shattari is reported to have said that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya sent seven hundred well-trained disciples to various important cities of the country.

Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar was sent to Hansi, Shaikh Wajihuddin Yusuf to Chanderi, Shah Wilayat to Gujarat, Shaikh Husamuddin Multani to Pattan, Shaikh Kamaluddin to Malwa, Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib to Deogir, and Shaikh Muhammad to Manikpur. The task of

organizing the *silsilah* in Bengal was entrusted to Shaikh sirajuddin Usman.

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Nizamuddin Aulia, (1234-1325)

> "If a man places thorns in your way, and you do the same, it will be thorns everywhere."

Hanoz Dilli Dur Ast (Delhi is far off). This is one of the most commonly used expression (when the goal is distant) amongst Indians but few know its origin. It is said that one while returning from campaign of Bengal Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, who was jealous of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia's great moral and spiritual influence, sent a word to the Aulia to leave Ghiyaspur, his seat, because the Sultan apprehended trouble from Ulugh Khan and others that time sojourning with Aulia. According to tradition Aulia's reaction to the message was 'Hanoz Dilli Dur Ast', The prophecy turned out true as the Sultan met an unexpected death before he could reach Delhi. Delhi was far off.

Another time Aulia heard of Sultan Jalaluddin's intention to visit him. Aulia went away to Ajodhan and avoided meeting the Sultan. When Sultan Alauddin expressed a desire to visit Aulia, the latter's reaction was: "There are two doors of my house. If the Sultan comes by one door, I will quit by the other."

Nizamuddin Aulia was a disciple of Bakhtiar Kaki and in the line of disciples of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. While granting *khilafat-nama* to Nazamuddin. Farid had instructed the recipient-disciple to devote his life to the propagation of the Chishti mystic principles.

Aulia opened the door of his mystic principles and admitted all classes of people. He enjoyed immense popularity and influence among them and also had their confidence. If ever a disciple committed a sin, he confessed it before the saint and avowed allegiance anew. Under Aulia, the Chishti *silsilah* reached its high watermark.

Aulia laid great stress on the motive of love and devotion which, he said, helped realisation of God. The motive of love, he preached, had a direct bearing on social justice and benevolence. Devotion to God could be either lazmi (obligatory) - prayer, fast, pilgrimage and recitation - and its benefits accrued to the devotee alone, or it could be *muta addi* (communicable) - spending money on others, showing affection and helpfulness to others - its benefits accrue to others but its rewards are endless.

Aulia laid greater stress on *muta addi* and said that the entire knowledge was not equivalent to the detached service of mankind. Once Aulia said, "The only way to love and adore God was to love Him for the sake of human beings and to love human beings for the sake of God."

Aulia was a learned man and led a pious life. He kept himself alo of from the authorities and never visited any durbar of any Sultan. He felt God and mammon could not be served simultaneously. To his disciples he advised, "One whose hands and feet moved at the royal bidding could not have a soul of his own." and asked them to abstain from the services, favours and patronage of kings. People of various classes came to him. The mystic teacher soothed the excited nerves of people who were disgusted and frustrated or had their hearts torn by inner conflicts. He also integrated their personality to inner harmony.

It has been asked that if Aulia preached aloofness from courts or persons in authority, how was it that Amir Khusrau who spent all his life in courts and camps could be a cherished disciple of Aulia. In reply to this it is said that Aulia had personal regard and affection for Khusrau and that since a *khilafatnama* was not given to Khusrau which alone could bar a disciple from government service, no principle was involved in this case.

The Aulia allowed discussions on spiritual matters but worldly issues were taboo. The disciples were encouraged to say their Chasht, Ishnaq, Zawal and Tahajjud, besides their compulsory prayers.

In contrast to the Chishti saints were the Suhrawardy saints. Whereas the Chishtis laid stress on humaneness, the Suhrawardys did not detest material prosperity and were rigid in religious matters. Two instances are given here:

A visitor asked Nizamuddin Aulia: What should be the ultimate end of a Hindu if he recited in private Kalimah, believed in the unity of God and acknowledged the prophethood of Mohammed, but kept silent when a Musalman comes. The Shaikh refused to pronounce any verdict on such a Hindu, saying that it was an affair between him and God who could punish him or forgive him.

Contrast this with another incident with Saiyed Jalaluddin Bakhan, of the Suhrawardy *silsilah,* who was on his death-bed. Naivahun, a daroga of Uchch, called on him and said, "May God restore your health. your holiness is the last of the saints as the Prophet Mohammed was the last of the prophets".

This was construed as an expression of faith in Islam and it was demanded of Naivahun to make a formal declaration of conversion. Naivahun declined. The matter was further pursued and Naivahun was declared an apostate. Permission was sought from Feroz for the execution of Naivahun and this was granted.

Aulia conducted his work of piety for 50 long years. His *durgah* at Delhi is visited by large crowds which shows the high regard in which he is held. Once the saint had said. If some one visits a living man and gets nothing from him to eat, it is as if he had visited the dead. If the Chishti saints had nothing, they respectfully offered the visitor a bowl of water.

Nizamuddin was born at Badaun in U.P. in the year 634 A.H. His parents Sayed Ahmed and Sayedah Bibi Zulaikha were simple, pious people. When he was young his father passed away. Consequently, the family led a very hard life. On the advice of Hazrat Najeebuddin he went to Ajodhan where he received religious instructions from Baba Fardabudin. There are many legends of miracles associated with the name of Hazrat Nizamuddin. He died in 1325 A.D./ 725 A.H.

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Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari, Shaikh (d. 1562A.D.)

In Burhanpur Shaikh Yusuf's son, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Bhikari, rose to prominence as a sufi. At the suggestion of Shah Nu'man of Asir he went to Mandu fort to receive instruction from Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din, a descendant of Baba Farid. From him he obtained the title of Shaikh Bhikari (Beggar). He then visited Pak-

Pattan (Ajodhan) performing meditation and ascetic exercises under Shaikh Muhammad, the head of Baba Farid's *Khanqah*. From Pak-Pattan he returned to Asir and from there made two pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, one by sea and the other by the arduous land route.

The Shaikh was known to fast continuously throughout the day while his nights were occupied in prayer. After spending many years wandering like a *qalandar*, at Shah Nu'man's suggestion, he settled in Burhanpur where he established his own *khanqah*. Before his death, Shah Nu'man transferred his disciples to the care of Shaikh Bhikari so that they could still complete their sufic training.

Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (1538-1580) of Bijapur was an enthusiastic devotee of Shaikh Bhikari. On 12th Rabi' I, 970/1st November, 1562, the Shaikh died, leaving many important *khalifas* to follow him as missionaries in the Chishti cause.

One of Shaikh Bhikhari's *khalifas*, Shah Mansur, was a *majzub* (ecstatic). The son of Malik Jalal, his grandfather was a former Prime Minister of 'Ali 'Adil Shah. After receiving the usual religious and literary education his ecstatic love of the sufi life prompted him to become the disciple of the Shaikh Bhikari. Serving his *pir* with an incredible degree of humility he was soon a leading sufi. On one occasion, he was in such a deep state of Shaikh Bhikari.

When in such ecstatic states he would compose verses Burhanpur bazaar naked. Apparently, Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (1526-37) discovered Shah Mansur roaming in the bazaar of Burhanpur. The ruler tried to converse with him but the Shah ran towards the tomb of Shaikh Bhikari. When in such ecstatic states he would compose verses in persian and a number of local dialects.

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Nur Muhammad, Shaikh (alive in 1606 A.D.)

Shaikh Nur Muhammad, another leading *khalifa* of the Mujaddid, was a native of Patna. Before becoming a Naqshbandiyya he had had an extensive theological education and had consulted a number of sufis throughout India. Spiritual satisfaction was no to be achieved however until he visited Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah and was received into the Naqshbandiyya order by him. Later, the Khwaja assigned him to the care of the Mujaddid for further training.

Along with Shaikh Tahir (who seems to have visited Delhi accompanied by his *pir*), Shaikh Nur Muhammad used to attend to Mujaddid's lectures on the *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*. During the lectures both Shaikh Tahir and Shaikh Nur Muhammad believed the Mujaddid ignored to most subtle points of mysticism in his lectures and thought that, as they themselves knew the literal meaning of the *'Awarif* which the Mujaddid described, it was meaningless for them to attend his lectures.

Supernaturally the Mujaddid discovered this and expelled them from Firuzabad Fort. Foiled, they spent their days in the jungle, and during the night they would stand outside the gates of the fort. Khwaja Husamu'd-Din begged the Mujaddid to readmit them to his tutelage, only to receive the reply that their baser selves were swollen with pride and that the sufi life

was not for them. The Khwaja asked that they be permitted to cleanse the foul cells in the basement of the Firuzabadi mosque. So moved was he by their humility in carrying out this task, that the Mujaddid forgave them their former arrogance.

From that time onwards Nur Muhammad remained with the Mujaddid, his obedient servant and pupil. About 1015/1606, he was appointed *khalifa* in Patna. There the Shaikh built for himself a hut by the Ganges with a small hay-covered mosque where he lived with his family, imparting religious and mystical education to those who came to see him.

The Mujaddid was highly impressed with his personal attainments, but was disappointed by his *khalifa's* lack of ability as a missionary; he made few conversions to the order.

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Nur Qutb-i Alam, Shaikh (d. 1440 A.D.)

Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, popularly known as *Shaikh Nur Qutbi-'Alam* was son of Shaikh Ala'ul Haqq, and *Khalifa* of Bengal. His father prescribed for him severe forms of asceticism in an effort to crush his ego. For eight years Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq brought fuel to the *khanqah,* and performed such menial services as washing the inmates' clothes. His elder brother, A'zam Khan, a vizier, took great pity of Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam's miserable condition but to the latter the taunts and ridicules of the townsfolk mattered little.

A staunch believer in the *Wahdut al-Wujud,* to Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq the highest form of asceticism was to perform tasks for God's servents. Following ideas expressed by earlier sufis, he advised his disciple, Shaikh Husamu'd-Din Manikpuri, that his munificence should be like the sun, that is, universal, his humility free-flowing like water and his patience like the earth, that is, steadfast. The leters of Nuru'l—Haqq, collected into a volume, indicate he had an infinite command of expression of the subtle meanings of the Unity of Being.

The Shaikh's father recognized his brilliance and praised the letters for their success in what most sufis found to be impossible, the expression of the affliction of divine love. The following passage of Shaikh Nuru'l-Haqq, chosen from some extracts reproduced in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar,* describes the goals of true mystics:

> 'The tranquillity of a dervish lies in his restlessness; the worship of a dervish is detestation of all that is not God. Dedication of anything other than God is involvement with frivolity; prayers without being wholly absorbed in the Divine are futile. Outward piety is only wickedness. Involvement with deep affliction is greatness and the closing of eyes towards anything beside God is felicity. Common people try to purify their body, but the spiritual elite cleanse their hearts.... External purification is destroyed by certain acts causing defilement but inner purification is destroyed by evil thoughts. Sufis believe a mere worldly thought makes a ritual bath of purification as prescribed by the *Tariqa* indispensable to devotees. Never owe a favour to anyone.'

Shaikh Nur Qutb-i 'Alam believed in the traditional Perso-Islamic theory of kingship and taught his followers to obey the Sultan according to the Prophet's *Hadis* and the advice of leading Chishti saints. His relations with

Sikandar's-sucessor,Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah.were cordinal but he was distressed by the growing factionalism at court. A powerful party of Hindus and Muslims, led by Raja Ganesa, a local Hindu chief of Dinajpur in North Bengal began to dominate the government.

After the death of Ghiyasu'd-Din A'zam Shah, between 1410 and 1415, the Raja acted as king maker and one after the other three puppets were elevated to the throne. During the reign of the last, 'Ala'u'd-Din Firuz Shah, Raja Ganesa was *defacto* ruler of Bengal.This prompted Nur Qutb-i 'Alam to write to Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur urging him to invade Bengal and in so doing restore the glory of Islam.

Saiyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir Simnani also wrote a similar letter. In 1415, Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi invaded Bengal but a peace was concluded in which Ganesha promised his son would convert to Islam before assuming the throne of Bengal. Ibrahim Shah Sharqi returned to Jaunpur and Ganesa once again became the *defacto* ruler.

Although, according to Nur Qutb-i'Alam the situation was frustrating , the replacement of a legitimate Muslim ruler, along the lines laid down by Ghazali, was clearly out of the question.It seems that an invasion would have been unpopular with the pro-Ganesa faction of Muslims, and Sultan Ibrahim Shah realistically saw his prospects of permanently ruling Bengal as bleak.Under such circumstances he gauged it imprudent to invade Bengal.

According to the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar,* Nur Qutb-i'Alam died in 813/1410-11,but the *Mir'atu'l-Asrar* stated the the Shaikh died on 10 Zu'lqada 818/11th January, 1416. He was buried near his father's grave at Pandua, and the two tombs became a significant centre of pilgrimage in Bengal.receiving large indowments from affluent devtotees.

Shaikh Nur Qutb-i'Alam's son, Shaikh Anwar, was the family favourite and his father took great care with his education. Raja Ganesa is said to have banished him to Sunargaon and then had tortured him to death in order to discover where his ancestral treasury was hidden. Some of Shaikh Anwar's ideas were noble from the sufi point of view. Love, he believed, occurred when people opened their eyes spiritually, only then could they truly perceive the Beloved and think of Him alone.

The eldest son of Shaikh Nur Qubt-i 'Alam, Rafqatu'd-Din, was endowed with great meekness and humility towards others. Publicly, he admitted he was inferior even to a street dog, to a Muslim the most loathsome and unclean of all animals. Zahid, his son, was also a promising sufi. Probably, Raja Ganesa spared Rafqatu'd-Din, but his son and uncle were banished to Sunargaon.

However, Sultan Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad Shah recalled Zahid to Pandua. Zahid's successors formed a hereditary line of spiritual succession traced from Shaikh Qutb-i'Alam; none of them, however, ever reached the stature of Shaikh Akhi Siraj and his two successors.

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Nuru'd-Din (1378A.D — 1439A.D.)

The life of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Rishi, whose original name seems to have been Nand, is shrouded in myths and legends. There is no general agreement among the sources about the

date of his birth. However, many agree that he was born on 10 Zu'l-Hijja, 779/9 April, 1378.

It is said that the birth-place of Nuru'd-Din is Kaimuh, where his father Salar Gana'i, belonging to the tribe of watchmen, lived. it is also said that when the Shaikh was born he would not take milk from his mother's breast. Three days after his birth, lalla, the celebrated Shavite ascetic of Kashmir, happened to come by and spoke to the newly born baby: "You were not ashamed of being born; why are you ashamed to suck?" Thereupon the baby immediately started taking milk and Lalla thereafter continued to visit the house of the parents of Nuru'd-Din.

After the death of their father, the brothers of Nuru'd-Din, Shesh and Kundar, are reported to have tarned to a life of theft and robbery. When Nuru'd-Din grew older, they pressed him to share in their way of life, and Nuru'd-Din reluctantly agreed. Nuru'd-Din is said to have hinted at this in the following verses attributed to him:

"A spring has been lost in the stream,
A saint has been lost among the thieves.
A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of fools,
A swan has been lost among the crows."

However, the Shaikh proved an incompetent thief. His brothers, thinking that he might become a source of trouble, approached their mother and told her that he should leave them, as he was an ignorant fool. Their mother sent for him and said that if he considered stealing unlawful, he should take up some other means of earning his living. The Shaikh agreed and went with her to a weaver to become his apprentice.

But the very first day the weaver lost patience with him as he kept on asking questions about religion instead of attending to his work. The weaver sent for Nuru'd-Din's mother. She came and enquired what was wrong with him and why he did not get on with his work. The Shaikh replied:

"No work in this world is easy. The tools of the weaver reminded me that we all have to leave this world. So we should not set our hearts on worldly success. Our destiny is determined at our birth, we work in order to keep alive until the moment when that destiny must be fulfilled. If we do not worship, how shall we achieve freedom from the punishments of the grave?"

It seems that the stories were prepared to show Nuru'd-din's piety and innocence. They were intended to serve as a background-setting for some of his verses. It is common to stories of saints all over the world, to present them as moved by impulses of virtue even before the light of conversion draws upon them. The disciples of Kabir and Nanak to reconstructed the framework of their biographies on the basis of their verses.

The legendary nature of the incidents of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's life, described in the hagiological literature, may also be judged by the fact that the same literature attributes his conversion to different sources. According to Baba Nasib once the Prophet appeared to the Shaikh in a dream, addressed him by his Kashmiri name Nand, and bade him to do pious deeds and be worthy of his name. The vision drew the veil from the eyes of Nuru'd-Din and he was increasingly drawn to the spiritual life.

Baba Dawud Mishkati and 'Abdu'l-Wahhab say that while the Shaikh and his brothers were once trying to break into a house, Lalla, who happened to be there, cried to Nuru'd-Din: "What will you get from this house? Go to a big house (i.e. God), you will get something there." On hearing this Nuru'd-Din, who was thirty years old at that time, immediately left his brothers and dug out a cave at the village of Kaimuh. Here for many years he performed his austere penances, withdrawing entirely from the life that surrounded him.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din was a great mystic, who had risen high above the courts, and the social and religious institutions of the time. His sayings, as we shall see in the following pages, reveal that his conversion to the spiritual life was not accidental, but out of conviction. But

the question arises, whence did he draw inspiration? Was he really influenced by the Sufis, who by his time had migrated to Kashmir in large numbers?

All the earlier sources generally agree that the preceptor of Nuru'd-Din is not known, describing him merely as "Uwaisi". however, the later scholars such as A'zami and Wahhab assert that Nuru'd-Din received guidance from Saiyid Husain, the cousin of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani. But the discrepancy in their statements makes them unreliable.

Azami states that when Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani arrived in Kashmir (783/1381), Shaikh Nuru'd-Din was still unborn. Thus by the time Saiyid Husain died (792/1390). The Shaikh would not be more than nine years old. Again. A'zami says that Nuru'd-Din entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty. This then happened some seventeen years after Saiyid Husain's death, as A'zami agrees that the Shaikh was born in 779/1378.

According to one statement of Wahhab, Nuru'd-Din would be thirteen years old by the time Saiyid Husain died, as he gives the date of birth of Nuru'd-Din as 779/1377-1378. At another place like A'zami he states that the Shaikh's conversion took place when he was thirty years old. This suggests that it is unlikely that the Shaikh would have received any guidance from Saiyid Husain. The confusion in Wahhab's statements may also be judged by the fact that elsewhere he himself states that Nuru'd-Din's conversion took place because of Lalla.

Again, Wahhab, who was himself an adherent of the Kubraviya order, seems to be bent on connecting the Rishis with that order.

According to Wahhab, when Mir Muhammad, the son of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, heard about the virtues of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, he went to see him. And after being convinced of his spirituality, the Mir asked the Shaikh to accept him as his disciple. But the Shaikh told Mir Muhammad that since he was a descendant of the Prophet, he should rather be his disciple. The Mir thereupon accepted him.

Saiyid 'Ali, Baba Nasib and Mishkati, the earliest to record the meeting of the Shaikh with the Mir, say nothing about this. In fact, the anecdote about Mir Muhammad's meeting with Shaikh Nuru'd-Din reveals that their attitudes to the problem were in conflict.

It is said that Mir Muhammad criticised Nuru'd-Din for abstaining from meat. Some of his companions are even reported to have criticised the Shaikh for his lack of knowledge about the *shari'a*. Thus, it seems most unlikely that either Mir Muhammad or Shaikh Nuru'd-Din would have shown any desire to become the disciple of the other.

In fact, there seems very little doubt that Nuru'd-Din developed his thought in his own atmosphere. By this time, a new Bhakti movement. set in train by Lalla, had started in Kashmir. In view of the fact that she was a source of inspiration for Nuru'd-Din it will be useful to give a brief description of her life.

Like that of Nuru'd-Din, Lalla's life is shrouded in myth and legend. It is said that she came of a fairly well-to-do family of Brahmans of Pompur, and that right from her childhood she was given to an ascetic life. However, she was married to a Brahman boy in the same village.

Her mother-in-law was cruel and her husband ignored her. Because of her mystical tendencies, Lalla failed to conform to the established social practices and was turned out of her husband's house. There-upon she started roaming from place to place in a semi-nude state.

Probably it was disappointment in love and domestic life that turned Lalla into an ascetic. All that can be affirmed of her with certainty is that she flourished between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that she was a senior contemporary of Nuru'd-Din.

The "Lal Wakhi" or 'Sayings of Lalla', are the "current coin of quotation" in Kashmir. They were first edited and rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in 1920. Later, Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in 1924, published a translation in English verse of Lalla's sayings with a detailed analysis of her teachings.

Self-denial, purity of life are the key-note of her sayings. She rejected the established religious dogmas and rituals. Was she influenced by Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani? Some modern scholars, including Temple and Muhibbu'l-Hasan, think so. But at the same time Temple, whom Muhibbu'l-Hasan follows, acknowledges that Lalla's association with Saiyid 'Ali is based on legend.

It is most likely that the legend was concocted either to glorify the influence of Saiyid 'Ali or to counteract the popular belief that Lalla influenced Shaikh Nuru'd-Din. There is in fact no trace of Islamic influence in Lalla's teachings, although some modern scholars such as Grierson and Temple have in vain tried to find some. Indeed, it was not the Muslim saints who influenced Lalla, but she who influenced a section of the Kashmiri Muslim saints, the Rishis, through Nuru'd-Din.

Nuru'd-Din was a junior contemporary of Lalla and though the tales of Nuru'd-Din's encounters with Lalla may be taken as hagiological fabrications, at least they reveal that Nuru'd-Din was popularly considered to have had some association with Lalla. The similarity of their sayings and teachings would suggest this was more than mere association, and that Lalla was, in fact, an initial and important source of inspiration for Nuru'd-Din. Lalla, while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship, says:

"Who are they that wreathes of flowers bring?
What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay?
Water that they on the Image fling?
What the spell that Shankar's Self shall sway."

Nuru'd-Din likewise points out:

"By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rishi,
The pounder in the rice-mill did never raise up its head.
By bathing, the mind will not be cleaned,
The fish and otter never ascend the bank."

Lalla relates her spiritual experience in the following verses :

"Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo ! I beheld the Truthful One, the wise,
Here in mine own House to fill my gaze."

And Nuru'd-Din says :

"Searching far and wide in vain,
Lo! I found Him in my own country."

On the signs of immoral society Lalla observes:

"In these evil times doth Nature bow
Unto them that walk in wrongful ways.
Autumn pears and apples ripen now
With the apricots of summer days.
In the coming days of shame and wrath Mother and her daughter, hand in hand,
Strangers to accost shall wander forth;
Men and women in an evil band."

Nuru'd-Din makes the same point, employing almost the same language:

"The times will become more and more evil
Human nature itself will change for the worse,
Pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn will change and ripen with apricots in the height of the rainy season ;
Mother and daughter hand in hand, will enjoy their days with strangers."

Nuru'd-Din was influenced by Lalla's personality is quite clear from one of his sayings, in which he declares Lalla a great soul, He eulogizes her spiritual attainments and, despairing of surpassing them himself, strives only to equal them:

"That Lalla of Padmanpur
Who had drunk nectar
She is the Avatar and Yogini
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me."

The personalities of Lalla and Nuru'd-Din are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. But there seems little doubt that Nuru'd-Din drew inspiration from Lalla, even if he did not actually become her disciple.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din distinguished himself among all the Muslim saints of Kashmir. Jonaraja, the contemporary of the Shaikh, who rarely acknowledges the sanctity of any Muslim, describes him the greatest sage of the time. The Shaikh did not concern himself with propagating the faith of Islam. He gave himself up to austere penances. For some time, he subsisted upon wild vegetables, later on he gave them up and sustained life on one cup of milk daily. Finally, in his last years, he is said to have reduced his diet to water alone.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din died on 26th Ramazan, 842/12th March, 1439, at the age of sixty three. He was buried with almost royal pomp at the village of Chrar; among the thousands of mourners was Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin. The simplicity and the purity of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's life has greatly impressed the people of Kashmir, who entertain the highest veneration for the saint to this day. It was, perhaps, to give the expression to popular sentiment that the Afghan governor, 'Ata' Muhammad Khan (early nineteenth century), struck coins in the name of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din received no formal education and left nothing in writing to posterity. However, his sayings, which he, like Lalla, expressed in the contemporary Kashmiri dialect, embody his teachings. They were handed down to posterity by word of mouth, and were written down two hundred years after his death. They long remained scattered in various works and have recently beed collected and edited in Persian script by Muhammad Amin Kamil, under the title of *Nur-Nama.*

Since they were passed from generation to generation by word of mouth, there is every possibility of interpolation. A comparison of the sayings attributed to Lalla, which were first collected in the eighteenth century, with the text of Nuru'd-Din, as established in the *Nur-Nama,* suggests that it may be impossible finally to decide the authorship of many of the sayings. The *Nur-Nama* ascribes to nuru'd-Din some of the sayings which Sir George Grierson attributes to Lalla.

Grierson, whom Temple follows, either did not bother to consult or had no access to persian sources and accepted as authentic Lalla's sayings, which were narrated to him by a Brahman named Dharma Dasa. But the following comparison of some of the sayings of Lalla with those of Nuru'd-Din invites considerable doubt. Lalla:

> *"Kyah Kara pontasan dahan ta kahna wokh- shun yigh ligi karith yim gaiy soriy samahon yath razi lamahan ada Kyazi ravihe kahan gav."*

To check "What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven?

A true saint is one who avoids publicity as poison. To ask for blessing from God while worshipping, is a sign of greed. According to him, "An *alim* is one who distinguishes between the spirit and the flesh; and an '*arif* is one who is able to discriminate between the desires of the spirit and the desires of the flesh."

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din believes that although God has bestowed everything upon mankind, we are ungrateful and indifferent to His worship. "He remembers us, He provides our livelihood, He preserves our health, but we are lukewarm in His worship." To worship is a duty imposed on all creatures. Once, when the shaikh was in his cave at the village of Kaimuh, his mother came and asked solicitiously how he was putting up with the insects and rats in the cave. The Shaikh replied: "They too are worshipping." He added: "whatever creature has been given life by the grace of God, exists only for the purpose of worshipping Him. Whatever has the power to speak has a duty to worship him."

In strong terms he warns men to worship God from the moment they attain the age of reason. He used to ask if one does not turn towards God in the vigour of youth, how can one do so in old age?

> "Understand that sunt (lit. spring, i.e.youth) is the best time (to worship),
> It is better to be ready right from the beginning.
> Do not lag behind, youth is an allusion,
> what shall a man do if he misses his chance early."

Nuru'd-Din regarded a man's base nature *(nafs)* as his great enemy. The first duty of worship is to control one's desires. "The belly is the stronghold of the *nafs* and to fight the *nafs*" he says, "is a most meritorious holy war *(jihad)*." Again he says: "If one subdues his *nafs*, one is a great soul, and his efforts are pure worship."

The Shaikh strongly believed that man's *nafs* is the greatest obstacle in one's way to God. Repeatedly and with great vigour the

Shaikh lays stress on the duty of crushing and overpowering it at all costs. It is said that once he was at the village of Pattan, where he saw some people cooking fish. His mouth began to water at the smell.

He went near the stove but instead of taking a piece of fish, he put a burning piece of wood in his mouth and remarked: "O my *nafs* the fish for you is this." This tale shows the high value the Shaikh placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts, He himself gave up first bread, then vegetables and then milk. Later on, he tried to keep alive on water. His whole thought, and that of his followers, is based on the control of the *nafs*. He says:

" The nafs has disturbed me greatly,
The nafs has ruined me entirely.
It is the nafs which makes us destroy others.
The nafs is the slave of the devil."
"To serve the nafs is to thrust ashes into one's own eyes.
How then can one expect to see ?"
"The nafs is just like a rebellious calf, which should be tied up.
It should be threatened with the stick of fasting."
"Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or cradles.
He who cut and filed it
will burn it into ashes."

The Shaikh condemned anger pride and greed, the source of which was selfish desires: "The proud should be sent to hell where they will become soft; like iron in the fire" Again, he is said to have remarked: "One cannot attain the Truth, if one does not give up anger, pride and greed."

"Those who kill tamogunas
They will bear (everything) with resignation,
Those who seek after ease, ease (God),
They consider everything (in this world) as ashes (worthless).

He is very critical of the Mullas who make it their profession to recite the Qur'an and get money in return. He considers them veritable patterns of hypocrisy. They pursue knowledge for purely selfish reasons: "They wear big turbans and long garments; they carry sticks in their hands; they go from place to place and sell their prayers and fasts in return for food." The sayings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din provide much information about the social life and religious attitudes of the *mullas* of his time:

"A spiritual guide seems like a pot full of nectar,
Which may be trickling down in drops.
Having a heap of books beside him,
He may have become confused by reading them.
On examining him we found him empty in mind,
He may by preaching to others but forgetting himself."
"The people of the kali-yuga in every house will pretend to be saints,
As a prostitute does when dancing.
They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle,
They will not sow beans, cotton seeds or grain.
They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means,
To hide themselves they will repair to a forest."
"O mulla your rosary is like a snake,
You begin to count the beads when your disciples come near.
You eat six meals one after the other,
If you are a mulla then who are the thieves ?"

Nuru'd-Din yearned for a society, based on moral values. He is conscious of the defects of the society in which he lived. There are many anecdotes associated with the life and doings of Nuru'd-Din, which not only reveal his disapproval of the established social customs, but also provide an ample evidence about the medieval society of Kashmir.

To expose hollowness of the cherished values of the society, the Shaikh is said to have had recourse to a device attributed to many saints. He went to attend a feast, to which he had been invited, in rags. Because of his wretched appearance he could not get admittance into the assembly of the guests. He returned to his place and came back richly dressed. When the feast was served, he put his sleeves and the corners of his costly garment into the dishes. The guests were astonished at his strange behaviour and asked him the rea-

son. He replied with a smile: "The feast was not really for Nuru'd-Din but for the long sleeves."

Nuru'd-Din believed in complete harmony among different religions and preached place and understanding in them. He must have been concious of the hatred and tension which were created during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, and was keen to restore harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims. According to Jonaraja, Suha Bhatta, who after his conversion to Islam became the champion of that religion and persecuted the non-Muslims, put restrictions on Nuru'-Din.

It is most likely that Nuru'd-Din disapproved of the actions of Suha Bhatta, and raised his voice against it. His own sayings, in which he calls on people to follow the path of peace and harmony, show his strong desire for understanding, love and affection among all sections of the Kashmiris.

"*We belong to the same parents.*
Then why this difference ?
Let Hindus and Muslims (together)
worship God alone."
"*We came to this world like partners.*
We should have shared our joys
and sorrows together."

Nuru'd-Din's message was not confined to one race or one class, but addressed to mankind as a whole. He belonged to the universe. He expressed his thought in the simple language of his people, clothing his ideas with similes and examples familiar from their experience. His verses therefore had an immediate appeal to the unlettered masses.

Allusions to his sayings and verses both by the Muslims and non-Muslims of Kashmir are quite common even today and have become almost proverbial. Above all the sayings of Nuru'd-Din are the expression of the ideas of many thinkers of his time. In this way, he and his sayings have the great importance.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din attracted a large number of people to his fold. Among his prominent disciples were Bamu'd-Din, Zainu'd-Din, Latifu'd-Din Nasru'd and Qiyamu'd-Din. There is no evidence that Nuru'd-Din gave a *Khilafat-nama* to any of his disciples or that he nominated any of them as his successor. But Saiyid Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* calls the first four above mentioned disciples his *Khalifas,* and the later writers have followed the Saiyid.

Of these four *Khalifas,* the first three are alleged to have been born as Hindus, and to have been converted to Islam by Nuru'd-Din. The sources, however, are not unanimous about the circumstances of their conversion; the details they relate are drawn from the stock of standard Sufi stories, and there is no external evidence to support their statements. Therefore, one must view them with considerable caution.

It is said that Bamu'd-Din was a famous Brahman, respected by many Kashmiri Hindus, residing at Bamuzu, where he used to worship numerous idols. He is credited with having possessed remarkable miraculous powers, even as a Hindu. For example, he is reported to have bathed daily at dawn, simultaneously at five different places in Kashmir. Chandanyar Adavin and to have called one day on Shaikh Nuru'd-Din, who asked the purpose of the visit; he replied that he wanted his friendship. Nuru'd-Din answered that there could be no friendship between them unless he accepted Islam. Latifud-Din yielded and at the same time gave up his post and became the disciple of the Shaikh.

The story of Nuru'd-Din approaching Bhuma Sidh (Bamu'd-Din) dressed in a bloody cow-skin is quite incompatible with the character of the Shaikh. The tale related by Saiyid 'Ali and A'zami of the two men competing in levitation is a stock tale of the Yogi-Sugi confrontations described in almost every hagiological work.

The tradition that Nuru'd-Din made conversion to Islam a condition of his helping Zainu'd-Din, when he was sick, is also irreconciable with Nuru'd-Din's humaintarian bent of mind. Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur says that Zainu'd-Din was searching for a Pir, when he met Nuru'd-Din and became his disciple. His

version accords better with Nuru'd-Din is known character.

Once again Mulla seems to show more respect for the facts in the reason he offers for Latifu'd-Din's conversion. According to him, Latifu'd-Din was overpowered by mystical attraction towards God, and so he abandoned his post and became Nuru'd-Din's disciple.

The stories which credit Nuru'd-Din with having converted Bamu'd-Din, Zainu'd-Din and Latifu'd-Din to Islam are all concocted and seem to have been designed to prove Nuru'-d-Din's zeal and missionary spirit. They show that he was not only an orthodox Sufi but also a narrow minded Muslim. But in his recorded remarks there is no mention of this zeal.

He is said to have remarked once: "I am prejudiced against nobody and I seek to influence nobody". Had he been orthodox and narrow minded he would not have recognized Lalla as an *avatar* and superior to himself. In his sayings, he strongly advises people to live in peace and asks both Hindus and Muslims to live as brothers. Again, had he been a missionary, he would have joined hands with Suha, Bhatta, who put some restrictions on him, to covert the Hindus to Islam.

It is more likely that the simplicity love of mankind and sympathy with human suffering of Nuru'd-Din appealed to the people of other communities and many became his disciples and later on accepted Islam.

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P

Pak Naushahi, Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman (d. 1740/41)

Among the disciples of Shaikh Naushah, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahman, Pak Naushani became such a prominent mystic and ascetic that his *pir* sent him his own disciples and some of his sons for guidance. During his days as a sufi disciple, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Rahaman was assigned to deliver bread from the *khanqah* to the peasants.

Pursuing hard ascetic exercises, he would habitually practice the arduous *chilla-i ma'kus*, in which the body was suspended upside down by a rope, often in a well, the mendicant remaining in this position all night. He also adopted the habit of digging a grave then completely covering his whole body with earth while totally absorbed in prayer. He was also a passionate devotee of *sama*.

By the time Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahman succeeded his pir he was famous for his miraculous cures of the sick. People from distant places would come to his *khanqah* for cures. After his death in 1153/1740-41 the Shaikh was buried in a village later known as Bihrih 'Abdu'r-Rahman (the tomb of 'Abdu'r Rahman).

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Phugi Afghan (d.1658/59 A.D.)

Another Afghan sufi to be trained by the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar was Shaikh Phugi Afghan 'Aziz za'i. When he was involved in *sama* he remained unconscious for the whole night. The *Ma'ariju'l-wilayat* described his many miracles. He died in 1069/1658-59 and was buried in Qasur.

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Pir Muhammad, Shaikh (d. 1769/70A.D)

A native of Jaunpur, Shaikh Pir Muhammad obtained formal education in his native town and in Delhi and Qanauj. In Lucknow, he completed his religious and theological studies, later going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Shah 'Abdu'llah Sayyah Chishti who came from the mountainous regions of Herat, appeared in

Lucknow and initiated Shaikh Pir Muhammad into the Chishtiyya order. Later, he ordered him to settle permanently in Lucknow as a teacher of theology and mysticism. Choosing a piece of high ground on the banks of the Gomti, Shaikh Pir Muhammad built a hermitage not far from the tomb of Shah Mina of Lucknow. The Shaikh generally fasted, obtaining whatever food he did eat from the bazaar. A lover of *sama*, *qawwals* were always on hand to perform. In 1080/1669-70, he died.

Shaikh Pir Muhammad always refused to become embroiled in anything controversial. To the enemies of *sama'* he replied that he heard *sama'* in obedience to the traditions of the Chishtiyya *pirs*. The author of books on both *Fiqh* and sufism, he considered diseases were both physical and spiritual; the former were cured by a physician, but spiritual illness, being caused by the dominance of one instinct over the other, could be set right only by a perfect sufi guide.

In another treatise devoted to a commentary on the *Wahdat al-Wujud*, he wrote that mystics abandoned eternal formalities to become lost in the wine of love. Difficulties transformed them into *majzubs* and they were drowned in the ocean of *Ahadiyya*. Thus, they were able to ignore both the laws of the Shari'a and the *Tariqa*.

In his correspondence, Shaikh Pir Muhammad wrote that people from different religious communities greatly differed from each other, some being devoted to their own desires, some to fantasy and some to doubt. The sufi who had realized the Reality was not concerned with his own self, but rather with eternal Beauty and was therefore engrossed in contemplation.

In another letter, he likened the Divine Being to a seed which produced trees, flowers and fruits, but could not Itself be perceived unless all the manifestations veiling It were removed.

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Ma'ariju'l-wilayat.

Phul, Shaikh (16th Century)

In the first part of the sixteenth century, the most influential Shattari sufis in India were Shaikh Phul *khalifas* of Shaikh Zuhur Hajji Hamid. Shaikh Phul's surname (*laqab*) was Faridu'd-Din Ahmad and his title (*khitab*) was Jahangir (conqueror of the World). He was belived to have been endowed with the ability to perform miraculous feats and mysterious deeds by invoking the names of God (*da'wat-i asma'*) in various ways.

His most notable disciple was the Emperor Humayun who sat at his feet to learn the technique for obtaining supernatural power through the *da'wat-i asma*. The Emperor's devotion to Shaikh Phul prompted Sadru's-Sudur Maulana Jalalu'd-Din Tattawi, an eminent *'alim* and a Suhrawardi, to become Shaikh Phul's disciple. Reasons of expediency also prompted another eminent Sufi, Maulana Muhammad Farghuli, a Naqshbandiyya, to join the shattariyya order while large numbers of other Muslims become Shattariyya sufis, possibly to gain the Emperor's favour.

In 1538-1539, while he was in Bengal, Emperor Humayun sent Shaikh Phul to presuade his rebel brother, Mirza Hindal to join him in a war against their common enemy, the Afghans. However, Mirza Hindal and his advisers rejected the proposal and the leaders of the rebel army urged Hindal to kill Shaikh Phul. This he did, afterwards openly declaring himself Emperor.

Shaikh Phul's younger brother Shaikh Abu'l-Mu'yyad Muhammad, who bore the title of Ghaus, and was popularly known as *Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus*, met a number of saints in his quest for a perfect guide, but is was shaikh

Zuhur Hajji Hamid who finally gave him spiritual satisfaction and initiated him into the mysteries of exorcism through the use of the exalted names of Allah.

For thirteen years and four months Shaikh Ghaus performed rigorous ascetic exercises in the caves of Chunar, near the Ganges in the modern district of Mirzapur in the U.P., and became known to the Muslim elite for his miraculous powers. He settled in Gwalior where he became very influential. In November 1526 he helped Babur's army to seize the Gwalior fort, thereby winning the respect and confidence of the Emperor.

During Humayun's reign Shaikh Phul had lived with the Emperor while Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had his own *khanqah* at Gwalior. After the Afghan, Sher Shah acceded to the throne in Agra in May 1540, he could not ignore the arch supporter of the Mughals. Sher-Shah's advisers declared that a treatise by Shaikh Muhammad called *Risala-i-Mi'rajiyya* smacked of blasphemy and that he deserved capital punishment.

In this treatise the Shaikh, enlarging upon the notion of mystic ascension described by Abu Yazid, had claimed that his own mystic ascent enabled him also to visit God and to hold conversations with Him. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus therefore fled to Gujarat, where Humayun remained in touch with him; a letter written by the Emperor to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and the Shaikh's reply are preserved in the *Gulzar-i-abrar.*

Humayun's letter showed satisfaction at the Shaikh's success in escaping to Gujarat where he was beyound the reach of the 'monstrous' Afghans. The Shaikh called the Emperor's attention to the fact that in order to render august personalities perfect, God endowed them with the *jamal* and *jalal* aspects of His name. In the Emperor's case *jamal* had expired and he had temporarily to experience the hardships associated with *jalal.*

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Piloo, Bhagat

We find another Piloo, who wrote the romantic composition *Mirja-Sahiban* and old love story popular in Punjab. This Bhagat Piloo is different poet who attibuted his composition on the name of God. He was mystic, who denounced the worldly pleasures. He remained sad and sung the songs of pessimism.

Guru Arjun refused to incorporate his hymns in *Guru Granth Sahib,* because pessimism was not the mission of Gurmat philosophy. In the words of Dr. G.C. Narang: "The centuries of invasion, foreign misrule and persecution had produced the greatest depression and the spiritual subject.

Damn with the love of women, who have no wisdom and reasoning. First they make love by shower of smiles and later on they expose everything by weeping.

Some critics feel that Piloo has some sense of vulgarity and indecency in his poetry. Many times his romantic expression becomes nude demonstration of cheap love.

An aged servant 'Kammu' teases Sahiban. He wants to arouse her passions, but his sensuous allurements does not work at all.

Piloo was the lyricist who recited the songs of ill-fated lovers in the language of

people. This saga which was destined to be tragic, moves the hearts of people.

Love crushes the man, Snow a tree,
Sleep leaves the thief, As hunger lovers to be.

These lines have become the proverbs to be used in the daily life of Punjab. So, Hafiz and Ahmed have rightly praised Piloo, who developed the romantic trend to be followed by the writer of repute. These romantic poets revolutionised the old pattern of philosophical religious poetry, and gave birth to love, romance, beauty and aesthetic feelings of man. Generally, these romantic ballads end in tragedy.

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Q

Qadiri, Shaikh Ahmad (d.1613 A.D.)

One of the early founders in that region Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri, a descendant of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya. Shaikh Ahmad was widely travelled and had made the lengthy trip to Mecca before settling in Lahore. There he was initiated into the Qadiriyya order by Shaikh Muhammad. Impressed by his piety and asceticism, Baba Dawud Khaki (who is mentioned below) invited him to settle in Kashmir.

Shaikh Ahmad blessed Ghazi Shah Chak (1561-63) before he ascended the throne and the successful Ghazi returned the favour by offering generous gifts to the Shaikh. He, however, chose to become a secluded ascetic after warning the Sultan that he would leave Kashmir if any more gifts were offered. He died in Srinagar and is buried in the Qutbu'd-Din Pura.

Shaikh Ahmad's friend, Shaikh Baba Dawud Khaki, was an influential citizen of Kashmir and also a disciple of Shaikh Hamza, a distinguished Suhrawardiyya leader of Kashmir. A scholar and a poet, he wrote biographies of various Kashmiri sufis. Shaikh Baba Dawud made frequent journeys to Multan to visit the tombs of Suhrawardiyya saints but ultimately, under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad, he became a Qadiriyya.

However, like his former *pir* Shaikh Hamza he always remained hostile to the Shilis. The untimely execution of a Sunni leader, Qazi Musa, by the Shi'i Sultan, Yaqub Shah Chak (1586-88) alienated Baba from the Shi'i ruler of Kashmir and he deserted to the Mughal Emperor, Akbar who at the time was busily planning to annex Kashmir. Upon his return to Kashmir with the Mughal forces in 1586. Baba died of dysentery.

Hajji Musa, the son of Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri, was an ascetic who often sought seclusion in the jungles of Kashmir and the Panjab. His fame increased after he reportedly repulsed an elephant single-handed at Lahore, and the people of Kashmir, greatly impressed by this legend, flocked to see and hear him.

Baba Dawud's disciple, Mir Nazuk, a Suhrawardiyya and a Qadiriyya, was a puritan who was fiercely opposed to *sama*. In his enthusiastic piety, he even refused to eat the fruit from his luxuriant gardens, fearing that his servants might not have paid adequate *kharaj* and *ushr* taxes. He remained a recluse, disallowing visitors. He died at Srinagar in 1022/1613-14. After his son and successor Mir Yusuf Qadiri also died, the responsibility for guiding the Qadiriyya *khanqah* of Mir Nazuk fell to Mir Muhammad 'Ali Qadiri, the youngest son of Mir Nazuk.

During his lifetime a great crisis occurred in local Qadiriyya branches as a result of the popularity of Dara-Shukoh's *pir,* Mulla Shah, who spent his summers in Srinagar. Mir Muhammad Ali's own success on the local level managed to counteract some of this influence. The *zikr-i jahr* (loud *zikr*) performed by either the Mir or his followers, which observers found particularly compelling, was perhaps the main reason for Mir Muhammad Ali Qadiri's favour with the people of Srinagar.

During the governorship of Ali Mardan Khan between 1061/1651 and 1068/1657 building activities in Kashmir's capital entered a golden era. A large number of gardens were planted, and roads, houses and fountains constructed. This brilliant regime however also witnessed severe famine. The starving population, led by a Kashmiri, Hajji Bam, burnt alive the Governor's Hindu Peshkar (secretary).

Shahjahan was greatly disturbed and summoned a number of eminent Kashmiri Muslims to Delhi to investigate the incident. Among them was Mir Muhammad Ali Qadiri who on his way to Delhi visited Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum, the son of the Mujaddid, in Sirhind. The two, who were both dissatisfied with the administration of Shahjahan and Dara-Shukoh, became friendly. No action was taken, however, aginst the dignitaries of Kashmir, and Mir Muhammad Ali returned to Srinagar with renewed prestige. The Mir died in 1070/1659-60 and his successors enthusiastically continued the success of the Qadiriyya order in Kashmir.

Khwaja Hasan and Khwaja Ishaq, two Kashmiri brothers, were also initiated as Qadiris by Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri, having previously been disciples of Shaikh Hamza. It was believed that Khwaja Hasan was directly blessed by the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad. He lived in a village near Zaingiri where he was also buried. For some time Khwaja Ishaq lived as a *qalandar* but later he moved permanently to Mecca and Medina, and was buried in Medina.

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Qadiri, Tufail Ali

He succeeded his uncle and father-in-law Hazrat Zakir 'Ali. He is also buried at Mangalkot. Through the efforts of Zakir Ali and other members of his family, the Qadiriya Order did great service in Bengal. They had thousands of followers, many of whom were noted officials and scholars. The second marriage of Shah Tufail Ali took place in the family of Diwan Syed Raji Ali Balkhi (Chandan Shahid) of Midnapur, who was a noted Khalifa of Hazrat Shah Baz of Bhagalpur.

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Qalandar, Shaikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali (14th Century)

Shaikh Sharafuddin Bu Ali Qalandar was two distinguished saints of the Qalandariya order, they lived during the fourteenth century, the former at Panipat and the latter at Delhi.

Some of the characteristic features of the Qalandariya order which distinguish it from

other orders may be mentioned here. The members of this order usually shaved their heads, eyebrows, beards and moustaches. They did not wear the traditional *khirqa*, but used to wrap their bodies with blankets and put on small loin-cloths. Metal rings and armlets were also used by them.

They did not settle at a place but wandered from place to place, usually accompanied by cats and monkeys. They lived a care-free life, ignoring the *shari'at* laws and even the norms of society. Unlike the mystics of other *silsilahs* the Qalandariya saints were aggressive in their dealings and could even resort to violence, whenever it suited their objectives. They were generally insolent and unpredictable in their behaviour.

Whether any of the disciples of Shaikh Sharafuddin or Maulana Hamid Qalandar reached Bengal and popularized this order is not known. The mystic literature of the period makes no reference to the organization of the Qalandariya order in Bengal. Some stray references about them in the Persian chronicles, however, indicate that a considerable number of Qalandariya saints were present in Bengal during the 13th and the 14th centuries and that they had close contact with the Sultans of the day.

Under Tughril, the rebellious governor of Sultan Balban, the Qalandars became very influential at Lakhnauti. One qalandar had attained a very high status in Tughril's counsels and was styled 'Sultan of Qalandars'. Tughril is said to have distributed large quantities of gold among the *qalandars*.

After defeating Tughril Balban killed many of them. But by the middle of the 14th century, they appear to have reorganized themselves, because Sultan Firuz Shah is reported to have used the Bengali *qalandars* as his spies against Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah.

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Qazi Qadan (1463A.D. — 1551A.D.)

"The world of daily life which the wide-awake, grown-up man who acts in it and upon it amidst his fellowmen experiences within the natural attitude as a reality."

This prefatory quote provides a sure solid ground to take off to the mystical domain of Sindhi poetry by Qazi Qadan (1463-1551). At the time, when the Indian sub-continental Sufism is looked at from a purely Islamic point of view in some scholarly debates, the debates not unlike others under-taken in the past to Islamicise it, the extract helps us to view the Sindhi Sufi poetry (for that matter, any religious-mystic or secular-poetry) in its "reality" grounded in the common, day-to-day experience of the people themselves.

A people or a society is held together by its individuals in their collective consciousness, or collective conscience, as manifest in a particular set of moral and social ideas. The individuals who represent their society in its inborn, natural attitudes on life, or sometimes in their original thought constructs-original yet well-intergated into the life-experience of the people around-are great; all others go to make such greatness. Qazi Qadan was one such great man of his times, in Sindh.

The first-ever historical reference to him was made by Mir Muhammad Ma'sumi, a chronicler, in his *Tarikh-i Ma'sumi* written in Persian in 1600, when he (Ma'sumi) was about 65 years old. Besides being a younger contemporary to him, he belonged to the same place Bakhar in Sindh, to which Qazi Qadan belonged. In his Tarikh, he does not talk of Qazi Qadan as a poet; he describes him as a Qazi.

A religio political personage. At one place he says, " Qazi Qadan ibn Qazi Sa'id ibn Zainud-Din Bakhari was famous for his piety, continence and knowledge of *tafsir, Hadith* and *tasawwuf* (sufism). He became a disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri (d. 1505). He was appointed Qazi of Bakhar and the adjoining places by Mirza Shah Husain and exhibited an astute sense of justice tempered with compassion in deciding the disputes relating to *shari'ah*. His unshakable faith in Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri brought on his head the criticism of the Ulama of the day... He continued to hold the post of Qazi to a ripe old age when he resigned. The year 958/1551 saw his death."

After five or ten years (because the dates are not precisely established), we come across another reference to Qazi Qadan in Maulvi Muhammad Ghausi's *Gulzar-i Abrar,* a book (also in Persian) containing biographical notices of the celebrated Muslim saints and Sufis. The book was composed between 1605 and 1610. Its Urdu translation appeared by the title of *Azkar-i Abrar*, the accounts of the pious, from Ujjain Malwa in 1911. This work *Gulzar-i Abrar,* and not the later work *Bayan al-Arifin* written in 1630, was the first work which referred to Qazi Qadan as a poet.

The *Qazi Qadan Jo Kalam,* ed. Hiro Thakur, hereafter abbreviated as QQJK, in its pp. 55-6 wrongly observes, it was the *Bayan al-Arifin;* obviously, the QQJK is not conversant with the *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, or its Urdu translation *Azkar-i Abrar.* The *Gulzar-i Abrar* says about Qazi Qadan, "After accomplishing his formal education, he lost interest in it. He sought to solve the problematic of material world through change in moral outlook. He succeeded in this by overcoming his *nafs* (desire) and gained insight in the reality of things.

Here are some of his sayings consteituting the essence of his teachings which he put into verse in his native tongue Sindhi:

(I) The study of the Prophetic Tradition, Hanifi Law and Arabic Grammar never brought to my mind the aroma of gnosis ; what I sought I found beyond this world.

(II) All languages nagate You (O God!) by the word "la", but You are out to prove Yourself.

(III) What does "la" negate, when nothing exists except Truth ?

(IV) If we consider deeply, then the One we seek is we ourselves.

He has written more thing of this kind than can be described here. But the beauty of every piece comes out in the style peculiar to the language in which it is written. A translation cannot retain the beauty of the original. Shaikh Ibrahim Sindhi whose tomb is to the north of Burhanpur was one of his devoted associates."

Main Muhammad Raza alias Mir Daryai Thattawi's Bayan al-Arifin (written in 1630) makes a mention of the fact that Qazi Qadan lived for a brief time at Dar Bela (now Dabhro) in Bakhar and there he came into contact with a *faqir* who drew him to the path of *haqiqah* (the Supreme Reality). The work also contains Qazi Qadan's seven *baits* alongwith those by Shah Abdul Karim.

The later work Tuhfat al-Kiram (written in 1767-68) throws light on Qazi Qadan, his predecessors and successors and affords us an important insight into his family tradition. It places his great-great grandfather Qazi Abu-al-Khair among the grand old men of Uch, a great seat of Sufi learning in the medieval Sindh. He along with his family moved to Bakhar, where he died.

Thereafter, Qazi Qadan's forefathers came to be known as *Bakhari*, or of Bakhar. Since, they lived also at Thatta and Sewhan, they sometimes are called Thattawi and Sivastani. Qazi Qadan's daughter Bibi Fatima, a *Rabi'a* of her

time, knew the whole of Qur'an by heart. Her son (Qazi Qadan's grandson) Mian Mir of Lahore was Dara Shikoh's preceptor.

All the present-day descriptions of Qazi Qadan and his great poetry rest on such source books as mentioned above and also on the internal evidence obtained from his works. The individual scholarly readings of the two evidences-external and internal-partly explain some variance in these descriptions. For instance, the historical fact that Qazi Qadan, whom Jam Nando, the Samma ruler of sindh, had appointed as Qazi and also the keeper of the Bakhar fort, failed to defend the fort against the invading army of Shah Beg (the Arghun Amir of Qandhar who had been defeated by Babur in his homeland in 1517) and quietly (or, peacefully) gave away the keys of the fort to Shah Beg in order to save the people from the possible bloodshed has been interpreted as an act of treason against one's own country.

One may look at this historical event from another point of view : Qazi Qadan loved his people and did not send them to the alter of slaughter by the alien sword, he stood for non-violence in the best tradition of the land (here it may be recalled, the Arab's also had the initial victory over Sindh in 712 owing to this attitude on the part of some Buddhist Governors of the Sindhian forts). For that purpose, one may have a closer look at the great role played by Qazi Qadan during the days Thatta was in the siege laid by Shah Beg in 1520, and Jam Firuz, successor to Jam Naudo, fled from Thatta, helplessly.

The Tarkhan Nama (written in 1654-55) describes it copiously: "Thatta was given up to plunder till the 20th of the month (December, 1520), in the course of which the inhabitants were treated with merciless severity and many of them were carried into captivity. The holy text, "surely when kings enter a village they destroy it," was fully exemplified in this instance.

At last, at the strenuous exertions of Qazi Qadan, a most distinguished scholar (who had by that time left Bakhar and come to live in Thatta), these outrages were put an end to, proclamation was made to the effect that the people of the city were to remain undisturbed" (the observation in the bracket mine).

Thus, we see, Qazi Qadan was an influential man of his times. Though a Qazi, a dispenser of the Islamic law, in the beginning, he rose to be a great Sufi. The fast-changing political scene in Sindh the transfer of power from the native Samma rulers Jam Nando and Jam Firuz to the alien Arghun Amirs Shah Beg and Mirza Shah Husain during his life-time-changed his outlook on life a great deal. The cruel ways of the world made him look "beyond the world" and turned him, an Islamic scholar, into a Sufi poet.

A man of justice (adal), he now looked for God's grace (fazl). According to the *Bayan al-Arifin,* a *dervish* of Dar Bela had initiated him into a new spiritual lore. Qazi Qadan could see that he who failed to establish a sense of generativity fell into a state of self-absorption and self-conceit and in which he would only look for the fulfilment of his personal needs. There came in his life a time for reflection and also for integration with the people at large and not with individuals-be they the rulers of the land.

Not only he himself, his daughter Bibi Fatima and his grandson (through her) Mian Mir also took to the path of Spiritual Unity. Mian Mir was one year old, when his grand-father Qazi Qadan died; thus, he had the privilege of having his grand father's blessings, physically too. During his grown-up age, he was , as we know, so much known for his syncretic thought that he became the prince Dara Shikoh's friend, philosopher and guide, and was invited by the Fifth Sikh Guru to lay the foundation stone of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

Qazi Qadan paves the way for the Sindhi Sufi poets of the later times. As is evident from the following chapters we find many an echo of Qazi Qadan's verses in those of Shah Abdul Karim and Shah Abdul Latif. He greatly influenced the two poets and, through them, others in the Sindhi poetic tradition. The later poets made more explicit use of Sindhi folk-tales like

Sasui Punhu, motifs like spinning and dying and images like boat and swan. In fact, Qazi Qadan provides a great link in the history of Indian sub-continental Sufism, which is essentially monistic, from the days of Abu ali Sindhi Sufi, the instructor of Bayzid Bistami (d. 874) to this day. It is the peculiar chemistry of the soil that makes the Indian sub-continential Sufi poetry distinct from the purely Islamic Sufi poetry, if any, elsewhere.

The present writer is of the view that Sufism as Islamic mysticism is a contradiction in terms, for the Sufis have never had a comfortable place in Islam, and that Indian Sufism in the broad framework of Bhąkti Movement is one of the finest expressions of Indian composite culture.

Now let us look in the light of the sociology of knowledge at the reality, and also at the " super-natural" reality viewed from that reality, in its Sindhi particulars as expressed in the poetry of Qazi Qadan.

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Qiyamu'd Din (15th Century A.D.)

Qiyamu'd-Din Rishi was an eminent sufi nd outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd-Did of Kashmir. Nothing is known about his early life except that he had no formal education and that right from the very beginning he associated with holy-men. At some stage, he came into contact with the Shaikh and became his disciple. After some time, at the direction of Nuru'd-Din, he took up his residence at the village of Manzgam, where he established a cell near a spring called Dudh-Pokar.

Like many other Rishis, Qiyamu'd-Din fasted regularly and would eat only wild vegetables. Hardships and austere penances, to which he had applied himself, reduced him to skin and bone. When questioned why he reduced himself to this state, Qiyamu'd-Din burst into tears and said : "I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the Qur'an; if I could, I might draw near to God. What other form of worship remain, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food, and to practise austerities? Thus, I might move God to forgive me my sins."

After many years of such a life, Qiyamu'd-Din died at Manzgam, and was buried there. None of the sources mention the date of his death, and it is possible only to speculate that he outlived his *pir.*

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Quli Halbi, Hazrat Shah Anwar (14th Century)

His real name was Muhammad Kabir. The tomb of this saint is at Mulla Simla Furfure in the district of Hooghly. There is a mosque beside his tomb, which according to architectural experts belonged to the group of pathan style mosques built between 1460 to 1519 A.D. A toghra (a sort of writing) in Arabic on the marble screen of the shrine indicates that the mosque was built by great Chhellugh Mukhlis Khan in 777 A.H./1375 A.D.

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Infan Habib *Historical Background of the Popular Movement in 15th & 16th Centuries*.

Qutb Alam, Shaikh Nur (d 1415 A.D.)

Shaikh Nurul Haq, popularly known as *Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam*, succeeded his father in his seat *(sajjadah)* after his death. Like his father he was a great scholar. It is said that he and Ghiyasuddin 'Azam Shah (1392-1410 A.D.) were educated under the same roof by a famous scholar, Shaikh Hamiduddin Kunj Nashin of Nagaur.

After obtaining the necessary knowledge in external sciences (*uhim-i zahir*), he was initiated by his father into spiritual discipline. He led a strict life during the period of his mystic training. He used to wash the clothes of the inmates of the *khanqah* and arranged hot water for them. He rendered personal service to the faqirs who visited the *khanqah* and to the disciples of his father.

Another work assigned to him by his father was to help the old women carry their water-filled pitchers, as, there was mud and mire near the well and women could not safely carry water. For four years Nurul Haq performed this service also. Besides on the occasion of urs, he had to make arrangement for the supply of water. He brought fuel for the kitchen from the forests for about eight years.

One day when he was coming back with a big load of firewood on his head, he met his brother Azam Khan, who did not like the miserable plight of his younger brother and advised him to renounce the mystic life and accept some post in the court; but he rejected the offer.

Perhaps, these duties of a menial type were assigned to him because the Shaikh wanted to inculcate in him the spirit of self-effacement, self-abnegation and humility. A son of a distinguished saint was prone to develop a superiority complex, but Shaikh Alaul Haq saw to it that his son did not behave as a saint, but as the servant of saints.

Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam's accession to the *sajjadah* in 800 A.H./1398 A.D., synchronized with the period of political unrest in Bengal. Raja Kans (Ganesh), a notable chief of Bhaturiah, who had served under Ilyas Shah the ruler of Bengal, gained substantial hold over the affairs of the state and ultimately seized the kingdom.

After usurping power he is alleged to have persecuted the Muslims and killed several divines. Shaikh Nur Qutab Alam was deeply shocked at the states of affairs. He wrote a letter to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur (804-844 A.H./1401-1440 A.D.), seeking his assistance in the matter, and also asked Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani to persuade the Sultan to march against Raja Kans.

Ibrahim received the latter with due humility and discussed the matter with Qazi Shihabuddin Daulatabadi a great scholar of the age. He immediately responded, and invaded Bengal with a large army. When he reached the frontiers of Bengal, he encaped at Firuzpur (Pandua). This news alarmed Raja Kans, who went to Shaikh Nur and implored him to inter-

cede on his behalf with the King of Jaunpur. The Shaikh refused to intercede till he had become a Muslim. Raja Kans was ready for the conversion, but on his wife's insistence he changed his mind and brought his son Jadu (Narayan), who was then merely a boy of twelve years, to the Shaikh for conversion; and promised to abdicate in favour of his son.

Jadu was declared a Muslim after the recitation of the *kalima* and was given the Islamic name Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. After this Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam requested Ibrahim Sharqi to leave Bengal who did so much against his will. After his return Raja kans again took the reins of government into his own hands, reconverted his son to the old faith and started persecuting the Muslims, including servants and relatives of the Shaikh. He also banished Shaikh Anwar and Shaikh Zahid, the son the grandson of Shaikh Nur, to Sonargaon and tortured them. Shaikh Anwar was later put to death. It is said that Raja Kans himself died the very day Anwar was excuted. Jalaluddin (Jadu) then succeeded his father, reembraced Islam and became a zealous Muslim. He is said to have converted many Hindus to Islam and to have brought Shaikh Zahid back to Pandua.

It is said that once Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1392-1410 A.D.) sent to Shaikh Nur a tray full of food. The Shaikh accepted it in so respectful a manner that it moved Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri to protest, What is the need of paying such respect to a wordily sovereign by a King of the religion, But the Shaikh defended his action by citing a *hadith* in which the prophet had advised the Musalmans to maintain good relations with a Sultan.

Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam's personal life is said to have been simple and pious. The author of *Akhbar-ul Akhyar* says that when he travelled people followed him for miles out of respect; and many of them prostrated before him and kissed his feet. He adhered closely to the Chishti mystic principle of behaving with forbearance and tolerance towards all sorts of people and winning their goodwill. Once a *faqir* happened to visit his *Jama'at khanah*, and started abusing the Shaikh but the Shaikh treated him with affection and gave him money before he left the *khanqah*.

Nur Qutb 'Alam died at Pandua in 818 A.H./1415 A.D. He left two sons, Shaikh Rifatuddin and Shaikh Anwar.

Nur-Qutb 'Alam had a large number of disciples, among whom Shaikh Husamuddin of Manikpur, Saiyid Shamsuddin Tahir, Saiyid Ali Akbar and Shaikh Ruknuddin gained prominence.

Shaikh Rifatuddin, the eldest son of Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam, probably succeeded his father. Nothing is known about him except that he lived a humble and simple life and was buried at Pandua near his father's grave. He was survived by his son Shaikh Zahid.

It appears from some of the letters of Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri that he gave spiritual guidance to Shaikh Zahid by writing to him. Shaikh Zahid, as stated earlier, was also banished to Sonargaon along with his uncle by Raja Kans; and was put to much inconvenience by Raja Kans. After the murder of Shaikh Anwar Kans tried to kill him also, but did not succeed in his design.

When Jalaluddin Muhammad ascended the throne after the death of Raja Kans, he recalled the Shaikh to Pandua. Henceforth he showed great respect for the Shaikh.

Shaikh Zahid died in circa 860 A.H./1455 A.D. and was buried at Pandua beside the grave of his father. He left ten sons behind him: Shaikh Sufi Shaikh Pir Mulla, Shaikh Ashraf, Shaikh Darvesh, Shaikh Qalandar, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Ghaus, Shaikh Qutb, Shaikh Autab and Shaikh Abdal.

Shaikh Anwar, the younger son of Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam, Seems to have been trained and initiated in mystic discipline by his father. Like his father he also served the visitors and the inmates of the *khanqah*. It is said that he used to keep sheep and slaughter them for the guests of his father, but he himself did not take meat.

Before he was thrown into prison by Raja Kans, he had once asked his father as to why the Muslims were oppressed by Raja Kans, when a saint like him was there. The Shaikh who was then absorbed in meditation replied in anger that the oppression would not stop till his (Shaikh Anwar's) blood was shed. After this incident, it so happened that Shaikh Anwar with his nephew Shaikh Zahid was banished to Sonargaon, and was executed by Raja Kans in circa 1418 A.D.

His body is said to have been brought from Sonargaon and buried at Pandua by the side of his father's grave. He had two sons, Shaikh Ajmal and Shaikh Akmal.

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Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khwaja (d. 1235A.D.)

Ajmer and Nagaur undoubtedly remained important Chishti centres. But at the beginning of the thirteenth century, due to Mongol invasions in Central Asia and Iran, Delhi became the heart of the sufi movement. Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish (1210-35) moved his capital to Delhi, and the Indian empire of the Delhi Sultans became the only peaceful region in the Islamic east.

Ghazni and the Afghan areas of the Ghurid empire were first seized by the Khwarazm-Shahs of modern Khiva in the U.S.S.R. and then by the Mongols, or Chingizids, who razed to the ground a large number of Central Asian and Iranian towns. Chingiz Khan himself pursued Jalalu'd-Din Mingburnu, the last Khwarazmian, overtaking him on the bank of the Indus. Although, Jalalu'd-Din offered stubborn resistance, he suffered a crushing defeat in November 1221.

After the battle, Chingiz Khan marched back towards the west, and his absence enabled Iltutmish to consolidate power in the Panjab, seven years later routing from Sind his rival, Nasiru'd-Din Qubacha. The exodus of scholars and holy men from Central Asia and Iran after the fall on the Muslim powers to the Mongol barbarians, made Delhi the strongest eastern Islamic capital, the city medieval scholars loved to call the Qubbatu'l Islam (Cupola of Islam).

Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, the leader of the Chishti sufis in Delhi, it was a Herculean task to firmly establish the order there. Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki was born at Ush, in the province of the Jaxartes. During the tenth century, the area had become politically and commercially very important. It had also developed into a strong centre for sufis of the school of al-Hallaj. When he was eighteen months old., Kamalu'd-Din Ahmad Musa, the Khwaja's father, died, and his mother became totally responsible for the child. Learning the Qur'an under Aba Hafs, he finally committed it to memory after he had settled in Delhi.

As he grew older, the Khwaja became increasingly devoted to prayer and meditation. His mother organized a marriage for him, but finding his wife an obstacle to prayer. Qutbu'd-Din divorced her and left for Baghdad. There, in a mosque, he met Khwaja Mu'inu'-Din Chishti. So, impressed was Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar with the latter's personality that he became Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din's disciple, in spite of the fact that other eminent and pious sufis including Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilani and Shaikh Abu'n-Najib Suhrawardi also lived in Baghdad at the time.

After the departure of Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din from Baghdad. Qutbu'd-Din also left and travelled through Khurasan to reach Multan. There, he established a friendship with Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya. At the same time, the Mongols invaded Multan. Nasiru'd-Din, Qubacha of Multan, requested Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din for help against the enemy. Giving him an arrow, the Khwaja suggested he shoot it blindly into the enemy's camp. Qubacha obeyed, and the following day the Mongols retreated.

Although, in reality, the Mongols left the Indus region for political reasons, this further increased Qubacha's devotion to the Khwaja. Although, he urged Qutbu'd-Din to remain in Multan, the Khwaja went to Delhi sometime after 1221.

Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish warmly welcomed Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din to Delhi, hoping he would live inside the town. The Khwaja, however, preferred to stay in Kiludhari, near the Jumna, but after a period he agreed to the Sultan's request. Twice weekly he was visited by the eminent people of Delhi. The Khwaja wrote to Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din requesting permission to visit him at Ajmer but Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din, believing he should continue his work there, ordered him to remain in Delhi.

The Khwaja's task in Delhi was made extremely arduous as it involved making the Chishti order respectable amongst the most eminent and prestigious Muslim divines of the Islamic world, many of whom had collected there.

About the same time Shaikh Muhammad 'Ata, called Qazi-Hamud'd-Din Nagauri, who had known the Khwaja at Baghdad, settled in Delhi. The Qazi, although a Suhrawardi was deeply interested in the practice of *sama* as a source for inducing a mystical state of ecstasy. Unwarvering in their opposition to *sama,* the 'ulama' were over-ruled by Iltutmish who supported the sufis, using them as a counter to the former.

The Sultan offered the post of *Shaikhu'l-Islam* to Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din, but after he refused it the office was conferred on Najmu'd-Din Sughra. For a period relations between Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar and Najmu'd-Din were cordial. Gradually, however, the Shaikh became jealous of the Khwaja and used the latter's practice of gaining spiritual ecstasy through *sam'a* as a pretext to incite the 'ulama' against him.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din was prompted to visit Delhi to investigate the confrontation between the Khwaja and the Shaikh. Najmu'd-Din Sughra refused to call, as was traditional, on Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din. Visiting the latter, the Khwaja upbraided him for his rudeness. The former apologized, admitting that he was concerned at the people's devotion to Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din.

Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din promised that the Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din would accompany him to Ajmer. But Iltutmish and the people of Delhi were so upset at the Khwaja's departure that he was followed, and the dust on the road where he had passed was collected as a relic. Khwaja Mu'inu'd-Din was so moved at such a spontaneous and genuine sign of affection for his disciple that he urged him to return.

A traditional story which presents the sanctity and supernatural powers of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar involved a tank which was built to overcome Delhi's water shortage. Sultan Iltutmish devised a scheme for it, but was unsure where to choose the site. According to tradition, the Prophet Muhammad appeared to both the Sultan and the Khwaja indi-

cating a particular spot. Hauzi-i-Shamsi was excavated, and the area became significant, not only as a source of water, but more importantly, as a cultural and religious centre, where the spiritual and intellectual elite of Delhi would gather.

Another story regarding the Khwaja's supernatural powers is as follows. A poet named. Nasiri from Transoxiana, bagged the Khwaja to today for the success of his poetry at the Sultan's court. The Khwaja prophesied his good fortune in this regard. At court a recitation of the first verse failed to capture the Sultan's attention, but the poet mentally invoked the power of the Khwaja. At that point, the Sultan began to listen with rapt attention and afterwards rewarded him with thirty-five thousand *tankas*. In gratitude, the poet requested the Khwaja to take half for the poor, but the Khwaja refused to accept payment.

The Khwaja continually advised his disciples to assist people who were needy without heeding the result. An eminent disciple, Shaikh Faridu'd-Din or Baba Farid, sought his advice regarding the writing of amulets for which people were constantly asking. The Khwaja replied that the fulfilment of desires belonged to no-one; the amulets contained God's name and His words, and could be given to the people.

As he devoted himself entirely to fasting and praying, in true ascetic fashion Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din and his family lived in highly impoverished circumstances. Two versions explaining the addition to his name of the word Kaki or Man of Bread, exist and serve to depict the way in which he lived. According to Amir Khwurd, the Khwaja would on occasions borrow up to thirty dirhams (copper coins) from a neighbouring Muslim grocer for household expenses, repaying the money as soon as some futuh was received.

Later he decided to give up borrowing to suffice his family's needs and a piece of bread would miraculously appear under his prayer carpet. The grocer asked his spouse to discover from the Khwaja's wife why they no longer borrowed. The wife revealed the secret of the bread's appearance and it never appeared again.

The second story comes from Jamali. According to him the Khwaja's family totalled nine. His wife occasionally borrowed some money from a neighbour, a Muslim grocer, in order to feed her starving family. On one occasion the grocer's wife taunted the Khwaja's wife that without their loan the family would have starved to death.

The latter related the conversation to her husband who, after meditation, asked his wife to refrain from borrowing. He pointed to a niche in his cell and told his wife to go there and recite B'ismillah and she would get as much bread as she needed. So, the Khwaja became known as 'Kaki' as he lived on miraculously received breads alone.

Two sons were born to Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar. One survived after his death, but the other died when he was seven years old. The Khwaja's wife was deeply upset and her cries disturbed the Khwaja's meditation. When he was told of the death of his son, his wife's sorrow moved him. Had he known of the illness he would have prayed for the child, he said. The story depicts the complete other-worldliness of the Khwaja as he was totally unaware of his son's illness or death.

The death of the Khwaja is a story of great significance to sufis. He took part in a *sama'* ritual in the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Ali Sijzi. When the musician recited the following verse, written by the celebrated sufi, Shaikh Ahmad of Jam, the Khwaja was seized with ecstasy:

> 'The martyrs of the dagger of *taslim* (surrender)
> Each moment get a new life from the Unseen World.

Taken to his house, the Khwaja ordered the verse to be repeated each time he regained consciousness, which always occurred at the time of obligatory prayers. He then lapsed back into an ecstatic state. On the fifth night, 14th Rabi' I, 633/27th November, 1235, he died and was buried in Mahrauli about eleven miles from Delhi, at a place he himself had chosen.

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Rahmat Shuryani, Shaikh (d. 1616/17 A.D)

Shaikh Rahmat Shuryani Chishti had also obtained training from the spirit of the Pir-i Kibar. The Afghans believed that he could converse with birds and animals. After his death in 1025/1616-17, he too was buried in Qasur.

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Rami, Shah Sultan (11th Century A.D.)

The first Sufi who visited Bangladesh about 1053 A.D./445 A.H. was Hazrat Shah Sultan Rumi. His area of activity was the Netrakona district (Mymensing) in Bangladesh. He arrived in Bengal 250 years before Shah Jalal Mujarrad's arrival at Sylhet. As, it appears from the old record of 1082 A.D., he was present there at 1053 A.D.

When he decided to settle at Netrakona, the Raja of that place, Ganesh wanted to poison him. But being overawed by his divine power, he gave up the idea and embraced Islam. He granted a few villages for the maintenance of the *khanqah*, which was built there. In the year 1829 A.D., the British Government tried to retake it. But on the strength of a document of 1082 A.D. the Jaigir was restored to Syed Jalalud-Din.

It appears from the documents that Shah Sultan Rumi settled there along with his religious preceptor, Syed Shah Surkh Qiuntiya, and many other disciples in the year 445 A.H./1053 A.D. The people who lived in the village claimed to be descendants of the ten disciples of the Shah Sultan Rumi.

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Raniri (d. 1658A.D.)

Raniri was not a follower of the *Wahdat al-Shuhud* of the Mujaddid, nor did he offer any alternative to the *Wahdat al-Wujud.* However, he was a strick follower of Ibn Arabi and his

Persian and Indian interpreters such as Jami and Shaikh 'Ali ibn Hamid al-Mahaimi, reserving his hostility for Shaikh Hamza Fansuri and Shaikh Shamsu'd-Din Sumatrani.

Raniri returned to his hometown in 1644, dying there in 1658, without ever returning to Acheh. Among his disciples was Shaikh Yusuf of Macassar, who was also a student of Raniri's pir, Ba-Shayban. Shaikh Yusuf wrote sufi treatise, drawing his ideas from the works of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Chargh Dihlawi and Shaikh Taju'd-Din Sambhali.

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Ratan al-Batrandi, Ratan b. Kirbal b. (13th Century)

Baba Hadjdji, Abu'l-Rida, a long-lived Indian saint, famous in almost all the lands of Islam, called Ratan b. Kirbal b. Ratan al-Batrandi in the *Kamus*. Ratan was born and where he died. This place is now called Bhatinda, lies in 30 degree 13' N and 75 degree E, and is the headquarters of the Govindgarh *tahsil* (in Anahadgarh Nizamat) of what was the Patiala State, hence now in the East Panjab state of the Indian Union.

It is an important railway junction and its old name was probably Tabarhind. Three miles from this town, at a place called Hadjdji Ratan, exists the shrine of the saint, "a large building with a mosque and gateway, and surrounded by a wall on all sides." The shrine which seems to have been an important place of pilgrimage even in the 12th/18th century is visited now mostly by Muslims, but Hindus also frequent it, particularly at the urs (annual fair) of the Hadjdji, held from the 7th to the 10th Dhul-Hidjdja, when a large number of Sadhus also attend. For nearly five centuries the shrine has been held by Madari *fakirs*, whose ancestor shah cand came from Makanpur in Oudh. These gaddinashirs let their hair grow and do not marry.

Who was this Hadjdji Ratan. It appears from combining the extant narratives of over a dozen men who had visited him in his native place from various parts of the Muslim world, that, in the 7th/13th century, there lived at Bhatinda a man, Ratan by name, about whom "it was said that he was a long-lived individual, who had met the Prophet, was present with him at the Ditch (at the siege of Medina in A.H. 6) when the Prophet prayed for his long life, that he was present when Fatima was conducted as a bride to 'Ali, may God be pleased with both of them, and who transmitted *hadith*."

We get the following particulars also from some of these narratives about his mode of life, personal appearance, etc. A merchant of Khurasan, who had interviewed him, tells us that Ratan was living under a fufal tree (*peepal* ?- for *fufal* or *Areca catechu* does not fit in with the context) that his teeth were small like those of a serpent, that his beard, whose hairs were mostly white, was like thorns, that he lifted his eyebrows, which reached down to his cheeks, with a hook, that he said he had never been married, and the length of the space occupied by him, when sitting, was three cubits (al-Djanadi, quoted in *Isaba*, i. 1099).

An other merchant, from the same land, found him laid like the young one of a bird, in a large basket, stuffed with cotton, which was hanging from a branch of a huge tree outside the village, and was worked by means of a pulley. He spoke in Persian, his voice being like the humming of a bee. He referred to all the inhabitants of the big village as his children or grand-children. Contrary to the first narrative, which tells us that he was never married, the second makes him say that he had a large progeny, and in fact, Ibn, Hadjar includes two of

Ratan's sons, Mahmud and Abd Allah, among the transmitters of *hadith* from him.

Some of these narratives represent him as having been first converted to Christianity and then to *Islam*. The date of his death is given variously, as A.H. 596,608,612,632 (*Isaba*), 700 (*A'in-i Akbari, Fawat al-wafayat*).

The sayings of the Prophet, which Ratan transmitted from him directly, called *al-Rataniyyat*, were collected in book form and a copy, containing about 300 *hadith*, and dated A.H. 710, was seen by Ibn Hadjar. These were handed down from Ratan by Abu' l-Fath Musa b. Mudjalli al-Sufi, and al-Dhahabi suspected that either he had forged them or that they had been forged for Musa by someone who had invented for him the story of Ratan.

An earlier collection of forty sayings was made, out of Musa's stock, by Tadj al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Khurasani. Some of these sayings, of which about eighteen are quoted in the *Isaba*, are preserved in manuscripts in Leiden, Berlin and Lucknow, and show traces of both *Shi'ite* (or perhaps better Alide) and Sufic tendencies. Al Firuzabadi had heard them from the companions of Ratan's companions.

The claims of Ratan widely attracted the attention of Muslims in the 7th/13th century, and caused a lot of differences of opinion in Muslim circles in subsequent centuries, as would be indicated by the following list of some outstanding personalities, who expressed themselves for or against his main claim, viz. of being a long-lived Companion of the Prophet.

1. Shaykh Radiyy al-Din 'Ali-yi Lala al-Ghaznawi (d. 642/1244), who associated with Ratan in India and received from him a comb, with the transmission of which the Prophet had entrusted Ratan;
2. Rukn al-Din 'Ala' al-Dawla al-Simnani (d. 736/1336), whom the above-mentioned comb ultimately reached, along with a *khirka* received by 'Ali-yi Lala from Ratan. Rukn al-Din attested this in writing (see *Nafahat al-uns*, Calcutta 1858, 50 with notes of Lari on the passage);
3. Abd al-Ghaffar b. Nuh al-Kusi (d.708/1309), the author of the *Kitab al-Wahid fi suluk ahl al-tawhid*, for which see Hadjdji Khalifa, vi, 432, cf. Brockelmann, II, 142 (see *Isaba*, i, 1096);
4. Al-Djanadi (d. 732/1332), the author of the *Ta'rikh al-Yaman;* cf. Brockelmann, II, 234 (in *Isaba*, i, 1096-7);
5. Salah al-Din al-Safadi (d. 764/1363); see above (previous col);
6. Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Djazari (d.739/1338-9), the author of *Hawadith al-zaman wa-anba'ihi* for which see Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-matbu'at*, col. 696, is also apparently to be added to this list; see *Isaba*, i, 1092;
7. Khwadja Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419), see *A'in-i Akbari*, ii, 207 (=tr. Jarrett, iii, 360);
8. Nur Allah Shushtari (about 1010), who maintains that the Sunni opposition to Ratan's claim was really due to (a) Ratan's being a Shi'i, most of whose *hadith* was in praise of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and their partisans, and to (b) the jealousy of the contemporary Sunni 'ulama', who were thrown into shade by the *Sahabi*, who could transmit *hadith* directly from the Prophet (*Madjalis al-mu'minin*, Tehran 1299/1882, 309).

Against:

1. al-Dhahabi (673-748/1274-1348), who attacked Ratan violently in his Tadjrid (quoted in *Isaba*, i, 1087), *Mizan al-i tidal*, i, 336, and *al-Mushtabih*, 215, and even wrote a monograph on the subject entitled *Kasr wathan Ratan* (quoted in *Isaba*, i, 1088-9), in which he insinuated that only those could admit his claim to Companionship of the Prophet who believed in the continued existence of Muhammad (al-Muntazar) b. al-Hasan (the twelfth Imam), and the palingenesis (radj'a) of Ali (see *Isaba*, i, 11091; cf. *Lisan al-mizan*, ii, 452);
2. 'Alam al-Din al-Birzali al Shafi'i (d. 739/

1339) (see *Fawat al-wafayat,* i, 163);

3. Burhan al-Din Ibn Djama'a (d. 790/1388, see Brockelmann, II, 136) (quoted in *Isaba,* i, 1101);
4. Madjd al-Din al-Firuzabadi, who was in India about A.H. 785-90 and had visited Bhatinda (in *Kamus, loc cit;* but cf. *Isaba,* i, 1102);
5. Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalani (d. 852/1449), in *Isaba,* i, 1101-2, and in *Tabsir al-muntabih,* Rampur ms. p. 79, also quoted in *Tadj al-arus,* ix, 212;
6. al-Zabidi (d. 1205/1791), in *Tadj al-arus, loc cit.*

Apart from the above literary tradition, the Muslims as well as the Hindus of Bhatinda, have preserved local versions of Ratan's story.

The earlier Muslim version represents him as the Minister of Vena Pal, the Hindu Radja of Bhatinda, at the time of Shihab al-Din Muhammad Ghuri's invasion, when he betrayed the fortress to the Muslims. He was converted to Islam and performed the *hadjdj.* According to a fuller version, still current in Bhatinda, he was a Cawhan Rajput, Ratanpal by name.

He knew by his knowledge of astrology that the Prophet would be born in Arabia and spread Islam. In order to be able to see him, he practiced restraining his breath. After the miracle of *shakek al-kamar* (splitting the moon into two), which he witnessed, Ratan set out for Mecca, was converted to Islam, and lived with the Prophet for thirty years. Then he returned to India and stayed where his shrine is now, continuing the practice of restraining his breath.

Later, when Shihab al-Din Ghuri proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Prithi Radj, the sultan visited the Hadjdji, the saint performed a miracle and became instrumental in the conquest of the fort, shortly after which event he died, at the age of 700 years.

The Hindu version, also still current at Bhatinda, asserts that he was a much-travelled, miracle-working Hindu Sadhu, of the Nath clan, and that his name was Ratan Nath. He won the confidence of the Muslims by manifesting his miraculous powers in Mecca, which he had visited in his wanderings. He then came to Bhatinda, and lived and died there. He was buried and his *samadh* was built, which the Muslim replaced by a *khankah,* and called him Hadjdji on account of his visit to Mecca.

Horovitz reconciled these divergent versions in a striking theory: "It may be that Ratan was originally a Yogi, who as such was believed to have been alive hundreds of years and who on becoming acquainted with the Muhammadan aspects of longevity, used them to strengthen his position in the eyes of his Muhammadan followers..... The saint had two faces: he showed that of a long-lived Yogi to the Hindus, that of a companion of the Prophet to the Muhammadans."

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Raushan Ara (d. 1342 A.D.)

She is first known Muslim woman saint of Bengal. She belonged to the first half of the 14th century. Unfortunately, authentic details of her life are not available. According to some local traditions, she was born in a Saiyid family at Mecca. She came to Delhi along with her brother and a notable saint Shaikh Shah Hasan

during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-1325). She then proceeded to Bengal with her brother and settled at Tragunia. She died in 1342 at the age of 64 and was buried at a village in the Bashirat sub-division of 24 Parganas in West Bengal.

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Sad al-Din al-Hammui (d. 1276 A.D.)

Sad al-Din al-Hammui, Muhammad b. al-Mu'ayyad.... b. Hamawayh Al-Djuwayni was a famous Sufi *shaikh* of the first half of the 7th/13th century. He was a second cousin of the influential *Awlad al-Shaykh* and of another Sa'd al-Din (b.Tadj al-Din, d. 674/1276), father of Sadr al-Din Ibrahim (644-722/1247-1322). Sa'd al-Din b. al-Mu'ayyad's contemporary Sibt Ibn al-Djawzi mentions that news of the Shaykh's death in Khurasan had reached him during the year 651, and that he is said to have died in 650 A.H. The latter year is accepted by many authorities, including Djami, who specifies that the Shaykh died on 10 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 650/11 February 1253 aged 63.

However, according to the biography written around 750 A.H. by his great-grandson Ghiyath al-Din as well as khafi's *Mudjmal-i Fasihi*, the precise dates for the Shaykh's birth and death are, 23 Dhu'l-Hidjdja 586/12 January 1191 and 18 Dhu'l-Hidjdja 649/3 March 1252, respectively. On the other hand, equally precise but different dates (15 Djumadal I 588 to 12 Dhu'l-Hidjdja 649) are found in marginal notes of a manuscript dated 728 A.H. Still other dates on record are mentioned by Kaprulu-zade Fu'ad, art. Sa'd al-Din al-Hamawi in EI.

Sa'd al-Din is primarily known in Sufi history as a disciple of Nadjm al-Din al-Kubra (d. 618/1221 in J. Khwarazm). Kubra wrote an idjaza for him, and is said to have brothered him with Sayf al-Din al-Bakharzi (d. I659/1261 or earlier in Bukhara). A letter written to him by the latter may indeed indicate such ties with the then nascent Kubrawiyya; but hagiographic reports suggesting similar ties to Kubra's major disciple.

Madjd al-Din al-Baghdadi (d.3 Djumada II 606/3 December 1209, should be treated with caution. According to Ghiyath al-Din's biography. Sa'd al-Din had pursued theological studies in Khurasan and between 605 and 609 A.H. in Khwarazm; but he joined Kubra only in 616 or 617 A.H. having in the meantime (A.H. 616 according to the *Mudjmal-i Fasihi*) travelled to Damascus where he received his formal initiation into Sufism from his father's cousin, the Shaykh al-Shuyukh Sadr al-Din Abudl-Hasan Muhammad (d.617/1220) and to Mecca, where he met Abu Hafs Umar al-Suhrawardi (d.632/1234). Sa'd *al-Din himself* as quoted by Haydar al-Amuli, traced his Sufi affiliation in two ways to Muhammad b Hamuya (d.530/1135-6):

(a) through direct spiritual association (in the way Muhammad b. Hamuya himself was a "disciple of al-*Khidr*");
(b) through transmission of the *khirka* along the line of descent of the Syrian branch of his family (i.e. through Sadr al-Din Muhammad).

In any case, some time after the Mongol sack of Khwarazm, Sald al-Din turned, again to the middle east, staying now for longer periods in Mecca and Damascus and travelling widely until 640. During one of his stays in Damascus, he was undoubtedly in touch with Ibn Arabi (d. 638/1240) and his circle, although

it would appear that his real contact was the disciple Sadr al-Din al-Kunawi (d. 673/1274) rather than the master himself

Unlike Ibn Arabi , Sald al-Din evidently favoured the Sufi practice of listening to music. Sibt Ibn al-Dlawzi (*loccit*) mentions that he lived with his followers on Mount Kasiyun and describes him as a holy man who shunned the rich, even his own cousins, despite great poverty, but says also that he enjoyed later in Khurasan the favours of the kings of the Tatars.

The same source also points out that he spent the last week of his life by the tomb of Muhammad b. Hamuya in Bahrabad (near Djuwaym) and that he was buried there. According to Ghiyath al-Din, he spent the last eight years of his life mainly in Amul and various places in Khurasan, including Bahrabad, where he died during one of his visits.

It must have been during this last period in Khurasan that Aziz-i Nasafi (d. 700/1300) became his disciple. The latter, a prolific Persian author, popularised some of his master's esoteric ideas, particularly those concerning the unity of Being (*wahdat al-wudjud*) and the special status of the *saint* (wali) *Monister* trends in Sa'd al-Din's thought were also noted by Dhahabi. His peculiar ideas about *walaya* bear a certain affinity to gnostic Shi'ism. Although, he belonged, like the rest of his family, to the Shafi 'i *madhhab*.

Unlike Nasafi's Sa'd al-Din's works were reputedly *difficult* due to his penchant for *hurufi* speculations. Nasafi, *Kashf al haka'ik*" Tehran 1344/1965-4, credits him with a total of 400 books, whereas Ghiyath al-Din lists the titles of 32 otherwise unrecorded writings but mentions none of the works generally attributed to him.

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Sadru'd-Din Hakim, Shaikh

Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Hakim was an important disciples of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud of Delhi. His father had been a merchant and a disciple of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya,. It was believed that the child was born because of the blessings of his father's *pir* and the great sufi was to become his spiritual guardian.

Sadru'd-Din grew up to become a scholar, an eloquent speaker and an expert physician. He was also the author of several treatises of which Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq reproduced excerpts, and these reflect his extreme form of asceticism.

One of Sadru'd-Din's recurring themes was that people should not be obsessed with living, fearing that death was stalking them constantly. Their hopes should be shortened and they should not include the wish for a long earthly existence. A person who proved to be an obstacle to the obedience of others to God was an enemy of Islam and should be ignored.

Shaikh Sadru'd-Din's *khalifa*, Shaikh Fathu'llah of Awadh was an *alim* from Delhi and often delivered religious sermons at the foot of the Minar-i-Shamsi (Qutb Minar) near the Jami mosque (the Qubbatu'l-Islam or Quwatu'l-Islam). After becoming Shaikh Sadru'd-Din's dis-

ciple he explored the rigours of asceticism but continually failed to achieve spiritual enlightenment.

On his *pir's* advice he rid himself of most of his books merely retaining a treasured few, but only after these too were disposed of did Shaikh Fathu'llah finally gain deep and lasting spiritual satisfaction.

Shaikh Qasim of Awadh, Shaikh Fathu'llah's disciple, was a talented writer. One of his works, entitled *Adabu's-Salikin,* (Ethics of Sufis), gave a symbolic interpretation of the relics which sufis bequeathed to their disciples. To Shaikh Qasim the prayer carpet indicated firmness in prayer, the *tasbih* or *rosary* was the recollection of scattered thoughts the comb was a symbol of virtue, the staff represented the ideas of the One Real God should be relied on; the pair of scissors symbolized the severance of relations from everything other than God. The needle was a reminder that the exoteric and esoteric should be intertwined. Slippers were a symbol of spiritual firmness; the ewer, cup and other such household utensils prompted sufis to be hospitable and in the name of deceased saints to give food to the poor.

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Sadru'd-Din Zakir, Shaikh Muhammad (d. 1588/89A.D.)

Shaikh Muhammad Sadru'd-Din Zakir was born in Champanir. His father was a merchant, but at the age of twenty-five Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir renounced the world. In 952/1545-46, he became Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus' disciple and accompanied his *pir* when he left Gujarat to live in Gwalior. There he practised the *zikr* and *da'wat-i Asma* formula mentioned in the *Jawahir-i Khamsa.*

Finding him perfect in all this, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus allowed him to leave his *khanqah* and settle in Gujarat. Shaikh Sudru'd-Din Zakir visited his *pir* at Gwalior and twice more made the journey after the latter's death. On the last occasion, he remained there a year engaged in performing the rigorous ascetic exercises of several courses of *chilla.* He also visited Mandu where he enrolled a number of people into his discipleship.

Among those who called on the Shaikh was the future author of the *Gulazar-i abrar,* then only eleven years old. From Mandu, Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir returned to Champanir, but finally, he settled in Barauda. There, he died in 989/1581-82. Until his last day his enthusiasm for severe ascetic exercises was limitless. According to Ghausi Shattari, Gujarat abounded with *khalifas* and disciples of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir.

Among these was Shaikh Siddiq of Barauda, a sufi of deeply ascetic temperament. The son of a druggist, he succeeded to his father's profession after the latter's death Before long, however, he renounced the world to become a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. Impressed by his services Shaikh Sadru'd-Din appointed Shaikh Siddiq his *khalifa.* He died at Barauda in 996/1587-8 or 997/1588-89.

Shaikh Zuhuru'd-Din Mahmud bin Jalal of Gujrat was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and a *khalifa* of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir, as well as a patron of Ghausi Shattari. For many years, he devotedly served his *pir,* obtaining from him authority to initiate disciples at Mandu. For about ten years the population of this town benefitted from his spiritual expertise.

On 18th Sha'ban, 996/13th July, 1588, he

died. His *khalifas* elected Aqibat Mahmud Shaikh Da'wud to succeed their *pir* 'Aqibat Mahmud however, chose to live mostly with Shaikh 'Abdu'llah and Shaikh Ziya'u'l-lah, the sons of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. After their *deaths* he returned to Mandu in 1020/1611-12.

Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Latif, the son of Malik Shah Kori, was also a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir. Born at Nahrwala, he was trained in the Shattariyya *zikr* at Champanir. In 977/1569-70, he visited the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and stayed in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Ghaus.

From Gwalior, he visited Delhi in order to perform a pilgrimage to the tomb of the sufis of Delhi before going on to Agra. After receiving great spiritual assistance from Shaikh Ziya'u'llah he returned to Gwalior and performed *chillas* in the cells where Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus had meditated when a youth.

He also obtained spiritual benefit from Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, the son and successor of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus. He then returned to Champanir and later stayed at Barauda. There he married, but in 984/1576-77, he visited Gwalior again *via* Mandu. Although, he had decided to refrain from further travelling he changed his mind and went from Barauda to Burhanpur. He died in Barauda in 1007/1598-99.

Shaikh Muhammad Ji Barahna (naked) from Ahmadabad, a disciple of Shaikh Sadru'd-Din Zakir, was primarily a *majzub* (ecstatic). In 983/1575-76, he paid a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and from thence returned to his native land.

Shaikh-i Laskar Muhammad 'Arif, the son of Malik Rajan, came from Mahlasa, Gujarat. Orphaned at an early age, at sixteen, he followed family tradition and became a military man, but soon abandoned this for the life of a mystic. Initially, he was trained by Shaikh Zakir Naharwala, a Shattariyya sufi, but in 951/1544-45, he entered into the discipleship of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and was later appointed a *khalifa*.

After his *pir's* departure for Gwalior, Shaikh-i Lashkar initiated disciples into the Shattariyya order at Ahmadabad until 982/1574-75. He migrated to Burhanpur where he died on 2nd Shawwal, 993/27th September, 1585.

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Safiud-Din Shahid, Shah (d. 1290 or 1295)

Shah Safiud-Din Shahid was the son of a noble of Delhi. His mother was the sister of Sultan Firoz Shah Khilji (1290-1295 A.D.). It is said that there lived a Hindu king, called Pardu Raja, in the village of Mahanath in Hooghly, where cow slaughter was totally banned. Shah Safiud-Din, who had settled at Pandua, on the occasion of khatna ceremony (circumcision) of his son killed a cow for offering feast to the guests.

On this charge, Raja sacrificed his son to Goddess Kali. The saint went to Delhi and narrated the horror to Sultan Firoz Shah, who was his maternal uncle. The Sultan sent a large army, under Jaffar Khan Ghazi. The saint also accompanied him as a guide. The saint first went to Panipat to meet his spiritual guide Shah Bu Ali Qalandar. The imperial army came out victorious in the long run; but Shah Safiud-Din, being fatally wounded, died on the spot. Shah Safiud-Din was buried at Pandua with respect and pomp. Some say that he was buried where he fell fighting.

After a scrutiny of the historical records and analysing the life and time of the three persons mentioned above, namely, Abu Ali Shah Qalandar, Firoz Shah Khilji (1290-1295 A.D.)

and Jaffar Khan Ghazi, it may be concluded that all three were contemporaries. Therefore, the name of Shah Safiud-Din, associated with these three, stands on the test of history that Pandua was conquered sometime between 1290 and 95 A.D. and this be doubted.

Jaffar Khan, who was a commander of the army at Pandua, conquered the city of Saptagram, was the same man as Aligh Azam Humayun, Jafar Khan Bairam Itagin, who is mentioned in connection with Saptagram conquest. Saptagram was the capital of the Southern part of Bengal, during the time of Ruknud-Din Kaihan Shah (1291-1302 A.D.), the Sultan of Gaur. It appears that after the conquest of Pandua, Jafar Khan conquered Saptagram in 1298 A.D. A mosque was built therein in 1298 A.D. In 1313 A.D., Jafar Khan founded a college in Saptagram.

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Safiuddin, Shah (14th Century)

Shah Safiuddin was one of the warrior saints of Bengal who flourished at Chota Pandua (in Hooghly District) in the 14th century. According to local tradition, he fought and won a victory over the Hindu raja of Pandua. He is said to have enjoyed considerable influence in this region. His tomb at Pandua is a spot of big attraction. Both Hindus and Muslims visit his grave to seek his spiritual blessings.

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Sahrawardi, Shaikh Sihabu'd-Din (d 1234/35 A.D.)

Shaikh Sihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi was an important *khalifa of* Saiyid Nuru'd-Din Mubarak Ghaznawi. After his birth, his father took him to an eminent saint, Khwaja Muhammad Ajal Shirazi, to be blessed; according to tradition it was to that visit that Nuru'd-Din owed his later prominence as a sufi. No other details are known of his earlier life, but by the time he reached Delhi he was at the height of his fame.

Iltutmish appointed Shaikh Nuru'd-Din Mubarak, Shaikhu'l-Islam and he was called by the people of the city, Mir-i-Dihli (Lord of Delhi). According to Ziya'u'd-Din Barani, he frequently visited the Sultan and in his sermons emphasized that all court customs were illegal and blasphemous and were founded on the traditions of the Sasanian rulers of Iran. Protection of the religion of Islam (*din-panahi*) by rulers was only possible by following four principles.

Those who abided by them would be rewarded however sinful a life they had led, by being counted, on Judgement Day among the prophets and saints, Saiyid Nuru'd-Din Mubarak's definition of Muslims excluded non-Sunnis. His four principles for the protection of Islam were as follows :

(1) They (rulers) should promote Islamic customs, promulgate the commands of the *Shari'a*, enforcing what is ordained and prohibiting what is forbidden by it, and uproot *kufr* (infidelity) *shirk* (poly-

theism) and idolatry. If they cannot fully uproot kufr and *shirk* they should make every effort to disgrace and humiliate Hindus, *mushriks* (polytheists) and idolaters, for they are inveterate enemies of God and the Prophet Muhammad. They should not tolerate the sight of Hindus, and in particular they should exterminate the Brahmans, who are the leaders of heretics and disseminators of heresy. They should not allow *kafirs* (infidels) and *mushriks* to lead an honourable life or assign to them high office.

(2) Sins, debauchery and adultery should not be openly committed in Islamic towns and offenders should be ruthlessly punished. If prostitutes do not relinquish their sinful profession, they should be compelled to practise their trade secretly. This should not be totally prohibited for if there are no prostitutes, rogues might be forced to rape Muslim women in harems.

(3) The duty of the enforcement of *Shari'a* should be entrusted to the pious, and God-fearing officers who have expert knowledge of *Shari'a* and *Tariqa*, and should not be given to the untrustworthy or self-seeker. Philosophers should be banished and the teaching of philosophy prohibited in Islamic territories. The irreligious and the enemies of Sunni beliefs that is, Shi'is, should be mercilessly disgraced and should not receive government posts.

(4) Justice should be strictly dispensed, but it is only possible if the dread and fear of the king uproots tyranny and tyrants.

Saiyid Nuru'd-Din added that only compliance with the above principles guaranteed the salvation of rulers and mere prayers, fastings and great acts of charity would not assist them.

Barani quotes Balban as an authority on Shaikh Nuru'd-Din's sermons. This may be Barani's own view. Nevertheless, the sermons were an abridged version devised by Ghazali and Nizamu'l-Mulk of the Perso-Islamic system of polity, which had been evolved at the Saljuqid court. A modern scholar's view that philosophy was a problem which had been highlighted during the Tughluq period is historically inaccurate, as the study had concerned both theologians and sufis from the end of the tenth century onwards.

Concern by the orthodox and sufis at the popularity of philosophy is reflected even in the *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad*. The information available is, however, insufficient to ascribe, with much certainty, the above theories to Saiyid Nuru'd-Din. However, he may also have forwarded identical, or similar, theories currently accepted in that period, which had been devised earlier. Saiyid Nuru'd-Din died in 632/1234-35 and was buried near Shamsi Hauz.

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Saifu'd-Din, Shaikh (1514A.D. — 1582A.D.)

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's father, Shaikh Sa'du'llah, died in 928/1522, when he was only eight years old and it would therefore seem that the former was born in 920/1514. His ancestors had excelled both in military and literary skills, but Shaikh Sa'du'llah himself was basically a mystic. From his early childhood the serene and pious environment of Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's home made him introspective and meditative, his ears echoed with the mystical verses of Amir Khusrau, and he witnessed the hard ascetic exercises performed by his aged father.

After his father's death despite his youth Shaikh Saifu'd-Din cared for his mother, at the same time acquiring higher literary and religious education. Although, poor and sometimes starving, he continued in his dedication to learning, prayers and meditation. As a child an overpowering love of beauty was a basic inclination, although naturally he did not understand its significance.

When he was about five or six he had fallen in love with a boy of the same age; when he grew older he believed the feeling of an appreciation of beauty-associated with love to be natural and pure. Even in old age he had forcibly to overcome his passion for love and beauty lest they should undermine his sufi routine.

As a mystic melancholy and despair periodically prompted Shaikh Saifu'd-Din to contemplate suicide. He found it difficult to accept that a large number of sufis, saints and holy men who had a strong faith in the Unity of Being were so widely considered by theologians to be misguided.

Gradually, his obsession with this concept filled his every moment. He saw even in the smallest particle of matter the theophany of an infinite light and continually felt trapped by the intensity of his own mystical insight and by his earthly fetters.

Like his elder brother, Mushtaqi, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din also served in the retinue of various nobles only to support himself, never for personal gain. He believed that worldly pleasure was comparable to the ephemeral enjoyment connected with nocturnal emissions which were followed by remorse. To him, opposing sides in debates each supported some part of the truth.

He believed religious discussions should be free of belligerent words which merely satisfied human passions. The egocentric brawing and intriguing of the 'ulama' at Akbar's court weighed heavily on the Shaikh's mind, and he was grateful to God that he was neither a scholar nor a theologian.

When lecturing, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din used a number of analogies to persuade other mystics to see One in the many and many in the One. The Essence was Infinite and the manifestation of the thousands of various aspects of His forms was subject to His will. The Light was indivisible and inseparable and even if a multitude of lamps were lit from one single lamp its own light was not divided. Likewise the Divine Being was the source of the existence of all objects. In His own right. He was absolute.

Self-determination (ta'ayyunat) of the Absolute which was divided into mahiyya (*quiddities*) was not a process which reason could comprehend using the analogy of the division of physical objects. He illustrated this by an earthen vase in which children made holes and then put in a lamp. Only the light was seen from outside, although the lamp remained un-affected. Similarly the Absolute, despite His 'self-determination', retained His primordial Oneness.

As regards, the question whether the universe was 'from Him' (*Azu ast*) or 'by him, (*Badu ast*), according to Shaikh Saifu'd-Din the best form of expression was the former. In fact, the real meaning of all is from Him' (*Ham az ust*) was identical with the sense of 'all is He' (*Hama ust*) True comprehension of this subtle idea related to the heart rather than speech. With regards to expressing one's feelings about the Unity of Being, all forms of expression were of equal merit.

The essential meaning behind the two expressions, 'the universe is His manifestation' and 'the universe is His creation' were identical. However, the Shaikh did admit that with maturity he preferred to refrain in public from ecstatic expressions of his youth, thus avoiding conflict with the *Shari'a.* Among fellow travellers, however and in a hidden retreat, mystical expressions could be used.

Allegations by jurists that *sama'* bred hypocrisy the Shaikh believed to be unfounded, arguing that the listener who had lost consciousness of his own individual existence could not be guilty of hypocisy. He himself was an ardent listener to Persian verses and Hindi *dohas* and

this ruba'-i by Umar Khayyan (c. 412/1021-22-515 or 516/1122) would invariably reduce him to tears:

> In its early life this jug was madly in love,
> Crazed by the curling locks of its sweetheart.
> The handle you see at its neck,
> Had been the hand around the neck of its beloved.

Shaikh Saifu'd-Din's lectures were so emotional and expressive that often his listeners would beg him to talk on subjects which really moved them such as Divine love, the longing for God and the pangs of separation. Passages referring to threats from God in the Qur'an so grieved and agitated the Shaikh that in his household they were only read in hushed tones.

Those filled with hope and promises were chanted out loudly. Eagerly awaiting death, during his last illness the Shaikh prayed for release for, he said, as one was already weary after a few days spent in an inn so after 70 years of life one was naturally desperate for death. Before he achieved his life's ambition (on 27th Sha'ban, 990/16th sept., 1582), shaikh Saifu'd-Din performed the *pas-i anfas* for he believed this was possible for sufis even after the limbs had ceased to function.

Although, Shaikh Saifu'd-Din was a poet who had taken "Saifi" as a pen-name, his verses no longer survive. However, his son, 'Abdu'l-Haqq, reproduced a *qasida* in praise of Shaikh Aman Panipati and another two *ghazals* by him which are in the traditional mystical style of poetry eulogizing Divine love and ascetic poverty. The *Wahdat al-Wujud* theme is also always present in what has survived. He writes, 'To the scholarly gnostics it is authoritatively known.

That He is the 'Ayn (Essence) of the universe but is distant from it. sometimes He, like a newly wedded bride hides His face behind a veil, Sometimes He is seen producing confusion, rioting and the tearing of clothes.

In a fit of ecstasy Shaikh Saifu'd-Din also wrote a *masnawi* (*Silsilat al-wisal,* Chain of Unity), in one day. Neither the *masnawi* nor a couple of other treatises, also on the *Wahdat al-Wujud,* survive; only a short extract from a treatise entitled the *Kashifat* has been preserved in the *Akhbaru'l-Akhyar*. This extract, pointing out the different forms of perception of the manifestations of the Absolute, re-emphasizes the reality of man as seen by the scholars of the *Wahdat al-Wujud.*

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Saiyid Ali Hamadani (1314A.D. — 1385A.D.)

Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, popularly known in Kashmir as "Shah-i-Hamadan" (the lord of Hamadan), was born at Hamadan on 12th Rajab, 714/22nd October, 1314. He was a member of the family of the 'Alawi Saiyids of that town, claiming descent from 'Ali the fourth Caliph.

His father Saiyid Shihabu'd-Din is said to have been a *hakim* (governor) of Hamadan and appears to have shown little interest in the education of his son. This responsibility fell on his maternal uncle 'Ala'u-Daula, a saint of considerable piety and devotion. Some modern scholars wrongly identify him with the celebrated 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani.

At a very young age Saiyid 'Ali memorised the whole Qur'an. When he was only twelve years old his maternal uncle introduced him to Shaikh Muzdaqani, who, after teaching him the elementary principles of Sufism, sent him to Taqiu'd-Din 'Ali Dusti, another disciple of 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani. Saiyid 'Ali remained with his new teacher for about two years, and after his death he retuned to Shaikh Muzdaqani, who put the finishing touches to his education.

According to Abdu'l-Wahhab, Saiyid 'Ali also received guidance from 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani. Ja'far Badakhshi also supports this and says that Saiyid 'Ali had collected some four hundred traditions of the prophet (*ahaddis*) from various prominent saints of his time, including 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani.

When 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani died, Saiyid 'Ali was about twenty-two years old. It is not therefore unlikely that he came in contact with the great saint and his own preceptor Shaikh Muzdaqani may have recommended him to his teacher.

Like most of his predecessors, Saiyid 'Ali travelled very extensively and is said to have performed the pilgrimage twelve times. His most important journey, however, was his visit to Kashmir, which is said to have been caused by the cruelty of Timur (1335-1405) towards the 'Alawi Saiyids of Hamadan. Ali Asghar Hikmat and Muhibbu'l-Hasan, two modern scholars, suggest that when Timur for the third time invaded Persia and Iraq, in 1383, he expelled the powerful 'Alawi Saiyids from there, and Saiyids 'Ali left Hamadan and took refuge in Kashmir.

According to a popular legend Timur once invited Saiyid 'Ali to his palace to test his spiritual power. When the Saiyid came, the arrangements for sitting had been made in such a way that *qibla* would be behind him. It is said that the Saiyid had never sat like that in his life. But when Saiyid 'Ali sat down the palace rotated and he faced the qibla. After the meal was served, Timur asked Saiyid 'Ali whether he had taken lawful or unlawful food.

Before the Saiyid could answer, a woman came to the court crying that she had kept a lamb for her *pir*, Saiyid 'Ali, and that the king's officials took it from her forcibly. The Saiyid at once remarked that it was served to him. Thus, Timur became annoyed and ordered the Saiyid to leave his kingdom immediately. Thereupon Saiyid 'Ali retired to Kashmir;

The Sufis in general and the Kubraviyas in particular travelled extensively in the various parts of the Muslim world. After the conversion of Ghazan Khan through a Sufi, Sadru'd-Din Hamawi (d. 722/1322), the Persian Sufis, especially the followers of 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani, began to take great interest in missionary activities.

Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and his companions were not the only ones to leave Persia. Many other Sufis, who were trained at the *khanqah* of 'Ali'u'd-Daula Simnani, left their native towns and travelled as far as Gulbarga in south India. Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1405), who had travelled for some time in the company of Saiyid 'Ali, also came to India and settled there at Kichaucha, in Faizabad (east of Lucknow).

There is ample evidence to show that Timur was not hostile to the Saiyids and he cannot be believed to have provoked Saiyid 'Ali to leave his native place. Saiyid 'Ali and his associates must have been attracted to Kashmir because Muslim rule was newly established there and offered considerable opportunities for popularising Islam. According to Ja'far Badakhshi, Saiyid' Ali had been ordered by Shaikh Muzdaqani to travel and preach the truth to the people. Saiyid 'Ali himself is said to have remarked that wherever he went, God the most powerful commanded him to travel and preach to the people.

Moreover, Saiyid 'Ali did not come to kashmir alone, He was accompanied by a large number of Saiyids, all of whom did not belong to the family of 'Alawi Saiyids. Lastly, some ten years before Timur is said to have expelled the 'Alawi Saiyids from Hamadan, Saiyid 'Ali had sent two of his cousins, Saiyid Taju'd-Din and Saiyid Husain, to Kashmir to explore the religious atmosphere of that country.

The report must have been encouraging, as Saiyid 'Ali arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din (1373-1389). The Sultan received him warmly and the Saiyid took up his residence at 'Ala'u'd-Dinpura, in Srinagar.

The chronology of Saiyid 'Ali's visit to

Kashmir is confusing and it is sometimes impossible to reconcile the accounts of the various sources. According to two later authorities, Hasan and Miskin, Saiyid 'Ali visited Kashmir three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84.

Neither of them mention any activity of Saiyid 'Ali's first two visits. According to a legend, Saiyid 'Ali is said to have travelled three times all over the world, and Hasan and Miskin seem to have based their account on this story. Such modern scholars as Muhiu'd-Din Sufi, and Muhibbu'l-Hasan agree with them, both relying on Miskin.

Miskin's statements are, however, not free from doubt. For example, he suggests that Saiyid 'Ali's first visit took place in 1372 and at the same time he says that Qutbu'd-Din was the ruler of that country. Qutbu'd-Din came to the throne in 1373 and not in 1372.

Again, Miskin maintains that Saiyid 'Ali came to Kashmir for the third time in 785/1383-84 and he remarks that Nuru'd-Din Rishi was four years old at that time. Elsewhere, he gives the Rishi's date of birth as 779/1377-78, this would mean that the Saiyid arrived in Kashmir for the third time in 783/1381-82.

The early sources are unanimous in saying that Saiyid 'Ali came to Kashmir only once. However, they also do not agree among themselves about the date of his arrival there.

Both Mirza Haidar (d.1551) and Abu'l-Fazl mention only one visit of Saiyid 'Ali to Kashmir, which took place in the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din.

According to Saiyid 'Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* the Saiyid arrived in the Valley in 786/1384-85. At the same time, he quotes a chronogram (*maqdam sharif baju*), by one Saiyid Muhammad Khawari, which gives Saiyid 'Ali's date of arrival in Kashmir as 785/1383-84. The two dates are not reconcilable. Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani died in 786/1385; Therefore both are dates 785/1383-84, and 786/1384-85, are incorrect.

Other authorities Baharistan-i-Shahi. Haidar Malik, and Rafi'u'd-Din Ahmad, give 783/1381, as the date of Saiyid 'Ali' arrival to Kashmir. This seems to be reasonable as Saiyid 'Ali travelled extensively in the Valley and he must have spent a good deal of time there.

Saiyid 'Ali's proselyting activities in Kashmir, are highly extolled by both medieval and modern scholars. But none of them give any details of the method adopted by him in his work.

One anecdote, common in all sources, reveals that Saiyid 'Ali resorted to miracles to obtain converts. It is said that the Brahman of *Kal-i-mandar,* in Srinagar was the most famous ascetic of Kashmir in those days. Saiyid 'Ali, on hearing of his virtues, decided to visit him and to convert him to Islam. The Brahman, trying to impress the Saiyid, claimed that he could fly into the sky and at once demons traded this feat.

Saiyid 'Ali thereupon ordered one of his followers, Saiyid Kabir, to teach the Brahman a lesson. Saiyid Kabir ordered his shoes to chase the Brahman and to bring him down by beating on the head. The shoes performed exactly what was ordered. The miracle convinced the Brahman of Saiyid 'Ali's superiority and he, along with his followers, accepted Islam.

This miracle is similar to one which a yogi is said to have performed in the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The Sufi *malfuzat* of the fourteenth century also record similar encounters between the Sufis and the yogis. But the performance of miracles was no part of the activities of the Sufis, They rejected the supernatural powers of the yogis with scorn, calling it is istidraj ("conferring of benefits by God on obstinate sinners").

There is no doubt, however, that Islam in Kashmir received great impetus because of Saiyid 'Ali and his followers. Saiyid 'Ali, accompanied by his disciples, travelled widely in Valley. He left his deputies at a number of places, which were great Hindu centres of those days, such as Pompur, Avantipura and Vijabror.

These followers of Saiyid 'Ali established *khanqahs*, and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centres of preaching and proselytisation.

In order to glorify Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, some sources assert that because of the absence of Muslim scholars in the country at that time, Sultan Qutbu'd-Din used to follow certain practices in contravention of Islamic teachings. But this claim is not reconcilable with the facts, as we know that the Saiyid himself held discussions with some Muslim scholars in Kashmir, who understood an extremely difficult and philosophical work such as the *Futuhat-i-Makkiya* of Ibn 'Arabi.

It is true that the *'ulama* were not available in large number, but it is incorrect to believe that Kashmir at that time was devoid of Muslim scholars and that Islamic teachings were introduced only because of Saiyid 'Ali and his followers.

In fact, if Sultan Qutbu'd-Din visited Hindu shrines, celebrated their festivals and dressed himself after the Hindu fashion, it was for political reasons. The great majority of his subjects were non-Muslim and the government officers, as the chronicler Saiyid 'Ali points out, were *mushriks* (idolators, i.e., Hindus); no doubt it was to maintain good relations with his subjects that he followed their customs and manners.

It was because of this policy of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din that Saiyid 'Ali's relations with him did not remain cordial. There was a conflict between them, arising from their different attitudes towards the non-Muslims made it impossible for him to be reconciled with the policies of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din.

Dissatisfied with the Sultan's response to his teachings, Saiyid 'Ali decided to leave Kashmir. The author of Baharistan-t-Shahi, supported by two other authorities, says : "When Sultan Qutbu'd-Din did not glorify (*raunaq*) Islam and implement the shari'a as Saiyid ' Ali wished, he therefore decided not to stay any more in this country, and left via Baramula, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage."

On reaching Kunar, Saiyid 'Ali was urged by its chief, to stay there for a few days. There he fell ill and died on 6th Zu'l-Hijja, 786/19th January, 1385, at the age of 73. His body was carried to Khuttalan, now in Russian Tajkistan and was buried there on 25 Jumadu'l-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385.

Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani was a prolific writer. According to three of his biographers, he was the author of 170 works. But none of them, except Wahhab who lists sixteen of his treatises, gives their titles.

However, various libraries in India, Iran and Europe have a number of treatises written by Saiyid 'Ali in their collections. In India, the Riza Library, Rampur and the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar have the largest number of these. In Iran the Kitab Khana Milli of Tehran, the library of Mashhad and the Malik Library, Tehran, have manuscript copies of several treatises of Saiyid 'Ali. In England works of Saiyid 'Ali are to be found in the India Office Library and in the British Museum. A collection of Saiyid 'Ali's works is also in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. A consolidated list of the available works of Saiyid 'Ali is given in the Appendix A.

None of the works of Saiyid 'Ali, however, has so far been published, except Zakhiratu'l-Muluk and Risala-i-Dah Qabida, Other than this, all his known works are very short, consisting of a few folios each. These short treatises, although not specifically mentioned as such, seem to be nothing short of letters, as their style and rambling character of their teachings show.

This technique was invented by Imam Qushairi (d. 465/1072), who preferred to write short treatises on different topics of Sufism in the form of letters. His celebrated *Risala*, although a large work, is in the form of a letter addressed to his contemporary Sufis. Later on some other Sufis also followed the same technique and many of their treatises are in the form of letters.

There is only one collection of letters written by Saiyid 'Ali. This is known as *Risala-i-Maktubat*. It consists of eight letters, but the namas of the persons to whom they were addressed are not generally given. Whether written to nobles and rulers, as were the letters of other Sufis such as Shaikh Sharafu'd-Din Yahya Munyari of Bihar and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangoh, or addressed to the author's disciples the letters and treatises of Saiyid 'Ali are intended to serve as the basis of his teachings.

Some works of Saiyid 'Ali, which describe Sufism, give only the elementary stages of the Sufi path, while others deal with the more advanced stages of the discipline. Their styles therefore differ one from the other. Thus, the elementary works, when read along with the advanced ones, seem to contradict the latter. For example, in one treatise the Saiyid says that love of God emerges from the human will, while in another he writes that it depends upon gnosis (*ma'rifa*). The treatise emphasising *iradat* or will deals with the elementary principles of Sufism, while the one devoted to *ma'rifa* embodies the advanced stage of spiritual attainment.

The style of Saiyid 'Ali is not different from that of other Sufi writers of those days. He substantiates his teachings with quotations from the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. Occasionally he quotes anecdotes of the pre-Islamic prophets and eminent religious authorities of early Islam in order to draw morals from them. Verses are also frequently quoted.

He generally asserts his beliefs without entering into controversial discussions, drawing mainly upon those Sufis who followed the teachings of Abu'l-Qasim al-Junaid (d. 298/910), and he quotes mainly from the works of Ghazali (450-505/1058-1111) such as *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din* and *Kimiya'-i-Sa'adal*. He does not quote Ash'ari (260-324/873-935) directly but derives his teachings from secondary sources.

Saiyid 'Ali was both an *alim* (scholastic thinker) and a Sufi. As an *alim* he address the *amma-i-khalq* (common people) and expects them to obey the laws prescribed by the Ash'arite system of Sunni theology. As a Sufi, he gives an inner and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers after Truth, the *arbab-i-qulub* (lit men of heart), and sidiqan (truthful ones).

While describing the nature of the Godhead Saiyid 'Ali consistently maintains his two-fold approach one that of the *alim* and the other that of the Sufi. As an *alim* he holds that Creator and creatures are two different realities. God is One, eternal and self-existent Being. He is neither matter nor substance. He has no form, nothing is like unto Him, whatsoever one conceives of Him, God the most high is beyond that.

Likewise the Saiyid accepts the eternity of the attributes of God. His attributes, he says, are uncreated, without beginning or end. All Divine revelations are His word and do not stand in need of a mouth in order to be uttered, or of letters in order to be written; their meaning is uncreated.

But as a Sufi he maintains the wisal or mystical union is possible between the Creator and created. And this, he says, can be achieved only through the highest degree of *ma'rifa*, the *ma'rifa-i'mushahada* (gnosis based on contemplation).

The *ulama* too speak about the *ma'rifa*, but to them it means right cognition (*ilm*) of God*. As an alim Saiyid Ali subscribes to this view, but he maintains that this type of *ma'rifa* is of the lowest degree, possessed by common people, who acknowledge that God is unique and everything in the world is His handiwork.

Above them, the Saiyid continues, are *ulama-i-rusum* (the traditional *alims*) who possess ma'rifa-i-istidlai (gnosis bases on reason). They prove the existence of God on the basis of their worldly knowledge and wisdom.

The highest degree of gnosis is ma'rifa-*mushahada*, which Saiyid 'Ali defines in his capacity as a Sufi. Here, the aspirant is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the nature, attributes and works of God. It is achieved, Saiyid

'Ali points out, when he heart is purged of evil. Those who possess this type of *ma'rifa* have plunged themselves in the mysteries of God in the hope of *wisal*.

The *ma'rifa-i-mushahadu,* Saiyid 'Ali believes is obtained through Divine revelation (*wahy*) and Divine inspiration (ilham. The Divine revelation obviously is granted to the prophets and Divine inspiration to the saints. But Hujwiri, an eleventh century Sufi scholar rejects the theory that gnosis is the result of ilham and says : "gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion."

However, Saiyid 'Ali divides the recipients of Divine inspiration into three categories. The first, he says, is composed of those whose gnosis is based on mystical ecstasy (*shathi*). He is obviously thinking of the Sufis like Bayazid Bastami and Mansur al-Hallaj. To the second category belong *majzub* who are perplexed in the badiya-i-haiman (lit. desert of thirst). The third is composed of those who are in the stage of *hairat* (amazement), as Shibli (d. 334/945) is said to have remarked: "Gnosis is continual amazement (*hyrat*)".

Like other Sufi writers, Saiyid 'Ali asserts that ma'rifa leads to the love of God. The love of God, he writers, emerges from gnosis and the greater the gnosis the more perfect is the love of God. Man's love of God, he insists, is the supreme end of the life of human beings. Those who believe that love cannot exist between man and God are imperfect Sufis. The unique distinction bestowed upon man by God is that angels were ordered to prostrate themselves before Adam. This took place because man alone was capable of attaining the love of God.

Long before Saiyid 'Ali Sufis had accepted love as the ideal relationship between man and God, tracing it back to the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet. In order to justify that none but God is worthy of love, the Sufis divided love into different categories concluding that since those things for which one feels love originate from God. He alone is to be loved.

Saiyid 'Ali ascribes the inclination for love to five reasons: *mahabbat-i-nafs* (love of the self), *mahabbat-i-muhsin* (love of a benefactor), *mahabbat-i-sahib-i-kamal* (love of a perfect man), *mahabbat-i-jamil* (love for the beautiful), and *mahabbat-i-ta'aruf-i-ruhani* (love based on spiritual relationship).

The love of the self is innate in mankind. He wants to preserve his own existence and strives for gains in life and avoids loss. This love for the existence of self is often canalized to the love of the Creator, Who bestows life and existence on every one.

The love for the benefactor emerges from the benefits that the man derives from him. But those who are able to recognise that the highest benefactor is God, cease to think of worldy benefactors and concentrate on God, thereby strengthening their bonds of love with the Alimighty.

The love for perfect men emerges from the feelings of reverence to attributes such as knowledge, munificence and piety, with which they are endowed. These ethical virtues invariably make a deep impact on everyone. The respect for virtues and attributes may also lead people to the lover of God, Who is the embodiment of all known and unknown attributes.

The love for beauty is the source of infatuation for everything that is beautiful and attractive; it gives pleasure and produces excitement; for example, a beautiful woman is an object of attraction for all. The love for beauty is also instrumental in directing the mind of man, engrossed in earthly love, to the love of that Highest Being Who is the repository of all beauty.

The love based on spiritual relationship has no worldly source. It is the result of God's own gift and is predestined. He bestows spiritual love on one whom He chooses, without any other cause or reason.

Thus, the causes which infuse love into man are combined in their highest perfection in God, so He alone is worthy of love, Since man's love for God is the result of *ma'rifa'* all lovers cannot be endowed with the same degree of

love. They differ in the intensity of their love, in proportion to their ma'rifa. Therefore, Saiyid 'Ali divides the lovers of God into four categories: a'am (most common), *am* (common), *khas* (select ones) and *akhas* (highest among the select).

According to Saiyid ' Ali's scheme these four classes of people belong to four different (spiritual) worlds, in proportion to their spiritual attainments.

The most common ones, Saiyid 'Ali writes, are the *taliban* the beginners. Their experience belongs to the world of the senses, which in ordinary Sufi parlance is known as *alam-i-nasut* or the human world, but which the Saiyid calls *alam-i-shahadat* (the visible world). Here, the seeker after Truth operates through his senses. But as he rises higher in the realm of the Sufi experience and overpowers his carnal self, he becomes a *salik* (devotee) and enters the world of *gha'ib wa misal* (invisible of similitude), where he experiences some aspects of Divine beauty and action.

The select are muqarraba, those near to God, who belong to the world of *malakut* ("psychic substance"). Here, the heart of the traveller on the spiritual path begins to experience the reflection of the Divine beauty and obtains some awareness of its truth.

The *Sidiqan,* the highest among the elect, belong to the world of *jabarut* ("spiritual existence"). Here, the Sufi begins to view the Divine beauty in its entirety. When one attains this stage, Saiyid 'Ali says, his love undergoes no change, because the lover at this point is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves *fana* (annihilation in God).

In another treatise, *Kashfu'l-Haqa'iq.* Saiyid 'Ali defines the highest form of the Sufi development as one where he experiences tajalli-zat or the self manifestation of the Essence.

The attain this spiritual end or mystical experience, the Saiyid gives another scheme, a mystical journey, divided into four worlds, *mulk* ("the visible world"), *malakut* ("the world of psychic substance"), *jaburut* (the world of spiritual existence"), and *lahut* (divinity), which the traveller on the spiritual path has to cover.

In the world of *mulk,* the Sayid says, the seeker does not experience anything of great importance. Whatever occurs to him in this stage is worldly in its nature. But when the noble spirit (*shahbaz-i-ruh*) of the seeker soars higher, he begins to travel in the world of *malakut,* where he perceives lights of various colours (*anwarat-i-mutalauwin*) and manifestations of Divine actions, which he has not experienced in the *mulk.*

When he passes beyond this world 'the august bird' (the seeker) who possesses exalted spiritual will, flies in the space of *jabarut.* Here, he becomes ready to receive the manifestation of the Divine qualities and to be associated with Divine virtues. The various coloured lights which appear to him in the *malakut* are transformed into a single colour. When the seeker makes enough progress he enters the world of tahut where he receives the manifestation of the Divine essence and achieves *fana:*

Of all the Sufi terms the most controversial is *fana* (annihilation or passing away). Saiyid 'Ali does not give any explanation of the term. However, Hujwiri says that Abu Sa'id Kharraz (d. between 279/892 and 286/899) was first to invent the terms *fana* and *baqa* (subsistence). Hujwiri quotes the following definition of *fana* as given by Kharraz : "Annihilation [*fana*] is annihilation of consciousness of manhood (*'ubudiyyat*), and subsistence [*baqa*] is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (*ilahiyyat*)".

Collating the various definitions of *fana* given by Sufi scholars who preceded Hujwiri, he sums up : "annihilation comes to a man through vision of the majesty of God and through the revelation of Divine omnipotence to his heart, so that in the overwhelming sense of His majesty this world and next world obliterated from his mind, and 'states' and 'stations' appear contemptible in the sight of his aspiring thought, and what is shown to him of miraculous grace vanishes into nothing: he becomes

dead to reason and passion alike, dead even to annihilation itself; and in that annihilation of annihilation his tongue proclaims God, and his mind and body are humble and abased, as in the beginning when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins without admixture of evil and took the pledge of servantship to God (Kor. VII, 171)".

This is the definition which was propounded by Junaid, who believed in the doctrine of *sahw* (sobriety). But according to Bayazid, who indulged in *sukr* (ecstatic drunkenness or intoxication), *fana* amounts to shedding one's ego "as snakes their skin". In this state man loses his self consciousness and begins to make remarks such as "Glory be to me. How great is my majesty !"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the Throne and the footstool;"; "I saw the Kaba walking round me"; and so on.

The third view was set forth by Ibn 'Arabi, who believed in the unity of Being. According to him in the state of *fana* the Sufi loses sight of the creature and witnesses only the Absolute. Thus the people who witness the Absolute in the creatures and the creatures in the Absolute are believed to have attained the stage of *fana* and *baqa* in Ibn *'Arabi's* terminology.

Saiyid 'Ali devotes an entire treatise entitled *Risala-i-Dah Qa'ida*, to the contemplative life. The ways to God, he writes, are as numerous as men themselves, but they can be consolidated into three different paths. The first is the *rah-i-arbab-i-mu'amlat* (the path of those who observe only external rules of the religion). This road is traversed be common Muslims, who perform only the obligatory duties prescribed by the religion and is a means for their salvation. But *wisal-i-haqiqi* (real union), Saiyid 'Ali points out, cannot be obtained by performing such external devotion.

The second road is that of *arbab-i-mujahada* (those who undergo self mortification) and is traversed by the *abrar*, the righteous ones of the community, also called by the Saiyid the *muqtasidan* (those who follow the middle path). The basic principle of this path is to wean the *nafs* from evil.

The third path is followed by the *sa'iran-i-hazrat-i-samdiat* (travellers to the court of the Most High). This is the most perfect and the noblest of all the paths, and is based on "killing one's own will," as the Prophet has said : "Die before you die." Those who traverse this path attach themselves to the Eternal and soar high in the space of *lahut*, the last stage of the mystic journey.

To attain this highest path, Saiyid 'Ali, in common with other Sufi authors, prescribes the following ten rules:

Little is known of Ja'far Badakhshi, except that he was highly educated and no spiritual guide was able to influence him. In 735/1334, his brother, Haqgu, introduced him to his guide, Saiyid 'Ali at 'Alishah (a village in Khatlan). Impressed by Saiyid 'ali, Ja'far badakhshi became his disciple and later wrote a treatise, the *Khulasatu'l-Manaqib*, describing the life and spiritual achievements of his preceptor.

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Saleh Pir, Hazrat

Very little is known about Hazrat Saleh Pir, who had come to Assam with Azan Faqir. We know this much that he stayed in Tiru Pathar near the Charaideo Hills in the Sibsagar district. It is believed by the Muslims of Nazira in Sibsagar that he was buried at a place in the vicinity of the Ahom royal place at Garhgaon. His descendants, known as Parbatiya Dewans are still found in Nazira.

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Salim Chisti, Shaikh (1480A.D. — 1572A.D.)

The rise of Fathpur-Sikri on the ridge of the Sikri hills as a great sufi centre in northern India and its establishment as the new Mughal capital was a direct result of the spiritual eminence of Shaikh Salim bin Baha'u'd-Din Chishti. Shaikh Salim's ancestors were descendants of Baba Farid. Before migrating to Delhi, his father spent some years in Ludhiana. Shaikh Salim was born in 884/1479-80. In the reign of Bahlul Lodi L855/1451-894/1489.

Shaikh Salim's parents migrated to Sikri. After his parents died his upbringing and education fell to his brother, Shiakh Musa. Later, he was initiated as a Chishti by Diwan Shaikh Ibrahim (Sani Farid-o Salis Farid), a descendant of Shaikh Badru'd-Din Sulaiman a son of Baba Farid).

In 931/1524-25, Shaikh Salim began a pilgrimage to Mecca. He remained abroad for thirteen years, visiting Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran, taking care to reach Mecca in time to perform the annual pilgrimage. Returning to Sikri in 944/1537-38, he again began living on the uninhabited ridge later to become the site of the Mughal capital. His fame as a *hajji*, in conjunction with his intense self-mortification and meditation, resulted in Sikri becoming a centre for sufis, '*alims* and the poor. In Sikri, the Shaikh married a number of times and had a large family.

Islam Shah Sur (952/1545-960/1552) appointed two Imams to lead his prayers one of them being Shaikh Salim Chishti who it would seem only performed this function on his visits to Delhi.

In 962/1554-55, Shaikh Salim made another *hajj* and again was abroad for some years. On this trip, he was accompanied by a number of disciples and friends (including the eminent Shaikh Ya'qub Sarfi from Kashmir), and by one of his wives. In 971/1563-64, he again returned to the Sikri ridge, this time constructing a *khanqah* there. Again, he attracted large crowds, including members of the nobility, and the celebrated Qadiri sufi, Shaikh Aman of Panipat.

During one visit the latter asked Shaikh Salim whether he had attained his goal through induction or revelation. The reply was that this method was a 'heart-to-heart' one, that is, that God mysteriously revealed Himself to his heart, thus drawing him nearer to Himself. The young

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Qadir took the opportunity to exhibit his knowledge of Arabic and wrote the Shaikh a letter in that language. Shaikh A'zam from Bada'un, who was both the son-in-law and cousin of Shaikh Salim, introduced Mulla Bad'uni to the Shaikh.

Although, a mutual friendship developed, through the medium of the *Muntakhabu't tawarikh* the Mulla did not spare the aging Shaikh from ridicule. However, he did refer to the Shaikh's austerity, telling how even in the cold, wintry air of the highlands of Fathpur-Sikri the Shaikh wore nothing above his waist but a thin cotton shirt with a Muslim garment over it and insisted on taking bath twice daily.

Besides such distinguished visitors, Shaikh Salim was also surrounded by the simple stone-cutters who quarried stone for the Agra fort. They paid their homage to the Shaikh by building a small mosque around the original cell where the Shaikh performed *chillas*.

After the birth on 30th August, 1569 of Prince Salim Akbar's long-awaited son and heir, believed to be the result of Shaikh Salim's prayers, the Emperor's gratitude knew no bound. In the exuberance of the moment he ordered a satellite town to connect with Agra to be built on the hills of Sikri. Later called Fathpur-Sikri, this town was to become a lasting monument to the architectural genius of India.

Under Shaikh Salim Chishti's personal supervision a splendid mosque and *khanqah* were built into a complex. After his death on 29th Ramazan, 979/14th February, 1572, he was buried in the beautiful tomb which was erected on the site of his new cell. Some of the Shaikh's numerous sons and grandsons continued in service to Akbar and Jahangir and were rewarded for their loyalty with high *mansabs*.

Shaikh Salim Chishti's disciples included Shaikh Husain Ahmad Chishti (d. 996/1587-88), a former disciple of Shaikh Aman Panipati, who was an excellent calligrapher. His signed inscriptions on the base of the facade of the Buland Darwaza are superb and merited him a distinguished place in the history of Arabic calligraphy in India.

Shaikh Hajji Husain Chishti died in 1000/1591-92 and was buried to the south-west of the tomb now known as *Islam Khan's tomb*. Of the other disciples of Shaikh Salim, Shaikh Taha Chishti was known to have accompanied his master on his travels to Mecca and was appointed his *khalifa* at Ahmadabad. When Akbar was at Fathpur-Sikri in 1573 the defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat rebelled against him for the second time. Reportedly, the Sultan visited the Shaikh and asked him to dress him in his armour as sign that he blessed him. The Shaikh replied that God had assigned Gujarat to Akbar and therefore he had no power to interfere. The Sultan threatened to have the mystic killed before Akbar arrived, but finally agreed to wait a week before ordering his execution. By the time, the seven days had expired the war was over, the Sultan himself was dead and Gujarat had once more been added to the Mughal Empire. Akbar marched from Fathpur on 23rd August, 1573 and reached Ahmadabad, some 600 miles away, eleven days later, killing Mazaffar on 2nd September, 1573.

Shaikh Piyara Chishti was one of Shaikh Salim's favourite disciples. He was honoured by the Shaikh when he was given the task of praying for the safety of Prince Salim. Shaikh Piyara became well-known in Bengal. He died in 986/1578-79 while *en route* to the Deccan and was buried on the banks of the Narbada.

Saiyid Muzammil, the son of Hajji 'Abdu'l-Wahhab, seems to have entered Shaikh Salim's discipleship after his *pir's* return from his first pilgrimage tour. On his pir's instructions, he served for a short period in the army of Sher Shah Sur during his Gwalior campaign.

Shaikh Wali, son of Shaikh Yusuf Chishti, a leading disciple of Shaikh Salim Chishti, aroused the envy of the Shaikh's senior disciples by the attention shown to him by the Shaikh from the day of his very first visit.

One of Shaikh Salim's *khalifas*, Shaikh Saiyid Jeo, was a member of the Mughal nobil-

ity of Delhi. At a chance meeting with a disciple of the Shaikh, he mentioned that he was seeking a perfect *pir* who could help him achieve some type of ecstatic state with great rapidity. He was advised to call on the Shaikh at Fathpur-Sikri. Although initially rebuffed, Saiyid Jeo finally managed to see the great Chishti and immediately fell into a swoon, remaining in this state for three days. Later, he became a disciple and *khalifa* of Shaikh Salim and settled in Delhi. He died in 1015/1606-7.

Shaikh Fathu'llah Tarin Sambhali was another disciple and *khalifa* of the great Chishti. He often meditated on the ridge of Fathpur-Sikri. Although illiterate, he miraculously managed to read enough to satisfy any criticism by the 'ulama'. His prayers were believed to have brought rain to the dry areas around Fathpur-Sikri.

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Instrument to play *khayal* or a form of vocal music with not many words.

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Sama'u'd-Din, Shaikh (d.1496A.D.)

Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din was a disciple of Shaikh Kabiru'd-Din Isma'il, who himself had been a disciple of Saiyid Raju Qattal. Sama'u'd-Din also obtained tuition under a disciple of the celebrated Mir Saiyid Sharif Jurjani, an eminent philosopher and a scholar at the court of Timur.

Leaving Uch and Multan after his initiation, Sama'u'd-Din visited Nagaur, Gujarat and Bayana. Apparently, he reached Bayana in the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi (1451-89) while the latter was vigorously engaged in a war against Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi. Bahlul's Afghan governor of Bayana, Sultan Ahmad Jalwani, who secretly supported the Sharqi Sultan's bid to liquidate Bahlul, begged Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din to pray for Sultan Husain's success. Reportedly, the Shaikh was angered at such a request and his reaction helped to change the mind of Jalwani and he abandoned his plotting.

While the Sultan Bahlul was ruling Delhi, Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din migrated to the capital. His sanctity and fame prompted Prince Nizam, who, after the death of Bahlul, became Sultan Sikandar (1489-1517), to seek the Shaikh's blessing on the occasion of his coronation. Before he crowned himself king, the Prince visited Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din and requested lessons in Arabic grammar.

Beginning with prayers to God and Muhammad, the Shaikh repeated a sentence wishing Nizam success in both worlds. After the Prince asked the Shaikh to repeat the sentence three times he knelt and kissed the ground. Although, the story may appear fanciful to modern readers, medieval historians ascribed its possible authenticity to the Sultan's wisdom in attaining a blessing through indirect means.

Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din became highly respected by the new Sultan. In keeping with his own influence at court, the Shaikh advised Jamali, one of his disciples, of the wisdom of maintaining a lever through which a sufi could work for the politically mute. At one of his many visits to Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din, the Sultan was told that there were three types of people who could never hope to receive divine blessings: old men who sinned, young men who did likewise, but hoped to repent at a later date, and kings who lied.

As well as dabbling in the political scene, Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din wrote a commentary on the *Lamat* of 'Iraqi. Another of his books, the *Miftahu'l-Asrar* (Key to the Divine Secret) was,

according to Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq, based on the writings of Shaikh 'Azizu'd-Din Nasafi (d.661/1263).

In the *Miftahu'l-Asrar*, the Shaikh wrote that followers of Ibn al-'Arabi's Wahdat al-*Wujud* rightly believed men to be the highest level of creation for there was no limit to their spiritual progress. Were a man to live for a thousand years totally immersed in severe forms of asceticism, said the Shaikh, every day he would learn something new, for divine knowledge and its secrets were limitless.

Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din's son, Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, was also a great ascetic. Finding his wife an impediment to meditation, Shaikh Ahmad left her. At one time he recommended to the reigning Sultan that some imprisoned Saiyids be released. When the Sultan failed to follow his advice, the Shaikh left town saying it was unlawful for him to reside in a place ruled by such a cruel monarch. He went to Mandu where he lived for the remainder of his life like a hermit.

On 17th Jumada I, 901/2nd February, 1496, Shaikh Sama'u'd-din died and was buried on the embankment of the Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi. Amongst a number of Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din's distinguished disciples, the leading figure was Shaikh Hamid bin Fazlu'llah who was known as *Dervish Jamali Kanbo Dihlawi*. He was a member of the Kanbo Sunni merchants who, during the reign of the Lodis, rose to considerable prominence.

While he was still quite young. Hamid's father died, leaving him an orphan. Nevertheless, he managed to receive a formal religious education and excelled in poetry. Initiated into sufism by Shaikh Sama'u'd-Din while the latter was in Ranthambore, at his *pir's* suggestion Hamid bin Fazlu'llah changed his *nom de plume* from *Jalali* (Awe-inspiring) to *Jamali* (Lovable).

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Saqqah, Haji Bahram (d. 1562A.D.)

According to the popular belief he was a water carrier, who distributed water to thirsty wayfarers in the towns of Mecca and Najd. He belonged to Turkistan. He came to Delhi during the reign of Akbar the Great, 1556-1605 A.D.

Abul Fazl and Faizi, the two courtiers of Akbar, did not see the saint with pleasure. So, Haji Bahram left for Bengal. On reaching Burdwan he heard the name of a Jogi Jai Pal, who could exhibit many magical and tanterifeat. Bahram met with the Jogi at his garden. The latter tried to influence him with tantric practices.

After trial of miraculous power with Bahram Shah the Jogi foresaw his impending defeat, whereupon he embraced Islam. Now both lived in the same cottage built in the corner of Jai Pal garden, where they were buried in their respective apartments. Akbar on hearing the news of the saint, granted a few villages to maintain his tomb at Faqirpur in Burdwan. The epitaph on the tomb (written by Fathi) give the date 970 A.H./1562 A.D. The inscription runs thus:

'qita'e tarikh az fathi'
'zahi darwish a'lam gashta bahram
ki dar irfan dil au bud darya
zi a'lam raft dar rah sarandip
shud az mulk fana bahram dana
hisab sal faut aid bgana
zi haq kardim chun fathi tamanna

nada amad ki trikh wafatash
bud darwish ma bahram saqqa
'sanh 970 hijri qudsi'
(A saint so high, of such world-wide fame excelled in gnosis, this mighty name. From this world he departed his soul, Left for good to the world untold. The date of death of the matchless saint, Fathi wrote with golden paint. An invisible voice at his death did declare: Bahram Saqqa the saint bids fare).

The Sanad granted by Akbar under which the village of Faqirpur was handed over to Mutawalli Shaikh Bakhtiyar, was in 1015 A.H./ 1605 A.D.

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Saqqa, Shaikh Bahram

Shaikh Bahram Saqqa a learned poet, was one of the dsciples of Shaikh Haji Muhammad Khubashani of Nishapur. He gave himself to severe austerities and became a devoted Sufi. He was of Turkish origin and belonged to the tribe of Bayat. Perhaps, he first came to Agra during the reign of Akbar.

During his sojourn at Agra he earned reputation as a mystic and a poet. It is said that at Agra he was seen distributing water to the people walking in the street, and hence his poetic name 'saqqa'. He moved from Agra to Burdwan and worked there. The people of Burdwan had great reverence for him and had built a mausoleum over his grave to preserve his memory.

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Sarmast, Sachal (1739A.D. — 1827A.D.)

A mixture of admiration and detestation, appreciation and misunderstanding, this prefatory note looks ambivalently at Sachal Sarmast (1739-1827) and his great, 'intoxicated' poetry. His poetry, according to Dr. U.M. Daudpota, though extensive in range and typical by itself, cannot come up to the level of Shah Abdul Latif's verse. His *kafis* and *ghazals* are unrivalled in their own way.

Although, a *hafiz* of the Qur'an and learned in Islamic law, he dabbles in the extremes of exaggeration, surpassing even Mansur al-Hallaj in his blasphemies, and on this account his poetry is not liked by the generality of orthodox people. Compared to the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif, to whom all roads seem sooner or later to lead back in the study of the literature of Sindh Sachal Sarmast's poetry is described in it to be 'typical by itself ' which it is not, and 'dabbling in the extremes of exaggeration', which it does not do.

Both the poets, for that matter all the Sufi poets of Sindh, basically represent one and the same local style and present one and the same set of images and themes. Sachal Sarmast followed the same tradition as that of his predecessor Shah Abdul Latif. The latter had also been unorthodox in his ways and voice contrary to what the orthodox priests said, he held:

To be one with Him,
Set aside the chapters of shari'ah and be kafir.

But what had been Shah Abdul Latif's open secret was Sachal Sarmast's no secret at all: the latter ridiculed the orthodox people openly, without mincing words. Shah Abdul Latif expressed the unity of existence through the life-stories of his heroines, metaphorically. And Sachal Sarmast did so, literally.

Significantly, Shah Abdul Latif foretold about Sachal Sarmast (when the latter was only 5) that he would in his grown-up age take the lid off from the kettle he had set to boil. Sachal Sarmast really took the lid off. And again, it meant something very significant when Sachal adopted the pseudonym of *Ashikar* (Open) in his Persian poetry and Sarmast (Intoxicated) in his Sindhi, Siraiki and Urdu poetry.

Islamists and some of the Western scholars of Islam look at the Sindhi Sufi poetry from the Islamic point of view. Like the Islamist U.M. Daudpota in the pretatory note here, the Western Islamist scholar Annemarie Schimmel in her extensive work on Sufism in Sindh adores Sachal Sarmast on the one hand and dislikes him on the other, C. Shackle steers clear out of this ambivalence in his very perceptive paper "Styles and Themes in the Siraiki Mystical Poetry of Sind" and emphasises the natural local style for the proper understanding of the Sindhi Sufi poetry, using, as it does, the native language, poetic forms, images and themes.

While Schimmel holds that the pantheistic impression which is created by this poetry "is certainly not correct but can easily be deduced from this poetry if its images are taken at face value, for the poets in this tradition liked to identify themselves with everything created and claimed that in moment they were Jesus, in the next Mosses, that they were now the flood and now Noah", Shackle is of the view that " it is through God's indwelling in man that the mystic may come to find Him and realisation of this entails the rejection of a dualistic level of thinking and its concomitant reliance upon the exterior commandments of one particular religion". The pantheistic images are there in this poetry, naturally; these images authentically present themselves to the Sufi poets. They are to be taken at the value they represent, and not "at face value" only.

Then , why call Sufism an Islamic phenomenon only and put a gloss of Islamic ideas over it ? We know, the Sufis never had a comfortable place in Islam. From Mansur al-Hallaj to Sarmad, the Sufis met martyrdom at the hands of the orthodox people.

Mansur al-Hallaj, who for the first time showed metaphysical speculation in his outpourings, travelled extensively throughout Sindh and discussed, as Schimmel says, "theological problems with the sages of this country". And an equally great author, Max Horten tells us, "Al-Hallaj's statement *ana' l-Haqq* was an echo of *aham Brahmasmi* of the *Upanishads*."

Was not Sufism greatly influenced by Indian thought? Schimmel discards the theory, and rightly so, that Sufism is an Islamised from of Vedanta philosophy; but she should also concede that nor is it purely Islamic. Sufism, as we have known it over the centuries, is neither Islamic (for it goes contrary to the basic tenet of monotheism in Islam) nor Hinduistic (though it comes quite close to it, for its pantheism). It may be both, for it is not a creed. It is a way of life which is non-dualistic, and may depend for its sustenance on various religious ideas.

The editor of Sachal Sarmast's poetry rightly observes that "Sufism is quite natural to the Sindhis, Muslim and Hindu... Sachal Sarmast was the hero of not only Muslims but also Hindus; Hindus have accepted him with pride as their spiritual leader..."

Why is Sufism so natural to the Sindhis ? Is it because the way it is, it refreshes for Muslims, converted from Hinduism as they were in large numbers, the racial/regional memory and re-presents for Hindus their age-old pantheistic ideas ? Habits die hard and *samskaras*, or psychic impressions, die hardly. Shah Abdul Latif celebrates the doctrine of Unity of Existence in the Sur

Rlamkali, as indeed everywhere in his Risalo:

> The Jogis wear loin-cloth and need no ablutions,
> They hear the holy call that sounded
> even before the advent of Islam ;
> They sever all ties
> and meet their guide, Gorakhnath.
> And Sachal Sarmast reiterates :
> Today, came a Jogi, whose name I disn't know;
> seeing him freshened up my memory...
> Sachal divulges the secret:
> he was no other than Ranjha,
> the Prince of Takht Hazara.

The Sufis were great integrators, a great factor in building up the secular nationalism in India.

Abdul Wahhab, who came to be known as *Sachal Sarmast* - Sachal because he was 'the Truthful One' and *Sarmast* for he was 'God-intoxicated' all the time-was born in 1739 in the village of Daraz (which, later, in his honour came to be called Dar-e-raz, or the Gateway of Divine Mystery) in Khairpur, a princely state in Sindh.

We remember Sachal Sarmast and his oft-described personality is conjured up before our mind's eye - a man of middle stature, having deer-like big melancholy eyes, a shining forehead, long hair and a soft flowing beard. He wore a simple dress, ate vegetarian food, a small quantity of it twice a day in a *kishta* (a bowl of the faqirs), and never smoked or took any other intoxicant. A lover of solitude, he was divinely intoxicated, and his state of ecstasy expressed itself in his poetry.

His lineage goes back to Umar Farooq, the second Caliph succeeding Prophet Muhammad. When the Arabs marched their way to Sindh in 712 Shihabuddin, one of Umar Farooq's descendents and a General in the Arab army, came along with them. After the conquest of Sindh, he took up a *gubernation* position in Sehwan, then called Shivasthan. Shihabud-din's two sons also became Governors of Sehwan in Sindh, successively.

A few generations after them, the Farroq family became an almost Sindhi family because of its matrimonial alliances outside its pale. The Mir of Khairpur state conferred upon it a *jagir* (estate) for its loyal services. It was however with Sahibdino, the grandfather of Sachal Sarmast and a Sufi poet in his own right, that the Farooq family became a-political. Sahibdino resigned from the service in the Mir's court and took to the life of asceticism.

Sahibdino had two sons, Salahuddin and Abdul Haqq. The older son Salahuddin was the father of Abdul Wahhab 'Sachal Sarmast'. Abdul Wahhab was a mystic from his childhood. When on a visit to the Sahibdino family, Shah Abdul Latif chanced to see the young Wahhab, he instantly saw the divine mystery divulged large on his face and called him Sachal, the Truthful One.

Sachal was yet a little boy when his father died. His paternal uncle Abdul Haqq took him under his wings : he became his guardian and preceptor, and later his father-in-law Sachal, at the instance of his uncle, married his daughter at a very young age. But as Fate would have it, his wife died after two years of the marriage - childless, for she herself was a child. He never married again and led a celibate life.

In the company of his uncle, Sachal drank deep from the cup of mystic lore. Thought by the time he was 20 he remembered the Qur'an by heart, he was greatly influenced by the Parsian poetry of Attar and Hafiz. It was Abdul Haqq who led him on the Sufi path. Sachal loved and respected him so much that he saw in him Truth Itself. He says:

> My precept or is Abdul Haqq;
> not an abd al-Haqq, a servant of Truth or God,
> he is Haqq al-Haqq, Truth of Truth or God of God.

He knew that the Master-servant relationship between God and man was based on dualism against which he raised his voice. He says :

> Abadon the dualistic servitude, come back to Unity;
> Forget the bonds of flesh so that you are Pristine Purity yourself.

Like his idolised hero Mansur al-Hallaj (d.

922), he maintained that "*kufr* (infidelity) and *iman* (faith) differ in name, but in reality there is no difference between them" and trade severely on the toes of the orthodox priests. He called the Mullas and Makhdums of his day a company of tyrants who frightened the people with tortures in the hell and knew nothing of love, and their calling a fraud for it thrived on a 'professional puritanical spirituality'. He says:

We became neither Sheikhs nor Makhdums,
neither Qazis nor Mullas, nor Pirs;
We deviced no such hypocritical creeds,
we learnt only the art of God's love.

He was vehemently against the religionists in both Islam and Hinduism. An outspoken Sufi poet, Sachal Sarmast says:

It is the religions
which have misled people in the country:
The Sheikhdoms and Pirdoms
have awfully misguided them:
Some people bend in mosques and others bow in temples
but the pseudo-wise don't come hearby Love.

And to the new young brotherhood of Sikhs he says:

O Granthi, chant the Japa-ji verses,
and you will meet the Guru;
Use the knife of love, cut off hatred and intolerance,
on your both left and right he is one and the same Satguru.

Among his disciples was Yusuf. Yusuf visited the Golden Temple at Amritsar. Thereafter Sachal always called him Nanak Yusuf as a mark of respect to the great Guru Nanak. A poet of the Bhakti movement, Sachal refers to the Guru and the Murshid in the same breath:

The kalima of unity of being
the Murshid himself taught me:
The Guru conducted me
into the realm of Nothingness.

Hinduism is not a religion in the Semitic sense of the term. The Semitic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam make a distinction between God and man and establish a personal relationship between them. But the Hindu 'religion' (the ferm is used for the sake of convenience) doesn't make such a distinction and has nothing to do with the religion's etymological sense (based on Semiticism) of "binding together" or "relatedness".

Hinduism means the Wav of Life *(dharma)* even as Sufism means the Path *(tariqah)*. Under the canopy of Hinduism and Sufism, man doesn't relate to God in the manner he does under that of the Semitic religions. Whereas he cannot identify himself with God under the latter, he does so within the former *(Tat twam asi*, or 'thou art That'; *hame ost*, or 'everything is He').

The real mytical experience is possible in the pantheistic Hinduism and Sufism, for in both of them man identifies with the universal being and is a part of the unity of existence. Sachal Sarmast laments the humble state man is reduced to and declares himself to be Truth himself:

I feel sorrow-what I really am
and what I have become !
I know not why I have become a servant;
else I am truly the Emperor !
All wise in that realm,
I have become an ignoramus here.
The rare ones know this,
the real ones in the arena realise this.
From time immemorial I have been carrying
a burden of sorrows here.
From one place to another
I have been only a guest;
A wave rises from the sea
and returns to be one with it again.
This wonder has caused Sachal
amazement, every moment.
Sometimes Christ, sometimes Moses myself;
sometimes as Pharao I have ruled and issued orders;
Sometimes as Mansur, sometimes as Shams al Haqq I have invited troubles on my head;
Sometimes as Darius, sometimes as Alexander
I have overrun domains;
sometimes Ayaz, sometimes Mahmood,
sometimes a slave I have called myself;
Sometimes as Laila, sometimes as Majnun
I have wailed in the lanes;
Sometimes as Zulaikha, sometimes as Yusuf,

sometimes as the Emperor of Egypt I have appeared;
Sometims Rama-Sita, sometimes Lakshman, sometimes I have also been Ravana;
Sometimes I have preached a lot (like a Mulla), sometimes I have dilated on Mystery;
Presently I have come here assuming the name of Sachal and sung many a song of spirit.
I know not, O friends, what I really am!
Sometimes I think I am a puppet, sometimes the thread with which it is tied;
Perhaps I am a ball in the Beloved's hand, or perhaps a top spin;
Maybe, I am a palace wherein the Emperor, the Wise One,
talks in many a tongue and means one and the same
Or I am a horse, the Rider drives;
Or I am a wave which drowns the external shore;
Or I am a henna flower with redness within it;
Or I am a rose, full or fragrance;
Perhaps I am a fountain,
the water of which reflects the sun and the moon
Or I am a reflection or Truth from the very beginning
Or that which is nothing, I am not;
Sachal has understood from his Preceptor this much only;
That I am not different from God, I am the Master always.

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Sarmast, Shaikh Abul Fath

Shaikh Abul Fath Sarmast was not inclined towards mysticism in his early years, and for this reason he could not be initiated into spiritual discipline by his father. However, after his father's death, Shaikh Zahur Haji Hamid Husur, a *khalifah* of Shaikh Qazin Shattari, trained him in the Shattari tradition and handed over to him the *khirqa* and the *khilafat* which his father had left for him. Shaikh Abul Fath thus took up the *masand* (seat) of his father.

When Humayun conquered Bengal in 946 A.H./1539, he paid a visit to Shaikh Abul Fath, and is reported to have been impressed by and Ghaus. Muhammad Ghaus was left at Chunar (a hilly region in U.P.), but Bahlul accompanied Sahikh Haji Hamid Hasur to Bihar but he did not stay there for long. Haji Hamid died in 930 A.H./1523 A.D. The names of his other disciples are not known. Bahlul and Ghaus became major exponents of the Shattari tradition.

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Gulzar-i-Abrar, pp. 140-41.

Sawal Pir, Hazrat (19th Century)

Sawal Pir flourished as a leading sufi in Assam, who is said to have come to Assam

along with Azan Faqir. His life and activities have fallen into oblivion. He was popularly known as *Bandar Pir*.

He had no permanent residence, because he always moved about in forests in order to avoid the 'madding crowd'. It is generally believed that he was buried on the bank of river Dichang near Sibsagar.

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Sayyah, Shaikh Usman (d.1337/38 A.D.)

Shaikh 'Usman Sayyah of Sunnam was a leading sufi among the disciples of Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din. The son of one Qazi Wajihu'd-Din in his youth he had been a petty official. He met Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din near Kilukhari when the latter was performing prayers on the banks of the Jumna. Finding him promising, the Shaikh enrolled him as a disciple and took Shaikh 'Usman to Multan. There he was taught the *'Awarifu'l- Ma'arif* and memorized the Qur'an.

After becoming Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din's disciple, Shaikh 'Usman became a great ascetic, owning nothing but a loin-cloth. With his *pir's* permission, he departed on a pilgrimage to Mecca without carrying even the basis necessities of a pilgrim- a staff and a water pot. He remained in Mecca for about a year and then continued travelling to other places for a further six years.

Returning to Multan, he was given the honour of being presented with Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din's own garment and turban. However, he didn't remain in Multan for long and departed for Delhi. His *pir* advised him to visit Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya' often while there, and to accept any advice he might offer.

Shaikh 'Usman and Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din became firm friends. During his stay in Delhi, through his association with the Chishti order, 'Usman developed a great interest in *sama'*. At the same time, Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Tughluq issued strict orders prohibiting musicians from singing at *sama'* gatherings or elsewhere.

One day, Shaikh 'Usman persuaded Amir Hasan, the Shaikhu'l-Masha'ikh's favourite *qawwal* to sing for him. As soon as the music started the Shaikh fell into an ecstasy and Hasan began to sing louder. When the *khanqah* doors were unlocked about 200 *qawwals* and a large number of sufis were standing outside. They set off to Tughluqabad about three miles away, singing and dancing.

When they reached the Sultan's palace, he was extremely angry at such blatant defiance of his orders. On being informed that the party was headed by Shaikh 'Usman, he ordered that the list of the persons who had received gifts from Khusraw Barwar, be brought. If the name of Shaikh 'Usman was on the list this would have given the Sultan a chance to discipline him. To the Sultan's surprise Shaikh 'Usman had not accepted any money. Highly impressed, Sultan Ghiyasu'd-Din Tughluq invited the Shaikh and the singing *qawwals* to his palace where he entertained them lavishly. Shaikh 'Usman refused to accept any of the gifts offered.

It appears that Shaikh Usman did not leave Delhi during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and died there in 738/1337-38.

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Shahbaz Bhagalpuri (1628A.D. — 1658A.D.)

Prominent saint who flourished during Shah Jahan's time was Maulana Shahbaz Bhagalpuri, who was very popular and highly revered in that area. At Purnea, Hazrat Shaikh Mustafa Jamalul Haque was a noted saint in the seventh line of Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam Pindwi. There is a famous place Betu Sherif in Gaya noted for the seventh successor of Makhdum Ashraf Samnani, namely Hazrat Makhdum Darwish.

Among the monasteries, established during the 11th century Hijri, one of Hazrat Emalud-Din Qalandar is noted at Monghal Talab in Patna City. Hazrat Pir Mujibullah took leading part in propagating Islam, in and around the *khanqah* situated at Phulwari Sharif. And its another branch named *khanqah* Sulemaniya is doing valuable work.

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Shahid, Baba Adam (14th Century)

The tomb of the famous saint of Bangladesh is in the village of Abdullahpur in Bikrampur (Dacca). There is a mosque called the "Masjid of Adam Shahid" near the tomb of Adam Shahid. An Arabic inscription of the time of Jalalud-Din Fatah Shah (1482—1487A.D.) is attached to this mosque. The mosque was built by a certain kafur.

Baba Adam Shahid is known throughout all parts of Bangladesh. He came to Abdullahpur with a number of Muslim soldiers, who killed a cow for their food. By chance a piece of flesh was carried away by a kite and it fell on the Hindu garrison.

This incident led to a battle in which the Raja Belal Sena himself came to command the army. At the close of the battle the saint retired to a cave to say his afternoon prayer. Raja Belal Sena, killed the Baba with his sword. Thus came the end of the saint.

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Shahid, Hazrat Syed Ahmad (d.1831A.D.)

Hazrat Syed Ahmad Shahid, who stayed at Calcutta for four months, had a large influence on the populace of Bengal and Assam. His deputies Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri,(d. 1873 A.D.) Sufi Noor Muhammad of Chittagong and Maulana Karamat Ali Jaunpuri's disciple Maulana Khawaja Shaikh Tamizud-Din (d. 1899 A.D.) Shah and Hatim Ali disciple of Maulana Hafiz Ahmad in the district of Cachar swayed the Muslim thought of Eastern India in persurance of the revivalist movements started by Syed Ahmad Shahid.

Besides, the undoubted freedom fighter Maulana Shaikhul Hind Mahmudul Hasan's disciple Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani the khalifa of Haji Imdadullah Muhajir Makki regularly visited Syhlet till the partition of India. They exercised great influence through their disciples and established religious institutions.

There is a grand Madrasah after the pattern of Darul Ulum Deoband at Bankandi, near

Silchar town being run by Maulana Ahmad Ali and another Madrasah at Gauhati, is being run by Maulana Abdul Haque, another Vicegerent of Shaikh Hussain Ahmad Madani.

His disciples who are thousands in number are also running religious institutions in different parts of Assam and Bengal. Recently, a big Madrasah has been established at Dum Dum (Calcutta) by the learned Maulana Mahmmad Tahir, teacher of Calcutta Madrasah who is also a Vicegrent of Shaikh Husain Ahmad Madani.

For the last few decades two learned Sufis are carrying out the works of their master. Hazrat Hussain Ahmad Madani. They are Maulana Ahmad 'Ali of Banskandi and Maulana Masaddar 'Ali (d. 1988 A.D.) of Gobindpur, Cachar They have disciples all over Assam.

Their special interest lies in introducing knowledge of Tasawwuf among the educated section of Assamese Muslims and are making good progress. As has already been mentioned Maulana Ahmad 'Ali is associated with Banskandi Madrasah while Maulana Masaddar Ali is associated with the Madrasah at Gobindpur where he has established a khanqah also.

Another reputed Sufi of outstanding merit is Maulana Azizur Rahman (d. 1984 A.D.) of Naqshbandi Orderof the village Tantu in Cachar. He is popularly known as Tantu *Pirsahib*. Both Hindus and Muslims daily visit him to receive blessings for the mitigation of their various difficulties. He has may disciples.

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Sharaf, Shah (1640A.D — 1724 A.D.)

Shah Sharaf belonged to Batala of Gurdaspur district. His grandfather was a Hindu, in government employment as Qanungo. He got initiation in the Sufi path from Sheikh Mohammad Fazil of Qadiri Shattari at Lahore where he lived till his death in 1724 AD. His tomb is situated near the Lahore Jail. He was a fellow disciple of Shah Raza Qadiri Shattari, Bullha's grand spiritual teacher. Shah Sharaf wrote *Ohras*, *Kafis* and a *Shuturnama*.

Shah Sharaf was significant Sufi saint of this age. His wife was rude and blunt, she allegated Sharaf that he has got an illicit relation with his sister-in-law. He could not tolerate this type of allegation. He left his domestic life and set out for his peace of mind. He got his spiritual education from Sheikh Fazal, Kadri of Lahore.

This incident proved a turning point in the life of Sharaf, his inner grief when channelised prove to be an asset for his poetic mind. He used very good metaphors and similes to well up the inner depth of mysticism. In the words of Dr. M.S. Diwana, 'Shah Sharaf's Kafis have greater vigour and ornament while the four-lined single rhyme stanzas of Bahu's *Si-Harfi*, if genuine, are more scholarly and instructional.

Shah Sharaf believes that one has to merge his identity in the One-ness of God for the spiritual attainment. A seed perishes itself, then the plant comes out of it.

> Only they drink the elixir of life,
> who survive after embracing death in world.'

So, this was the secret of his spiritual mission, mysticism, verse, and philosophy. Sharaf got everything from his bleeding heart. He got wounds in his heart, this source acted as foundation for his literary prosperity. This inward expression becomes beautiful, when it unfolds itself successfully.

His love with God is wifely and he sees Him pervading in the universe. His God is Redeemer of the sinful. He confesses that he is

sinful and admits that the nafs is very strong. He prays to God for help to crush it, rescue him from it and favour him with His Grace by granting him His Vision. His surrender is complete when he admits his faults and expresses his inability to kill the *nafs* without God's help:

Chai bakhshim rabba mere kite nun;
Auganiari nun ko gun nahin, laj pai tau mite nun:
Daman laggian di sharam tusanun, ghat dori mere chite nun;
Tau binu dooja drishta na ave, dhah bharam de bhite nun.

Describing his search for the Beloved he has successfully given the spiritual tinge to the worldly love of the wife for her husband. She goes to the astrologer and enquires from him when she would meet her spouse. She is burning in the fire of separation and her eyes are filled with tears. She has not seen her spouse to her satisfaction. She daily makes the crows fly away and requests them to go and bring her Beloved. She passes the nights counting the stars in waiting for her Husband. She will feel relieved only when she meets Him:

Main Puchhan pandit joisi, Pia kabahun milava hoisi;
Nit kag udaraun ban rahaun, nis tare ginati na savaun.
Jiun jal bin machhali taraphave, jiun bichhuri kunj kurlave.

She is restless in pain without Him in the same manner as a fish does, when it is out of water. Only God knows the acuteness of the pain she is suffering from or they know who like her are groaning in the pain of love.

Akhian dukh bharian, meri vekhan yar tusanun;
Dithhe bajhon rahin na mulon, lagi chot nainan nun.
Jain tan lagi so tan janai gujji vedan sanun.

His description of killing the *nafs* is figurative and artistic. He kills his nafs very cruelly in order to see the vision of God. He says that the ego should be crushed in the grinder, put on the oven, and boiled well to give it a lasting colour of love. It should be put in the furnace, made red hot and then hammered hard on the iron. Only then one should hope to realize the real self:

Pa chakki ap pisaiai, vich rangan tavan taiai :
Iun kapar rang rangaiai, tan nam majith sadaiai;
Vich aran tavan taiai, ate ahiran satt sahaiai;
Tan apna ap dikhaiai.

His metaphorical description of the buring lamp of love deserves appreciation. Like cotton, he says, the self should be carded off and then a wick be prepared; like sesame should be crushed and thus oil be extracted; and like the earthen lamps the self should be made red hot in the kiln and thus the lamp be prepared of the self.

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Sharafud-Din Manayri, Makhdum Jahan Shaikh (1262A.D. — 1380A.D.)

Makhdum Jahan Shaikh Sharafud-Din Yahya Munayri was the son of Hazrat Makhdum Yahya of Munayr. His grand-father Imam Muhammad Taj Faqih came to India in 1180 A.D./576 A.H. to join a holy war from Jerusalem to India. Hesettled at Munayr Sharif, near Patna, whose Raja was very cruel. In the sixth year of his arrival, Maulana Taj Faqih waged war against the Raja and captured Munayr.

It was a historic place at a distance of sixteen miles from Patna where he established the firs *Khanqah* in Bihar. He had three sons-Shaikh Israil, Shaikh Ismail and Shaikh Abdul Aziz. On the death of his wife at Munayr, Taj Faqih returned to Jerusalem, leaving his three

sons in charge of Munayr. Hazrat Makhdum was the first issue of Shaikh Israil who was married to Bibi Raziya, the eldest daughter of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi, who is also known as *Pir-jag-jut*, whose grave is near Patna City by the bank of Ganges.

Bibi Razia was a perfect saint. Shaikh Sharafud-Din was her second son. It is said that she never gave her breast to her son without ablution. By this time, Lakhnawati (Gaur) had attained world-wide fame in the matter of religious science and education prevalent in those days. Lakhnawati and Sonargaon had become the famous centres of Islamic learning, where the scholars and seekers of learning flocked. They invited reputed scholars of the world to impart education of high standard.

Allama Ashrafud-Din Abu Tawama of Bukhara was invited to grace the holy chair at Sonargaon. Abu Tawama came to Delhi during the reign of Ghiyasud-Din Balban (1228-1281 A.D.) and engaged himself in teaching. His popularity grew so rapidly that when he was invited to join at Sonargaon Balban saw it expedient to allow him to go there. On his way he stayed a few days at Munayr Sharif; he saw the child Makhdum Sharafud-Din, and persuaded the parents to allow their child to go with him to Sonargaon for proper education.

Abu Tawama reached Sonargaon in 668 A.H. corresponding to 1270 A.D. He was a learned teacher of Islamic theology and science and made Makhdum Jahan efficient to those subjects in course of his 22 years of stay at Sonargaon. The full details are recorded in the *Khan-i-Pur Nim'at,* which was written by Zain Badar Arabi. Makhdum Jahan's book *Maktubat Sadi* and *Muktubt-i-du-Sadi,* which contain Sufi teachings, terms and technology, mode and practice of Sufistic devotion Zikir and Awrad of important and high values.

It is said that Makhdum Jahan had written seventeen hundred books but we found only following books:

1. Maktubat-i-Sadi,
2. Du-Dadi,
3. *Maktubat Bist wo hasht,*
4. *Fawaid-i-Rukni,*
5. *Is shadal-Talibin,*
6. *Isshad al-Salikin,*
7. *Resala-i-Makkiya wo Zakr-i-firdausiya,*
8. *Shareh Adab-i-Maniduq,*
9. *Ajuba,*
10. *Lataif al-Ma'ani,*
11. *Aqaid-i-Sharfi,*
12. *Aurad-i-Kalan,*
13. *Auradi-Ausat,*
14. *Aurad Khurd,*
15. *Isharat,*
16. *Resala Der Badaiyut Hal,*
17. *Mirat ul Muhaqqiqin,*
18. Resala-i-Wasul Allah and ten books of *i. Malfuzat Ma'adan al-Ma' ani, ii. Khani Pur Nimat, iii. Makh al-Ma'ani, iv. Fawaid, v. Gang la Vani, vi. Munis al-Muridin, vii. Rahatul Qutub, viii. Malfaz al-Sughar, ix. Bahrul Ma'ani or Kanzul ma'ani, x. Maghzul Ma'ani.*

Foreseeing the shining career of the Makhdum, Abu Tawama gave his daughter Bahu Badam to him in marriage. The other daughters of Abu Tawama were Bibi Fatma and Bibi Zahra. Bibi Fatma was married to Shah Khalilud-Din, the son of third brother of Makhdum Jahan, whose name was Shah Ashraf and Bibi Zahra was married to Shah Qamrud-Din son of Mir Shamsud-Din of Mazaudran. The graves of all these saints are in Munayr Sharif.

On hearing of the sad demise of his father, Makhdum Jahan set out with his younger son Zakiud-Din, for Munayr Sharif. In reaching home, he placed his son in the place of his father, and begged leave of his mother, Bibi Razia to go in search of the 'Divine Truth.' His mother, being hereself a saint, could not refuse.

With his elder brother, Shaikh Jalilud-Din, Makhdum Jahan set out for Delhi, but he did not get the spiritual guide whom he so much desired. When he met Nizamud-Din Aulia, the latter advised him to see Shaikh Najibud-Din Firdausi, who was waiting for him. Syed Sabahud-Din Abdur Rahman in his *Bazm-i-Sufiya.* I record that Nizamud-Din Aulia ob-

served 'simurgh-i-sth wali nasib-i-ma nisth' (he is a pheonix; but he is not allotted to me). When Makhdum Jahan was about to leave his *khanqah,* Nizamud-Din Aulia offered him a 'pan', telling, 'do not go empty handed from my door; take this for self-purification and ecstatic music.'

Reaching the *khanqah* of Najibud-Din Firdusi, he was so much overwhelmed by seeing him that his whole body was wet with perspiration. The saint called him near, performed the ceremony of initiation 'baiat,' tendered some instructions, and ordered him to journey back to his place of mission, and not to return if he heard some adverse news.

Makhdum Jahan was on way to Bihar, the place of his assignment, even when he came to know of the death of his master. When he reached the forest of Bihiya in Bihar, between Arrah and Sasaram, a sudden ecstasy overtook him. He tore off his clothes and disappeared into the woods.

Hazrat Makhdum Shah Shoob Firdausi (d.1421 A.D.) a cousin of Makhdum Jahan, and a contemporary of his, records many miracles and acts of supernatural power performed by Makhdum Jahan at Rajgir, where he spent several years in devotion in course of his forty years of renunciation in the jungle. Monaqibul Asfia is the only source of information about the life and work of the Makhdum, and hence it may be considered authentic, because its author also was a great saint, who, in turn, performed many miracles in course of his meditation at Shaikpura District, Munghyr.

His encounter with the Yogis of Nepal is too well-known, but this cannot be discussed here for want of space. From Rajgir Makhdum used to come to Bihar Sharif to perform his Jum'a prayer every week. On the request of Maulana Nizamud-Din, he stayed in Bihar Sharif for a longer period and are long the place become his permanent residence. A khanqah was built which is still extant, and is known as 'Bari Takial Annual urs celebration is held on the 5th of Shawwal every year regularly.

Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.) having learnt of his reputation, sent a farman to his Governor in Bihar, Majdul Mallik, to build a monastery for the Shaikh and offer a jaigir for its maintenance. A prayer carpet was also sent, and the Governor was instructed to see that the presents were accepted. When he approached the Shaikh with his gifts, the Shaikh accepted it lest some harm should fall on the head of the Governor.

But after the death of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, when Sultan Firoz ascended the throne of Delhi, Makhdum Jahan personally went to Delhi and returned the document of jaigir as it contravened the practice of the saintly order, to which he belonged. At his departure Firoz Shah (1351-1388 A.D.) gave him valuable present and a large amount of money to meet the expenses of his return journey.

Makhdum Jahan lest he disappointed the Sultan accepted it. But as soon as he came out of the court, he distributed the sum among the poor and returned to Bihar Sharif empty-handed. Syed Shah Nijamud-Din Firdausi in his *Hayat-i-Sabat* records that once Firoz Tughlaq visited Bihar and met the Makhdum in the *khanqah,* where he was received well, and Makhdum said to him to proceed whereupon Firoz Tughlaq said:

> *'dar pish rawam triq-i-hajib: dar pas rawam chunin asth wajib'*
> (If I go ahead of you, it will be like a chamberlane; and if I go behind you it will be just proper).

Makhdum Jahan at once added:

> *'gar pish rawi charagh-i-rahi; dar pas birawi jahan panahin'*
> (If you go ahead of me, you are the lamp-post, and if you follow me, you are the world-protector).

Qazi Zahid was a great admirer of Makhdum Jahan. Once he asked him as to what he achieved by his thirty years of self-banishment in the jungle. He observed, 'What I did was what could have been done by a mountain; it would have been turned into water. Man is helpless. I remained where I was.' And then he recited the following line from Shaikh Saadi:

'na husnash ghayeti darad, na saa' dira sukhan payan bamirad tishna mustasqi, wa darya hamchuna baqi'

(The beauty of the beloved bigger desciption. The words of Saadi cannot circumvent it. The thirsty dies of thirst. But the river remains intact, And to ! the river shrinks not).

Once a Qawwal recited the following lines:

'anhan ki khuda-e-man ze man binand: gar mugh binad basuhbatam na nashinad: gar qissa-i-khud pish-i-sag mi khanam; sag daman-e-pustin ze man bar chanid'

(If a wise man knows what notion I harbour about God, he will hate to associate with me. If a dog comes to know of it, it will disdain me).

Makhdum Jahan had a fit of trance on this line and uttered repeatedly:

wallah rast ast, wallah rast ast'

(By God, surely it is correct. By God, surely it is correct).

Sama (recitation of mystical poems) is premissible in the Firdausiya Order. There are different discourses in *Maktubat-i-Sadi* and *Malfuzat* on this subject, wherein Makhdum Jahan lays down three conditions for those who participate in a sama assembly:

(1) The place where a sama is held must be the seat of saints, holy, spacious and well ventilated.

(2) The assembly must consist of Darvishes and their followers only.

(3) At the time of devotional songs, hearts must be pure and concentrated; strict discipline should prevail all over the place; all must have ablution; they must site knee-folded as in prayer, lowering their heads forwards; they must not look to the right or the left; they must not move their hands; they must abstain from drinking water and must remain silent; and there should be no applause.

Maulana Zain Badar Al-Arabi in a booklet, known as *Wafat Nama Makhdum Jahan*, records how Makhdum-i-Jahan got prepared to meet his death. He called his disciples one by one consoled and advised them and remained steadfast. His own brother Khalilud-Din and the disciple, Qazi shamsuddin, Maulana Shihabuddin Nagori, Khawaja Mina, Maulana Ibrahim, Maulana Amun, Qazi Mian Zahid, Hilal, Atique and Maulana Nizamud-Din Awadhi all were surrounding him in his death bed. Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir Samani (d. 805/1405) led the funeral prayer as he was fully qualified according to the will of the Makhdum that he must be a pure Syed from both the sides.

Hazrat Makhdum Yahya Munayri, the father of Makhdum Jahan, belonged to Suhrawardiya Order and his eldest son, Makhdum Jalilud-Din Munayri belonged to the Firdousi order. The Sufi Orders of Suhrawardiya Firdousiya, Chishtiya, Zahidiya, Shattariya and Qadirya Orders achieved their eminence from this *khanqah*. *Tuzuk Babari* record that when Babar (1526-1536 A.D.) passed through that area and heard about the *khanqah* of Makhdum Ahmad Yahya, Munayri, he offered some presents to it.

Sher Shah Suri (1450-1545 A.D.) was a disciple of Makhdum Shah Munayri, whose seat was at Munayr Sharif during the 10th century Hijri, Makhdum Shah Dulat Munayri was a saint of all India fame. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the courtier of Akbar the great (1556-1605 A.D.), and Ibrahim Khan Khanan, the Governor of Gujrat, were his disciples. In order to communicate the second memory of Makhdum Shah Daulat they built a mausoleum of stone, which is a fine specimen of architecture. According to the author of *Ma'asirul Umara*, Raja Man Singh used to visit the monastery and had a reverential talk with Makhdum.

The celebrated musician of Akbar's court, Tansen visited the monastery of Hazrat Qutub Balkhi at Munayr and gave musical display near the tomb of Hazrat Makhdum Ahmed Yahya Munayri, which shows his great regard for the saints. The royal farmans of the Emperors and other rulers of India like Shah Jahan, Sultan Parwaz, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb Alamgir, Forrukh Sayer and Shah Alam are still preserved in the monastery of Munayr and they speak of its importance.

The celebrated scholar Abu-tawama, according to the author of *Manaqibul Asfiya*

stayed a few days in the monastery of Munayr, while going to Sonargaon, Similarly, Hazrat Syedena Amir Abul Ula, while going from Burdwan to Agra stayed at Munayr Sharif and had the blessing of Makhdum Shah Doulat Monayri.

It is recorded in *Sayerul Auliya* that Nizamud-Din Auliya came to Giyaspur after the death of Baba Farid and came to know from a traveller that a monastery is being built at Bihar Sharif, he decided to live there to avoid the crowd of Delhi (This monastery was constructed by Shaikh Kidir Pora-dost, disciple of Baba Farid); but Nizamud-Din Auliya due to his pre-occupation, and crowded environment in this *khanqah* also, droped the idea for good to move there.

Among Makhdum Jahan's notable vicegerent (*khalifa*) according to Syed Sahabud-Din Abdur Rahman are: Maulana Balkhi, Maulana Hussain Nawsha Tawhid, Makhdum Shoob, Behram Bihari, Maulana Ibrahim, Maulanna Amun, Neshrud-Din, Samnani Awadhi, Shamsud-Din Mashhadi Makhdum Rasti Phulwari, Qazi Shamsud-Din, Qazi Sharafud-Din, Syed Alimud-Din Gesu Daraz, Danishmand Nishapuri, Shamsud-Din Mahmud Bedauni, Syed 'Arifin, Syed 'Ali Hamdani, Hazrat Nizamud-Din, Zain Badar 'Arabi etc. It is said that his vicegerent (*Khalifa*) were thirteen hundred thirteen.

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Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi, Qazi (d. 1444/45 A.D.)

One of the Shaikh's disciples, Qazi Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi, was an eminent scholar who also studied mysticism under Maulana Muhammad Khwajgi, a leading disciple of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud. Before Timur's invasion Maulana Khwajgi, accompanied by some of his disciples migrated to Kalpi. Shihabu'd-Din also left Delhi with his preceptor. Shortly after his accession, Sultan Ibrahim Shah Sharqi invited him to Jaunpur and welcomed him most warmly.

He was appointed the Qaziu'l-Quzat(Chief Qazi) and given the title Maliku'l-Ulama' (Prince of the 'Ulama'). The jealousy of other scholars concerned Shihabu'd-Din but Maulana Khwajgi managed to persuade him to remain in Jaunpur. He was the author of several important religious and literary works, of which the *Bahr-i Mawwaj*, a Persian commentary on the Qur'an was his most outstanding contribution. The plan of his commentary was also interesting. Firstly, the letters and words in each verse were enumerated. Then the *Ahadis* in each chapter and verse were related. Qazi Shihabu'd-Din commented on the grammatical style and various philosophical and mystical intepretations of the verses, at the same time attempting to supply answers to problems they aroused.

Qazi Shihabu'd-Din's command of Arabic grammar led him to write a number of treatises on the subject and also on Arabic syntax. He prepared a commentary on the *Usul of Bazdawi*, which remained incomplete and wrote a standard work in Persian on Sunni jurisprudence, entitled *Usul-i Ibrahim Shahi*, dedicating it to his patron. As a proud '*alim*, Qazi Shihabu'd-Din once wrote a short treatise discussing the superiority of the 'ulama' over Saiyids (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), but for some unknown reason destroyed it, replacing it with a book called the *Manaqibu's-Sadat* (Eulogies

on the Saiyids). Shihabu'd-Din Daulatabadi died in 848/1444-45.

In true Ghazalian style, Qazi Shihabu'd-Din united the diverse philosophies of the *Khanqah* and the *madrasa*. He himself, however ,was more famous as a theologian. It was his rejection of the notion of the *'alim's* innate superiority that gave him an honoured place amongst sufis.

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Shitalang Shah

Shitalang Shah Munshi son of Muhammad Diya Bakhsh hailed from Tarinipur, Sialtic, Cachar, Assam. His father came from Dacca (Bangladesh) and settled at a distance of 15 miles west from Silchar at Tarinipur in Cachar district, Assam. He was a merchant and led a happy married life. Munshi Muhammad Salim and Munshi Muhammad Pir Mian were his sons. Muhammad Salim was popularly known as *Shitalang* (lower part of the leg). He used Shitalang as a pen name.

He was a great Sufi poet of his time and was a disciple of Maulana Abdul Wahab Mian Sahib of Sylhet town, a renowned Sufi of Naqshbandiya order. He became the murid of Sufi Abdul Qadir Saheb of Chishtiya order at Sylhet to attain perfection. Having become a perfect Sufi under the able guidance of his preceptor, he was able to perform various miracles, which are testified by the people even today.

He composed many songs in Sylheti Nagri which are very popular among the local people. His songs comprising of praises of God, praises of the Prophet, Sufi thoughts and Islamic theology are in big volumes of manuscripts lying at Cachar, Sylhet and Nowgong districts. The followers of the saint are not in favour of publishing the manuscripts, as they believe the songs are to be transmitted verbally from generation to generation as a token of reverence to the pir. Probably, they believe that by publishing the manuscripts will be defiled .

Shitalang Shah's teaching was responsible for preaching Sufism in the entire region of south-east Sylhet (now Bangladesh) and Cachar, Assam. His influence on the people made a remarkable change on the Muslim way of life and gave a new impetus to Sufism. He composed a large number of songs which are known as His These rags are the songs of inspiration in the spiritual aspect of Islamic thought. His famous rags are, even today, recited by the people.

Shitalang Shah was a great scholar and had deep knowledge of Islamic learning. Hence, his songs are characterised by high imagination and depth of vision that speak of his poetic excellence. The intellectuals are bound to look on his songs with an eye of reverence as they contain a rich store of Sufi elements.

The saint was addicted to taking hashish as a remedy to his chronic ailments which was allowed by the Ulemas of those days on medical ground. There are people still living, who narrated his miracles performed on various occasions. He was a great saint indeed, pious, simple and commanding high respect. He is buried at Bara Takri in the district of Sylhet, (Bangladesh).

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Sikandar Ali, Saiyid (1813A.D. — 1880A.D.)

Saiyid Sikandar Ali a *khalifa* of Miskin Shah Sahib, became famous in Allahabad. He was born in c.1229/1813-14 in a village near Allahabad to which he later moved. After establishing a *khanqah* in Allahabad, he persistently advocated the principles of Unity of Being, arguing that the credo of the opposing *Wahdat al-Shuhud* was an invention of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnani.

The Saiyid asserted that prior to the time of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (the Mujaddid) members of the Naqshbandiyya order had followed the *Wahdat al-Wujud,* but afterwards they began to adhere to it even more tenaciously. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi emphasized the marked duality of the relationship between man and God and stated that the theory of *Hama Ust* (All is He) obliterated the distinctive characteristics of the transcendence of God.

An overwhelmingly large number, however, endorsed the Wahdat al-Wujud, the Saiyid claimed somewhat proudly. According to them, 'All is He', and 'other than He' were inconceiable.

Saiyid Sikandar added that, according to the *Shari'a,* the Divine attributes are neither the *'ayn* of the Essence nor are they different from the Essence. However, he continued, to the followers of the *Wahdat al-Wujud,* the attributes are the *ayn* of the Essence and the Essence is the *'ayn* of the attributes. Moreover, the attribute is not distinguishable from the Essence nor is the Essence distinguishable from the attributes. To the objection that if one believed that 'All is He', prayers, worship, meditation, virtues and vices were meaningless, the Saiyid replied that these were a means of differentiating fiction from truth.

Praying and worship destroyed vice, producing virtue and enabling the worshipper to rise steadily in the realm of spirituality and to become united with Reality. Only true gnostics, the Saiyid affirmed, were human; the rest, although disguised as men, were animals. He illustrated his point with a charming anecdote about a female saint who habitually wandered about the streets of Delhi completely naked. Once, when she caught sight of Maulana Fakhru'd-Din, she immediately dressed herself, explaining that her private parts could not remain exposed in the company of a man, and that the Maulana was the only man with whom she had come in contact.

The Saiyid confirmed that in the initial stages of their training sufis were called on to sever their relations with the world, but when they achieved perfection there was no longer need to make any effort. Divine light now came instinctively to them and their backs were automatically turned against the world.

Saiyid Sikandar Ali reminded sufis to be strict in their adherence to the *Shari'a;* it was the only refuge if they failed in the mystical *Tariqa.* He frequently quoted his *pir* who compared *sama* to the occasional necessary dose of medicine but prohibited its excessive indulgence.

The Saiyid adhered faithfully to the ancient practices connected with the Hanafiyya form of worship, rejecting the Wahhabi reforms. He also advocated visits to tombs of saints for the purpose of prayer. He claimed that a Wahhabi *'alim* from India had visited Mecca but had refused to continue on to Medina (the burial place of the Prophet), believing visits to tombs to be sinful innovations and therefore unlawful.

To the Saiyid this *'alim* was not only ignorant of the Hanafiyya traditions recommending the efficacy of visits to such tombs, but deprived himself of the grace and good-will of the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad emanating from his tomb. The followers of the Saiyid were also urged to respect Saiyids (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter, Fatima), arguing that sectarian differences should not be allowed to interfere with such a duty.

On 14th Rabi'I, 1297/25th February, 1880, Saiyid Sikandar 'Ali died with his place in the

history of the Chishtiyya order in India well secured.

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Sikandar, Shah (13th Century)

Passing reference may be made to Shah Sikandar, who is said to be the nephew of a Sultan of Delhi. Before the arrival of Shah Jalal in Sylhet, he was defeated by Raja Gor Govind. Later on, in 1303 A.D., Shah Sikandar came again with Shah Jalal to Sylhet with a bigger army, commanded by himself, and defeated the Raja.

He ruled over Sylhet for sometime. According to E.A. Gait Sikandar Shah , the Sultan's nephew, had gone to Sylhet with an army. This tradition is confirmed by a Muslim inscription of 1512 A.D., in which it is said that the conquest of Sylhet was effected by Sikandar Khan Gahazi in the reign of Shamsud-Din Firz Shah of Bengal (1301-1322 A.D.) in 1303 A.D.

Information regarding the life of Shah Sikandar is very meagre. According to local traditions, he was drowned in the Surma river while crassing it by a boat. Hence, his grave is not found. But, he is even today, remembered by the local people, specially by the fishermen. They believe that Shah Sikandar is still living under the water and distribute fishes to the fishermen.

A section of people of Badarpur claim to be his descendants. A mosque erected by Shah Sikandar at village Gorekafan in Badarpur can still be seen. Some people says that his tomb is situated at Saftamgram. He was undoubtedly a follower of Shah Jalal Mujarrad and his close association with the saint greatly helped his missionary activities.

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Sirhindi, Shaykh Ahmad (1564A.D. — 1624A.D.)

Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi generally known as *Mudjaddid-i Alf-Ithani,* an eminent divine and mystic of Muslim India, who contributed in a considerable measure towards the rehabilitation of orthodox Islam, after the heterodoxies of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) had had their days. He was born at Sirhind (Patiala State, East Pandjab) in 971/1564, being the son of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad. Who traced his descent from the Caliph Umar b. al-Khattab.

He received his early education from his father and later pursued a course of higher studies at Siyalkot. He later went to the capital. Agra, where he frequented the society of the chief minister Abu 'I-Fadl (q.v.) and his brother Eaydi (q.v). It was probably during these days that he wrote among other things a tract,

entitled *Tahliliyya* in refutation of Shi'ite views. (This tract was, subsequently, translated into Arabic by Shah Wali Allah al-dihlawi, with a prologue on the religious trends of the court of Akbar and the and the activities of Shaykh Ahmad.).

After some years, he returned to his native town. In 1008, he was initiated into the Nakshbandi order of Sufis by Khwadja Baki bi'llah (d.1012), who was then living in Delhi. The energy with which he controverted the doctrines of the *Shi'a,* who were at that time in favour at the court of the emperor Djahangir, rendered him particularly odious to them and they represented his activities as dangerous to the state.

An ecstatic utterance of his caused him to be summoned in 1028/1619 to the court at Agra, where his unbending attitude incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who ordered him to be confined in the fort of Gwalior. The emperor was, however, soon reconciled to him, for he not only released him after a year but bestowed upon him a *khil'a* and a gift of money. Thereafter, the Shaykh kept in close touch with the Imperial camp, till he died in 1034/1624 and was buried at Sirhind, where his tomb is an object of veneration to this day.

Shaykh Ahmad wrote a number of tracts on religious topies, viz., al-Mabdawal-Ma'ad (Delhi 1311); *Risala Tahliliyya,* published as an appendix to the Lucknow edition of his *Maktubat; Ma'arif Laduniyya; Mukashafat Ghayhiyya; Risala fi Ithhat al-Nubuwwa; Adab al-Muridin; Sharh Ruba'iyyat Khwadja Baki bi'llah.* etc. But he is chiefly remembered for Letters (Maktubat), which he wrote (in Persian) to his disciples and other persons and in which he explained a large number of points, ranging over a wide area of Islamic faith and practice.

These letters have exercised a great influence in favour of orthodoxy and, in their collected form, constitute one of the most important classics of religious literature produced in Muslim India. It was in recognition of his services to the cause of orthodox Islam that Mulla 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkoti [q.v.] gave him the title (*lakab*) of *Mudjaddid-i Alf-i Thani,* i.e., the Renovator of Islam who appeared at the beginning of the second millenium of the Islamic era.

Even in his life time, his influence spread as far as Afghanistan and Central Asia. After his death, it deepened still further, when his descendants and disciples, now called Mudjaddidis, were dispersed, as a result of the unfavourable conditions produced by the rule of the Sikhs in the Panjab.

Although, Shaykh Ahmad was connected with several sufi orders, he avoided their extravagances, especially their pantheistic tendencies: and in fact he tried to bridge the gulf between the monotheistic and pantheistic groups of sufis by putting forth the theory of *wahdat al-shuhud* in place of *wahdat al-wudiud* (pantheism). This theory is regarded as his special contribution in the field of religions thought.

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Sulaiman, Shah (d. 1654/55A.D.)

The successors of Shah Ma'ruf Chishti-Qadiri was a descendant of Baba Farid, who were also Qadiriyyas, enjoyed considerable following in the Panjab. Shah Ma'ruf's successor,

Shah Sulaiman, was the son of a villager in Bhilluwal near Lahore. Once, when Sulaiman was a child, Shah Malruf Chishti called on his father. The young Sulaiman was deeply impressed by the Shah's mystical gifts and while still a youth became his disciple.

Shah Sulaiman mixed freely with Muslim shoemakers and other groups considered to belong to lowly professions, although technically not low in Islamic brotherhood. As a result, the snobbish Muslim Chaudhuris considered the Shah unworthy of attention, until his miraculous powers reportedly changed their prejudiced attitude. The Shah died in 1065/1654-557 and was buried in his home village.

The most outstanding khalifa of Shah Sulaiman was a disciple, Shaikh Hajji Muhammad Qadiri, who was better known as *Naushah Ganj Bakhsh* (d.1064/1654). His successors were known as *Naushahiyyas* and until modern times their founder enjoyed the most intense devotion and respect of the villagers around Lahore, the original centre of Naushahiyya activity. Naushah Ganj Bakhsh himself came from the Islamicized Khukhar tribe in the Panjab.

His father, Hajji 'Ala'u-Din, was an ascetic who was reported to have made seven pilgrimages to Mecca, that presumably being a traditional number. At seventeen Naushah renounred the would and began living in the jungles. Although pressure from his parents brought him back to his village where he was persuaded to marry, he remained an ascetic.

For six years his main pursuits were meditating by the banks of the river Ravi and reciting the Qur'an in the mosque of the neighbouring village of Naushahra. After this period, he moved to Bhilluwal to become the disciple of Shah Sulaiman.

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Sultan Bahu (1631A.D. — 1691A.D.)

Sultan Bahu is universally admitted to have been among the greatest mystics of India. All accounts are silent with regard to the date of his birth, but they agree about the time of his death. He died on Friday night at dawn in the first *jumadi alsani* month in the year A.H. 1102 (A.D.1691). He was sixty-three lunar years of age at the time of his death. From this, we conclude that his birth took place in the year A.D. 1630 at Avan, Shorkot in Jhang district. Being born at Avan he is also known as *Avan.*

According to *Manaqab-i-Sultani*, his ancestors migrated to India from Arabia after the death of Hasan and Husain. Having fought and defeated the Hindus of Pind Dadan Khan, Ahmadabad, and the districts around them, they forced them and their chiefs to embrace Islam. Whatever his ancestors may have been, the father of Bahu was a resident of Jhang district. He is said to have been a person of quiet disposition and so was his wife, the mother of Bahu.

Legends relating to his childhood are numerous and of a varied nature. One of them is so interesting that we cannot help relating it here. It runs thus: When Bahu was a boy, he was such a devout Mussulman that a sort of radiance spread round his face, and whenever a Hindu witnessed it, he was so impressed by it, that forgetting all, he renounced his own religion and became a Mussulam.

This miracle wrought exclusively by his radiance frightened, the Hindus, who sent a delegation to wait upon his father and request him to keep his son Bahu indoors, except at

certain hours. This request was complied with, and the young boy thereafter had to remain indoors.

His family was held in great regard by the Emperor Shah Jahan who conferred on his father, Sultan Bazid, Kahar Janan in jagir.

Bahu received his education at home, and his mother was mostly responsible for it. It is said that after he had married and had begotten children he wanted his mother to become his murshid or *pir*. But she declined, stating that woman in Islam were not permitted to be spiritual teachers and that he had better go and find a male teacher. Thereupon he left his wives and family and went to Hazrat Habib-ullah Qadiri at Baghdad on the banks of the river Ravi.

After a short period of discipleship Sultan Bahu defeated his master in his power of *karamat or miracles.* Thereupon Habib-ullah frankly informed him of his inability to teach any further and directed him to go to his master Hazrat Pir Saiyid Abdul Rahman of Delhi. This Abdul Rahman as Habib-ullah describes him, 'was apparently a *mansabdar* of the Emperor but possessed great spiritual knowledge'. Sultan Bahu then went to Delhi and learnt from Abdul Rahman what he desired.

Bahu says Sultan Bakhsh Qadiri, was held in great esteem by Emperor Aurangzeb, who paid him all possible attention, but for some unknown reason the saint never seems to have cared for the Emperor. Bahu had four married wives and seventeen mistresses. Of the former, three were Muslim and the fourth a Hindu. He had eight sons from his wives. This sort of life, though sanctioned by the Muslim law, did not befit a saint and a teacher. But it is not for us to judge his private life, and so we proceed.

On his death, Sultan Bahu was buried at Kahar Janan. In A.H. 1180 (A.D. 1767) Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh raided the district. The relatives and *murids,* though they were very anxious to protect the tomb, ran away in fear. One *murid* of the saint nevertheless refused to prove faithless to his ashes. The Sikh chiefs, however, did not despoil the tomb and left the faithful disciple unmolested. What the Bhangi chiefs spared, nature, however, did not. Some time after, the Chenab having changed its course, its waters covered the graveyard, and many tombs were swept away. The *murids* and *khalifas* thereupon began to weep and wail, but a voice comforted them by telling them that next morning an unknown person would come and bring from under the water the coffin containing the dead body of Sultan Bahu.

As stated by the voice, a strange person brought the coffin out of the river and having ordered its burial under a pipal tree, in a deserted building, disappeared. The coffin accordingly was taken to the said building, put under the tree, and a brick platform raised on it. The grave was not dug, as was the usual custom. This event occurred ten years after the Sikh raid on the district, i.e. in A.H.1190 (A.D. 1775).

Bahu, says the author of *Tawarikh Sultan Bahu,* wrote in all a hundred and forty books in Persian and Arabic. Nothing is recorded about his works in Panjabi except that he wrote poetry in Panjabi also. What happened to this latter poetry is not known. Most probably, as Panjabi was considered vulgar and unscholarly, his works in this language were ignored and ultimately lost.

In spite of all this indifference, some of Bahu's Panjabi verse was preserved by the *gaddi-nishins,* though not because they loved it. The followers and admirers of Sultan Bahu are mostly villagers and uneducated people who know no language except their own mother-tongue, Panjabi. So the descendants, to maintain their own prestige and influence over these credulous people, have preserved some of Bahu's verse. It is sung by the *kavvalis* on the '*urs* days.

Bahu, relates the author of *Manaqab-i-Sultani,* wrote in his' *Ain-ul-Fuqar* that he thanked his mother for having given him the name Bahu, which by the alteration of one *nukta* or point becomes *yahu.* The only published *siharfi* of Bahu is very lengthy. Each letter of the alphabet has one, two, or four short poems,

each consisting of eight *tukks*. But some letters have more than twenty such poems.

The most striking thing about Bahu's poetry is that every second *tukk* ends in *hu*. Hu is regarded as a name of Allah, and it is considered highly meritorious to repeat it as often as possible. Lines ending in *hu* are an innovation in Panjabi poetry. They are also a great help in establishing the authenticity of Bahu's Panjabi verse.

Bahu, as judged from his poetry, belonged to the philosophic school of the Sufis, but for some reason or other he hid his philosophy under the veil of orthodoxy. It may be that to ensure his safety he disguised his philosophic thought. Then there was another reason, namely his sainthood, which did not permit him that liberty and happiness which Bullhe would enjoy. He had become a *pir*, not in the sense of a preceptor but as a religious head and object of respect and worship. This demanded a certain amount of reserve and prudence on his part.

So, he had to present his philosophic ideas slightly tinged with orthodox thought, in spite of his personal convictions. Yet, it is worth stating here that Bahu's ideas, though philosophic, were different from those of Bullhe Shah, his younger contemporary. He does not seem to have believed in *karma* and reincarnation, and if he did, they had not become convictions with him. There was a great lack of balance and equilibrium in his pantheistic philosophy, and it is this lack which accounts for his indulgence in sexual pleasures and princely living. His private life was a natural consequence of his philosophic unsteadiness.

Bahu's verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well-marked character of its own and rests entirely on the resources of the poet's thought and knowledge of the language. There is an absolute lack of artificiality. Another thing which is creditable about him, is that his verse is pious and bereft of all human love and its ideals.

Bahu's language is Panjabi, as it is spoken in Jhang and the districts around it. It has sweetness and simplicity but is not rustic or vulgar.

The poetry of Bahu is not much known, and if it has attained popularity anywhere it is in the circle of his adherents, though it deservedly demands a better consideration from the general public of the Panjab. The following poems are extracted from Bahu's *siharfi*. This is Bahu's ideal of a *faqir*:

> *Jim jiudia mar rahna hove, ta ves fakira kariye hu*
> *je koi sutte guddar kura vang arurhi sahiye hu*
> *je koi kadde gala mehna us nu ji ji kahiye hu*
> *gila-ulahmbha bhandi khavari yarde paro sahiye hu.*
>
> Jim : if dead while living we want to remain, then the robe of faqirs we should wear, O He; if any one throws at us worn-out rags and rubbish, like a dunghill we should bear them, O He ; he who abuses and taunts, to him, we should say sir, sir, O He; complaint and taunts, scandal and troubles we should bear for the Beloved's sake, O He.

In the following he relates the condition of him who has attained Union :

> *Jim Jinha shau alif thi paya, oh fer kur'an na parh de hu*
> *oh maran dam muhabbat vala, dur hoyo ne parde hu*
> *Dozakh bihisht Gulam tinhade, ca kitto ne barde hu*
> *mai kurban tinha to bahu, jehre vahdat de vicc varde hu.*
>
> Jim : those who have found the Lord alif, they again do not read the Qur'an, O he; they respire the breath of love and their veils have gone afar, O He ; hell and heaven their slaves become, their faults they have forsaken, O He; I am a sacrifice for those, Bahu, who in the unity enter, O He.

Bahu speaks of his beloved :

> *Ce carh canna tu kar roshanai te jikkar karede tare hu*
> *tere jahe cann kai sai carhde, sanu sajjana bajh hanera hu*
> *jitthe cann hai sada carhda, kadar nahi kujh teri hu*
> *jis de karan asa janam gavaya bahu yar milsi ikk veri hu.*

Ce : rise moon, spread your light and the stars will talk of it, O ! He; many hundred moons like you might rise, without the Friend for me is dark, O ! He ; where that moon of mine rises, there no regard for you is felt, O ! He ; for whom, Bahu, I have lost my life, once that Friend will meet me, O ! He

Here is Bahu's definition of real lovers (seekers):

Nun na oh hindu na oh moman na sijda den masiti hu
dam dam de vicc vekhan maula, jinha jan kaza na kitti hu
ae dane te bane divane jinha zat sahi vanjh kitti hu
mai kurban tinha to bahu jinha ishk bazi cun litti hu.

Nun : neither Hindus are they, nor are they Muslims nor in the mosques they in obeisance bow, O He ; in each and every breath they behold God, who have not distorted their lives, O He; they came wise, and became mad, who traded in the real substance, O He ; I am a sacrifice for them, Bahu, who have selected their profession, love, O He.

The following expresses the philosophic concept of Sufi thought. Here, he forgets his orthodoxy:

He hu da jama paih ghar aya, ism kamavanzati hu
na otthe kufar islam di manzil na otthe maut hayati hu
shah rag thi nazdik langhesi pa andure jhati hu
oh asa vicc asi uhua vicc dur hui kurbati hu.

He : dressed in God I home, to earn the Name is my profession, O He ; neither are there stages of paganism and Islam, nor is there death and life, O He ; He will pass nearer than the jugular vein ; do throw a glance inside you, O He ; He is in us and we in Him, falsity has gone away, O He.

Again :

Nun nahi jogi nahi jattgam na mai cila kamaya hu
na mai bhajj masiti variya na tasba kharkaya hu
jo dam gafil so dam kafir sanu murshid eh pharmaya hu
murshid sanu sohni kitti bahu ikko pal vicc ca bakhshaya hu.

Nun : neither a yogi nor a jattgam, nor have I observed the forty days' fast, O He ; neither have I rushed into a mosque nor with rosary noise have I made, O He ; "That breath when one is forgetful, that breath is false' to me (this) the teacher has ordained, O He ; teacher has treated me handsomely, Bahu, in one moment he procured me grace, O He.

Mim mazhaba vale darvaze ucce, rah rabbani mori hu
Pandta te mulvania kolo chap chap lange de cori hu
addia maran karn bakhere dardmanda dia ghori hu
bahu cal utthai vasiai jitthe dava na kisse hori hu.

Mim : religion's gates are hight and the path of God is like a hole, O He ; from the pandits and the maulvis, it passes hidden and concealed, O He ; they kick with their heels and create trouble (but this) for the sufferers is a ghori, O ! He ; Bahu, let us go there and live where no one else's claims exist, O ! He.

The following may account for Bahu's indifference towards the Emperor. How could a man with such ideas appear in the king's presence without running a great risk of being put to death?

Ain ashik hove te ishk kamave dil rakkhe vang pahara hu
lakh lakh badia hazar ulahme, kar jane bag bahara hu
mansur jahe cukk suli ditte vakif kul asrara hu
sijjdiya sar dil na cahe bahu tore kafir kahn hazara hu.

Ain : if one is a lover and professes love he should keep his heart like a mountain, O ! He ; many millions of bad turns and thousands of taunts he should feel as pleasures of garden, O ! He ; one like Mansur was hanged on the cross, who was acquainted with all the secrets, O ! He ; to bow head in obeisance heart wants not, Bahu, though thousands might proclaim me heathen, O He.

Bahu expresses his sentiment for his murshid in the following:

Mim murshid makka talib haji kaba ishk banaya hu vicc hazur sada har veje kariai hajj savaya hu

hikk dam maitho juda jo hove dil milance te aya hu
murshid ain hayati bahu mere lu lu vicc samaya hu.
Mim ; the murshid is Makka, seeker the pilgrim, and love is the Ka'aba, O He ; in his presence over and at all times let us do that better hajj, O He ; if for one moment he parts from me, the heart craves to meet, O He ; Bahu, the murshid is the life, he is present in my every pore, O He.

Bahu, like the orthodox Qadiris, composed a few poems in praise of Abdul-qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriya sect. Here is one of this kind:

Sin sun faryad pira diya pira, mai akkh sunava kehnu hu
tere jeha mainu hor na koi, mai jehe lakh tainu hu
phol na kagaz badia vale dar to dhak na mainu hu
mai vicc aid gunah na honde bahu tu bakhshido kahnu hu.
Sin : listen to (my) complaint O ! Pir of the pirs, to whom else should I tell it ? O ! He ; like you there is no one else for me, but like me you have millions, O !He ; do not open the papers of bad deeds, do not push me away from the door, O ! He; if I were not filled with such great sins then, says Bahu, why would you have pardoned me ?

This is the condition of a real lover :

Ain ishk di bhah hadda da balan ashak baih sakede hu
ghat ke jan jigar vicc ara, vekkh kabab talede hu
sar gardan phiran har vele khun jigar da pide hu
hoge hazara ashak bahu par ishk nasib kide hu.
(Ain : love is fire, bones the fuel and sitting in front the lovers warm themselves, O ! He ; putting the saw in the heart behold like the kabab they are being fried, O ! He; the mad ones (lovers) ever roam about drinking their (own) heart's blood, O ! He ; thousands have become lovers, Bahu, but in whose destiny is love ? O ! He.)

What the Beloved expects of the lover is a white (pure) heart and not a white (beautiful) face. This idea is very finely expressed in the lines given below:

Dal dil kale kolo muh kala canga, je koi us nujane hu
muh kala dil accha hove ta dil yar pachane hu
eh dil yar de picche hove, mata yar vi kade sanjhane hu
bahu sai alam chor masita natthe, jab lage ne dil tikane hu.
Dal : than a black heart a black face is better, each one is aware of that, O ! He ; if face is black and heart is white then the Beloved recognizes that, O ! He ; such heart should everfollow the beloved, might be that He recognizes him, O ! He ; Bahu, hundreds of learned men have left the mosques and run (to their pirs) when their heart has attained its mark, O ! He.)

The pure and the elect are described in this couplet:

Jim jo paki bin pak mahi de, so paki jan paliti hu
hikk butt-khanne ja vasal hoai ijk khali rahe masiti hu.
Jim : those who are pure, without the purity of the Beloved, consider their purity to be impurity, O He ; some in the idol-house have reached Union, others have failed in mosques, O He.

Bahu disapproves of *faqiri* without knowledge. He says. :

Ain ilam bajhe koi fukar kamave kafir mare divana hu
sai varia di kare ibadat rah allah kannu begana hu
gafalat kannu na khulsan parde dil zahil butt khanna hu
mai kurban tinha de bahu jinha miliya yar yagana hu.
Ain : he who without knowledge professes renunciation let that false one (kafir) die insane, O ! He ; he might worship for a hundred years, yet to God's path will he be a stranger, O ! He ; because of carelessness his curtains of ignorance will not be removed and his foolish heart will be an idol-house, O ! He ; I am a sacrifice, Bahu, for them who have met the Beloved Unimue, O ! He.

Now we shall quote a few examples expressing Bahu's orthodox ideas. The following is in praise of the love of Hasan, Husain, and their father-Ali:

Ain ashak soi hakiki jehra katal mashuk de manne hu
ishk na chore muh na more tore sai talvara khanne hu
jitt val dekkhe raz mahi da laga udahi vanjhe hu
sacca ishk hasnain Ali da bahu sar deve raz na bhanne hu.

Ain : he is a real lover who considers himself a victim of the Beloved, O He ; who does not renounce love and turns not away his face, even if a hundred swords cut him, O He ; in whatever direction he sees the rule of his Beloved, there he continues to walk, O He ; Bahu, the true love is of Hasan, Husain and 'Ali who gave their heads but did not break the rule, O! He.

The following describes the horrors of the grave and suggests that they could be avoided if the corpse bowed to the Divine Will:

Jim jiude ki janan sar moya di so jane jo marda hu
kabara de vicc ann na pani utthe khare tureda gharda hu
ikk vichora ma pyo bhaiya duja azab ka barda hu
iman salamat tis da bahu jehra rabb agge sir dharda hu.

Jim : what do the living know of the condition of the dead, he alone knows who dies, O ! He ; in graves there is neither food nor water and spending is of one's own house, O ! He ; first there is the separation of parents and brothers, second is the trouble of the grave, O ! He ; Bahu, his faith alone there rests safe, who surrenders his head before God, O ! He.

This extract illustrates well his regard for the *kalma:*

He hor dava na dil di kari, kalma dil di kari hu
kalma dur jangal kareda kalme mail uttari hu
kalma hire lal jawahar, kalme hatt pasari hu
itthe utthe dovi jahani bahu kalma daulat sari hu.

He : other profession for heart is not efficient, the kalma of the heart is efficient, O ! He ; the kalma takes the rust away and the kalma scrapes off the dirt, O ! He ; the kalma is diamond, ruby and precious stones, thekalma has extended its shop, O ! He ; Bahu, here and there in both the worlds the kalma is all the wealth, O He.

Islam is the only true path, says our poet :

eh dil hijar firako sarda eh dam mare na jive hu
sacca rah Muhammad vala bahu jai vicc rabb labhive hu.

This heart is burning with separation, it neither dies nor lives:

O ! He ; the true path is the path of Muhammad, along which god is found, O ! He.

Manaqab-i-Sultani (in Urdu). This is a translation of the Persian work of the same name. The author of this work was Sultan Hamid, a relative and descendant of the poet Sultan Bahu. The work, though it gives much real information, contains legends of a fabulous character.

Tarikh Makhzan-i-Panjab by Ghulam Sarvar, in Urdu, also contains some important information about the saint.

Tawarikh Sultan Bahu in Persian. This MS. pamphlet on the life of Sultan Bahu was written by Sultan Bakhsh Qadiri in 1920 and is the property of the Panjab Public Library, Oriental Section.

Many other biographies of saints contain brief descriptions of the life of Bahu, but they are mere extracts from the above-mentioned books.

Of the Panjabi works of Bahu only one book has been published. This is a collection of his verses, the authenticity of which has been well established. The title is *Majmu'a Abyat Sultan Bahu Panjabi.* It is in Urdu characters and contains a very lengthy *siharfi.*

Another source of information, both on the life-history and the poetry of Bahu, are the *kavvalis.* Though we have not depended on this source for the account of Bahu, yet we cannot help stating that if someone collected material from this source it would be of great value.

Bahu was a pantheist, but he made no contribution to the further development of the thought. His verse holds some significance of historical nature that it reflects a steep decline in harmony in the religious atmosphere of the country. Though, these were the Naqshabandis who preached intoleration against the Hindus and led Mughal emperors to adopt a persecuting policy, but

the Qadiris too fell victim to the demon of communalism.

Buhu lived during the reign of Aurangzeb who waged a campaign of persecuting his Hindu subjects. Aurangzeb was fully aware of the leanings of Qadiris towards the Hindu thought. He organised his strength to do away the influence of the Hindu thought and fought against his brother Dara Shikoh on this basis. The Qadiris also knew well his attitude towards them. Bahu's pantheistic convictions and the communal pressure of the government made Bahu a confusing personality. He is a bundle of contradictions and inconsistencies.

He could not sever himself from his pantheistic convictions, but he declared the severance of the Muslims from the rest of the people. He advised the Muslims not to abandon the path of Mohammad and used to terrify the unprotected Hindus to gain converts on the one hand and declared the self of man above narrow communalism on the other. He led a princely life, married four wives and produced eight sons from them, yet he condemned the worldly life and its pursuits very bitterly.

Giving an obnoxious picture of the worldly life he compares it to a corpse and the worldly people to dogs and vultures eating it. His attitude towards Shariat does not reflect any steadfastness. Sometimes, he urges the people not to leave the Shariat-i-Mohammadi and advises the person who claims to know the Truth to say that he is the seeker and not the knower of Truth, and sometimes, he declares that the Shariat itself is ignorant of the state where love leads the seeker to.

Commenting on the inconsistencies in his life and thought Dr. Lajwanti Ramakrishna rightly asserts that there was a great lack of balance and equilibrium in his pantheistic philosophy and it is this lack which accounts for his indulgence in sexual pleasures and princely living. His private life, she adds, was a natural consequence of his philosophic unsteadiness.

Bahu earned a great name in the Muslim community as well as amongst the Sufis of the Panjab of his time. He was a renowned spiritual teacher and had a good number of disciples whom he appointed his spiritual successors and Khalifas for the spread of the path. They established their seats in the various corners of Panjab and Sindh. Besides, he was a voluminous writer and he wrote as many as 140 books on Sufism.

His influence on the Sufis of his time can be imagined from the point that Bullhe Shah borrowed a number of expressions any symbols from Bahu's works. There is another point of importance in Bahu's verse. One finds in it mention of Lataif Sitta a system of breath controlling developed by the Naqshabandi order on the pattern of Yogic one.

Bahu was a disciple and Khalifa of Sayyad Abdul Rehman Dehlvi, who comes in the spiritual hierarchy of Abdul Qadir Jilan, the founder of the Qadiri Order. Bahu learnt Vedantic views from his Qadiri teacher, whose system had already accepted Vedantic influence.

Bahu declares that the state of communion is the mergence of the essence of the individual in the Essence of God for a short period:

> *Zati nal jo zati ralia, tad Bahu nam sadai hoo.*
> (When (my) essence will merge into the Essence (of the Lord), I will become the true Bahu).

He interprets the ayat 'min habdularavid' to mean that God in His Essence and Knowledge is nearer to man than his own *shairag* (blood vein):

> God is nearerto thee even than thy own blood vein.
> The blind can not see Him.

He further declares unequivocally that the essence of man is identical to that of God:

> The essence of man is exactly the Essence of God. This is the secret of the secrets and there remains nothing more to say.

Thus Bahu unambiguously affirms that God is present in the individual and the multiplicity of the universe in His Essence. He also asserts that nothing except God exists. The

seeker should not think of any thing except God:

> Eradicate the idea of any thing except God and verily you will see the Beauty of God every where.

He has also veneration for Mansur who said, 'I am the Creative Truth' *(an al Haqq)* In his following utternance he says that he found God in his heart:

> *Sherag thin nazdik laddo si;*
> *Pa androoni jhati ho;*
> *Asin inhan vich uh asan vich,*
> *Bahu, door rahie kurbati hu.*
> (I peeped into the heart and found the Lord there. He is nearer than even the vein. We are in God and God is in us. He is so near, but out of ignorance we think him away.)

In the last verse Bahu is a Pantheist. As already pointed out, his attitude towards the Shariat is very confusing. He says that the lovers of God have no religion and that the religion has no claim over the lovers. A lover of God, he adds, is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim. He is neither interested in Paradise nor is he afraid of Hell:

> *Ashiqan koi mazhab nahin, Mazhab ki lagada sala hu.*
> *Nan-na uh Hindu na uh Muslim, na sijada den masiti hu.*

He does not need even any learning or bookish knowledge about religion:

> *Na main trihe roze rakhe, na main pak namazi hu.*

He holds that the Shariat itself is ignorant of the state where love leads the seeker to:

> *Jis manzil nun ishaq pahunchave, iman nun khabar na hu.*

He asserts that there is a distance of hundreds of miles between the Shariat and the path of love:

> *Ishaq shara vich manzil bhari, saian kohan de pare kai hu.*

He is ready to tear off the khirqa (Sufi robe), to break of his *tasbih* (rosary) and to burn the *musalla* (the prayer carpet). He wants to throw away the *chobi assa (mace* or a staff used as support). In another *gazal* he enjoins to remain strict on the Shariat:

> Do not leave the path of Shariat of Mohammad. If thou knowest the secrets of the Truth, do not call thy self a gnostic, Think thyself still a seeker.

Despite the haze in his attitude towards the Shariat, it is clear without doubt that he lacks the latitudarian character of a mystic. He is in fact a staunch Mohammedan. The leniency is only for the lovers of god and thereby he points out to his own superiority over the Mullans, the representatives of the Shariat. From among the Muslims he declares the sufi lovers as very much advanced on the spiritual path. He declares that the achievements attained by love are much superior to those attained by the observance of Shariat.

The Shariat and its observance become unimportant for those in whose hearts the fire of love has been inflamed. He agrees with the orthodox view that the religious knowledge and learning are pre-requisite for spiritual discipline and the performance of religious obligatories are essential for those who have not adopted the path of love of God. He is not a humanist, but he is through and through an Islamic missionary.

Bahu, wrote a good number of books of Sufism. His verse lacks intellectual speculations and discussion, but abounds with instructions relating to Sufi practice. Condemning the scholarship and learning, he asserts that the bookish knowledge is not only useless, but is harmful, as it arouses the sense of haughtiness.

It does in no way any help to kill the nafs. Rather, he says, the learned and the scholars are wailing sitting in the corners of their houses. Urging for the renunciation of the worldly life, he describes it an abomination which does not let the people to have even a wink of sleep. He further describes the worldly life as a corpse and the worldly people as dogs and vultures eating it.

His system of meditation consists of concentration on the name of God accompanied by controlling of breath. The points of concentration, in order of ascendence, are *sirri, ruhi, kalbi, sori, akhafi, and khafi* as given in the following verse:

Sirri ruhi kalbi sori akhafi, khafi kamavan hu;
Main kurban tinhan ton Bahu, jihre hik nigah jimavan hu.

Meditation on the name of God with control of breath causes the inflammation of fire of love in the heart of the practicant and removes all the veils:

Nal tasavvar ismallah de dam nun kaid lagai hu.
Alif Allah parhion parh hafiz hoion,
Gia hajabon parda hu.

Giving his views on love, he says that it is panacea for all the ills of life and the supreme means to kill the *nafs* and to achieve communion with God. As soon as, the seeker catches fire of love in his heart all other means and practices become useless for him. Love is like a lamp which illuminates the path of the novice and leads the seeker to his supreme destination.

Even the Gaus and the Qutb, says Bahu, do not get access to the abode of the lovers. Emphasising on the necessity of killing the *nafs*, he says that, as water and fire cannot remain together and as two swords cannot be put into one sheath, the two, Ged and the *nafs*, cannot remain in one heart. Those who do not kill their *nafs* in this life, suffer in this life as well as in the next.

Bahu's spiritual achievements are very much akin to that of a Yogi. The Yogis depict the world as odious and repulsive in order to develop detachment from it while the Ijadist sufis present horrible scenes of life after death and inspire fear of Awful God. Bahu adopted the path of the Yogis. Like a Yogi he says that the realization of self is the realization of God.

The literary merit of Bahu's verse is very poor. As has already been mentioned, his verse is more didactic than emotional. There are very rare passages expressing his mystical experiences and pains of separation. He says that those who have realized the Reality, do not speak but keep quiet. He adds that instead of going to Mecca, he realized God in the heart.

Bahu does not appear to have accepted any direct influence of Indian thought. The two major Indian elements-wifely devotion and yogic practices had already penetrated into Indian Sufism much before his time and he, therefore, adopted these elements as well as pantheism from the tradition of the Sufis.

Bahu enjoyed a great repute as a spiritual teacher. In the works of Bullhe Shah one finds a number of expressions, and ideas which had already appeared in the compositions of Sultan Bahu. Both have described *nafs* as a thief. Their lovers run away from the mosques. They break the kasa and masalla. Love has been described as Muazzan by both.

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Sundha, Shaikh (d.1716/17 A.D.)

A *khalifa* of Shaikh Dawud was Shaikh Sundha. Shaikh 'Abdu'l Mu'min the father of Shaikh Sundha, was a *jagirdar* from Saharanpur who, like Shah Abu'l-Ma'ali's father, died when his children were small. From his youth Shaikh Sundha was greatly attracted to the saintly life and found the fulfilment of his dreams in the discipleship of Shaikh Dawud. In accordance with Chishti tradition he led an ascetic lefe and loved *sama*. He died in 1129/1716-17.

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Tabrizi, Jalalud-Din (d. 1225A.D.)

The first Muslim saint of historical importance is Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi, who introduced the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in Bengal. Born at Tabrez in Persia, Shaikh Jalaluddin received his education in Bukhara. Ibn Battuta who visited Bengal in the middle of the 14th century (probably in 1346 A.D.) met Shaikh Jalal of Sylhet and confounded him with Jalaluddin Tabrezi. He first became the disciple of Shaikh Abu Sa'id of Tabrez and later joined the circle of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi's disciple in Baghdad.

Seka Subhodaya, a Sanskrit book records that the Shaikh's father name was Kafur. As, he was a bright boy his teacher loved him very much and agreed to teach him free on the request of kafur, who was a man of little means, the teacher recommended the boy to a rich merchant, named Ramzan, to bear his educational expenses. The merchant went on a long business tour. It took 12 years. in his absence, his daughter, Aisha by name, fell in love with Jalal, who paid no attention to her. But the girl in disappointment brought a charge of misconduct on the part of Jalal, who was driven out of the merchant's house and the merchant demanded from Jalal's parents the full expenses of the last 12 years.

After extensive travels in Arabia, Iraq, Bukhara and Nishapur he came to Hindustan. He visited Multan and earned acquaintance with some of the eminent saints of the time, and then came to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1210-1336 A.D.). The latter received him with great respect. He could not remain in Delhi for long due to the machinations of the then Shaikh-ul Islam, Shaikh Najmuddin Sughra, and finally proceeded to Lakhnauti, via Badaun and settled there.

The poor parents of Jalal out of fear left their house for some unknown place. But according to *Ain-i-Akbari* it transpires that Jalal was accused falsely of crime against an immoral woman. When Jalal reached Delhi, it is said that Najamud-Din Sughra, the Shaikul Islam was jealous of his popularity and he charged him, involving Jalal in an affair with a bad woman named Gauhar. Bahud-Din Zakaria through his miraculous powers proved that the charge was false. Falsity of these charges are supported by many persons, historians and *tazkira-e-Aulia hind.*

When Jalal was acquitted of the charges he left Delhi for Bengal via Bedayum Shaikh Jalalud-Din Tabrizi, who was a disciple of Abu Sa'id Tabrizi and after him of Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi at Baghdad, came to India and became the disciple of Qutabud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki. He was sent to Bengal as his deputy where he died in 1225 A.D.

When Iltutmish (1210-1235 A.D.) ruled in Delhi hundreds of Muslim divines and saints poured into this country in continuous succession from the central Asian lands. Iltutmish much welcomed these emigrants cordially and with great hospitality. Sometimes, on hearing

about the arrival of a saint he went out for miles to receive him and bring him to his place. When Shaikh Jalalud-Din Tabrizi came to Delhi from Beghdad, Iltutmish went out to receive him also. It runs in one account:

'Chun shaikh ra did az asp farud amada bajanib-inshan dawid.'

(No sooner had be seen the Shaikh than he got down from his horse and towards him).

On Maulana Jamalud-Din Mohammad Bistami's death, Iltutmish offered to Khawaja Qutbud-Din the post of Shaikul Islam. Qutb Sahib, following the principle of the Chishti saints, declined to accept government service. On his refusal, Najmud-Din Sughra was appointed to this post. Sughra was jealous and self-conceited man. He could not tolerate anybody except himself being revered by the people; and so he sometimes resorted to ignoble methods of pulling others down. He brought an obnoxious charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalalud-Din Tabrizi.

Abid Ali Khan Sahib says that Shah Jalalud-Din Tebrizi was born at Tabrizi in Persia and was a pupil of Shaikh Abu Said of that city. After his teacher's death he became the disciple of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi and served with him so devotedly as no other saint's disciple ever did.

It is said that Shaikh Shihabud-Din used to make the pilgrimage to Mecca every year, but that being old and feeble he could not digest the food that was provided for the journey. So Shaikh Jalalud-Din put a deghdani stove with a pot on his head to serve the Shaikh with a hot meal when required. When Shaikh Jalalud-Din came to Delhi, the false charge that was brought against him so perturbed him that he had to leave Delhi and go to Bedaun and thence to Bengal. When he reached there he sat down by the side of a stream to rest. But suddenly he rose and performed ablutions.

In explanation, he said that he was saying funeral prayers of the Shaikhul Islam Sughra who had just died and subsequently this turned out to be a fact. The saint acquired considerable property in Pandua and elsewhere in Bengal, *e.g*, at Deotala and this estate, which is known as 'Ba'is Hazari'(twenty-two thousand), is still held by a Mutawalli for the benefit of the *faqir* and the poor. The *urs* (death anniversary) of this saint is celebrated in the month of Rajab each year, and pilgrims assemble at the shrine from the 1st to the 22nd of the month.

The travellers throughout the year are given meals at the shrine . The saint's death is said to have occurred in 1225 A.D. This view is held by J.A. Subhan and Dr. Enamul Hoque. The year 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) as expressed by the following Persian chronogram:

'Jalalud-Din jalalullah jalal arifan bud' (Jalalud-Din was the glory of Allah and the glory of the saints) appears to be the year of construction of the building bearing the chronogram.

As we shall learn afterwards, the tomb of the saint is at Pandua and not at Sylhet as conferred by some, but according to others it is in the port of Dev Mahal. The original mosque is said to have been erected by Sultan Alaud-Din Ali Shah in 1342 A.D, on the spot where Hazrat Shah Jalal used to sit for meditation. The saint's seat was formerly enclosed with silver railings. The mosque was repaired in 1075 A.H/1664 A.D. by Shah Nimatullah of Firuzpur, Gaur. The jhanda (heraldic device is copper) of Makhdum Jalal Bakhari Jahaniyan *Jahan-gasht* (world-roamer), as well as an ancient banner, are still preserved in this building.

The inscription put up in the eastern wall of the building are as follows:

'chun in ali amarat yaft tartib shuda tarikh rawshan astan bud'

(When this grand building was completed the date was 'Bright be the shrine 1075 A.H).

And in another place it is written:

'in amarat hazrat shah jalal ast marammat kard shah nimatullah.'

(This is the building of Hazrat Shah Jalal. Hazrat Shah Nimatullah repaired it).

The Bhandar khana or store house, was erected by Chand Khan in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.). The inscription on the front wall is as follows:

'ya mun-in; wa tammim bismillahi-r-rahmanir rahim;
ya muntaquim jalal uddin shah tariz muwallad
ki dar madhash zubanha ghar riz
baraish chand khan kard in amart
ki wu az ard-e-akhlas ast labriz
agar pursand ki bud jilwa farma
dar in mamar wa mina wa safa khiz
duhan ra shust wa sha dah hamchun sahir
pas anki ba auban mani angiz
jawabash dar sal libas sal tarikh
bago shah jalaluddin tabriz
az misrae akhir san hazar wa hashda wa chahar bar mi iyad'.

(O Benefactor ! in the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate may it end well O Avenger Shah Jalalud-Din. Who was born at Tabriz, in whose praise tongues are pouring forth pearls. For his sake Chand Khan erected this building with sincere motives. If people ask who dwells in this bright and beautiful sepulchre, purify your month as was done by the poet Sahir to tell the date in the figurative language of the chronogram. It is the sepulchre of Shah Jala-Din Tabrizi.

From the last line 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.) come out as the date of this building. The Lakhan Seni Dalan is a small building opposite to the bhandar khana, on the northern bank, previously referred to and appears to have served as a baithak-khana (reception room). It is noteworthy for the inscription on its front wall, which seems to have been, formerly, over the front gate of the Shah Jalal's shrine where the Jami Mosque now stands, and runs as follows:

'Astana-e-muazzam Hazrat makhdum shah jalal tabriz az sayed shah nimatullah murattib shuda, chun junub rawiya istaqamat pushta nadashta bina bar batawliyat maulavi haibatullah amarat uzma qadri jumbish karda bud. Mohammad Ali sakin barjih mutasaddi giri qarar yafta. Dar istaqamat(?) ram ram pisari bikal raj ra maqarrar namuda batarikh 22 rajabu-al-murajjab sanh 1134 hijri mutabic sanh 1119 bangla murattib gardid'.

(This exalted astanah of hazrat Makhdum Shah Jalal of Tabriz was (formerly) repaired by Syed Nimatuallah Shah. As the wall of the southern side was not strong the building had bent a bit during the mutawalli-ship of Maulevi Haibatullah, Mohammad Ali of Barji, being appointed Manager engaged Ram Ram son of Baikal Raj (repair it). The repairs were completed on the 22nd Rajab in the year 1133 A.H.(1722 A.D) corresponding to 1119 of Bengali year).

It would be interesting to note that the building came to be known as "Lakhan Sen's Building" Some say that one Lakhan Sen was the Mutawallis of the shrine for some time. Hence, the name was named after. The tannur khana or kitchen of the building which lies to the east of the 'Bhandar khana' is of brick, andis 49 feet wide and 16 feet 6 inches high .

There is an over in this house, which the saint is said to have put on his head and used to cook meat and bread for his great saint (Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi) while on travels. The inscription on the building records that it was built by one Sa'duallah in 1093 A.H. (1673 A.D.) and runs as follows:

'wa tammim bismillahir-rahmanir rahim bilkair
Jalal uddin shah-e-an maqbul bari
firishta khui shahe dit wa dunya
muridash sakht saadullah az jan
baalame in binai rahat afza
zahi mamur bunyade ki az way
khalaiqe rast tahsil tamanna
khud guftat chi nishan ast in imarat
ki asayed daru paiwasta dilha
sarush ghaibatash dar gush dil guft
bud wala makan faid ama'
'az misrai akhir sanh hazar wa nawed wa si hijri bar misyad'

(In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, May it end well; Jalalud-Din Shah was the accepted of Allah, Angelic in disposition and the king of religion and the world. His disciple Sadullah erected with sincere heart this rest-giving building on earth. How excellent is the structure wherein people attain their wishes; Wisdom asked 'What kind of building is this, in which the hearts of men for ever find

rest." An angel from the unseen world whispered into his ears:' It is a notable building full of bliss.') (From the last line the year 1093 Hijri is deduced. Detailed discussion of the saint is under Shah Jalal Mujarrad of Sylhet.)

Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi was greatly venerated by the people in Bengal. He built a *khanqah* and opened a *langer* (free kitchen). He purchased and endowed a piece of land and some gardens for the maintenance of the *langer*. Later he moved from Lakhnauti to Devtala and became very popular among the people there. Here, he built his *takiya* resting place) on the site of a temple. The piety of the saint made him extremely popular and his missionary zeal won him many converts to Islam from the spiritually hungry masses of this region. He died probably in the middle of the 13th century.

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Tabrizi, Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi did not remain long in Multan and travelled to Delhi, via Ajodhan. Sultan Shamsu'd-Din gave him a warm welcome but Najmu'd-Din Sughra, the Shaikhu'l-Islam, resented his presence.

The Sultan ordered the Shaikhu'l-Islam to assign the Shaikh a suitable residence, close to the palace. Najmu'd-Din gave him a house named *Baitu'l-Jinn* believed to be haunted by evil spirits. He argued that if the Shaikh was spiritually perfect, the evil spirits would fail to harm him, if he was not, he would be punished for his false claims. Before Shaikh Jalal'ud-Din entered the house, to the bewilderment of Najmu'd-Din the evil spirits had departed. Nevertheless the latter continued to try to influence the Sultan against the Shaikh.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din had bought a handsome Turkic slave boy for 1,500 *dinars*. One day Shaikh Najmu'd-Din and the Sultan performed their morning prayers on the palace roof from where they could see into Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din's house. After finishing his prayers, the latter lay on his cot and drew the quilt over him, while his slave massaged his feet. Najmu'd-Din took the Sultan near the edge of the roof to show him the scene.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din is recorded as knowing that this was happening through his own spiritual powers, although it is possible the slave may have informed him. Throwing back the quilt he shouted to Najmu'd-Din that if he had looked closer he might have seen him embracing the boy. The Sultan attempted to prevent Shaikh Najmu'd-Din from further interfering in the affairs of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din; however, another plot was hatched to discredit him.

A dancing girl, called Gawhar, was em-

ployed for a sum of 500 dinars, by Najmu's-Din to accuse Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din of having committed adultery with her. He paid 250 *dinars* in cash and deposited the rest with a Muslim *baqqal* (grain merchant). As rehearsed, Gawhar made a statement to the Sultan, who consequently organized a *mahzar* to investigate the allegation. About two hundred eminent sufis and *ulama* were invited. Najmu'd-Din knowing of the rivalry between Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din and Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, suggested that the latter act as chairman. This recommendation was accepted by the Sultan.

As soon as, Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din arrived, however, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya ran to receive him and carry his shoes. The Sultan said that such respect by a chairman for the accused had made the *mahzar* useless. Shaikh Baha'd'd-Din replied that Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din had served his *pir* for seven years and, therefore, it was fitting for him to use the dust from Shaikh Jalalu'u-Din's feet as an eye-wash. Nevertheless, the allegation had been made and Gawhar had to be summoned. When she arrived, the galaxy of 'ulama' and sufis so overwhelmed her that she admitted the charge was false and this was corroborated by the grain merchant.

Shaikh Najmu'd-Din was dismissed by the Sultan, but Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din left Delhi for Bada'un soon afterwards as he was unhappy living there. In Bada'un, he became friendly with Qazi Kamalu'd-Din, the local administrator. One day, he visited the Qazi and was told by his servants that their master was performing prayers. The Shaikh smiled and asked whether the Qazi knew how to say his prayers. Next day, the Qazi visited the Shaikh and said he had written a number of treatises on the ways to perform prayers and therefore it was impossible to question his ability in this regard. The Shaikh replied that the prayers of the 'Ulama' were different to those of sufis.

The Qazi asked whether they performed prostrations in a different way or recited from a different Qur'an. The 'ulama' said prayers facing the Ka'ba, replied Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din but sufis did not pray unless they saw God's throne. That night the Qazi saw God's throne in a dream with Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din praying before it. Next day, he revisited the Shaikh, apologized and enrolled his son as his disciple.

The manner in which Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din converted a Hindu in Bada'un is interesting. One day, he was sitting outside his house when a curd seller from Katihar, a place which abounded with robbers, happened to pass the house. He was a robber, but as soon as his eyes fell on the Shaikh, he was so impressed that he became a Muslim and was renamed 'Ali. He possessed one hundred thousand jitals and these he presented to the Shaikh. Jalalu'd-Din asked him to keep the money in trust and distribute it through him.

When he left for Lakhnauti, 'Ali Maula pursued him, but was ordered back to Bada'un by the Shaikh as the Muslims there had been left under his care. The Shaikh taught 'Ali only to perform prayers five times daily, but he became so renowned for his piety that many great sufis, the 'ulama' and others craved for his blessing. He was present at the ceremony of the turban-tying of Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din Auliya'.

Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din had many disciples in Bengal. He first lived at Lakhnauti, constructed a *khanqah* and attached a *langar* to it. He also bought some gardens and land to be attached to the monastery. He moved to *Devatalla* (Deva Mahal) near Pandua in northern Bengal. There a *kafir* (either a Hindu or a Buddhist) had erected a large temple and a well. The Shaikh demolished the temple and constructed a *takiya* (*khanqah*) and converted a large number of *kafirs*. There is no evidence that they were 'downtrodden and persecuted Buddhists and Hindus,' as a modern scholar writes, however, the Shaikh's memory was treasured by both Hindus and Muslims alike. Devatalla came to be known as Tabrizabad and attracted a large number of pilgrims.

In the Rihla of Ibn Battuta, Shah Jalal of Sylhet is confused with Shaikh Jalal al-Tabrizi whom he had visited. Halayodha Misra, the author of Shek Subhodya, also made the same mistake. The author is said to have been the court

poet of Lakshmansena, the last Sena ruler of Bengal, but the work is of a later date. The date of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi's death is unknown, and no reliable information of his Bengali *khalifas* is available.

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Taj, Shaikh (14th century)

Shaikh Taj was a leading mystic of his time. He was born at Fathbad and was a contemporary of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah (1389-1410). Later, he left Bengal and settled at Mandu. Many Muslim saints of that time received guidance from him. He was put in high esteem by them for his spiritual accomplishment. It is said that he laid deep stress on *tawakkul* (resignation to the Divine will) for spiritual attainment.

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Taju'd-Din, Shaikh (d. 1642A.D.)

Shaikh Taju'd-Din had been prompted to migrate from India to Mecca neither for political reasons nor by the desire to undertake a merit acquiring pilgrimage. Rather, he was prompted by sheer frustration at his inability to achieve the highest rank among the *Khalifas* of Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah Naqshbandi. Shaikh Taju'd-Din was a native of Sambhal who had made contact with Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah during the latter's first visit there in a search of a perfect guide.

Shaikh Taju'd-Din suggested he become the disciple of his *pir*, Shaikh Ilah Bakhsh, a successor of Saiyid 'Ali Qiwam. However, a mystical inspiration from the Naqshbandiyya Khwajas of Transoxiana prevented Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah from taking this advice.

After a short stay at Sambhal, the Khwaja left the town in 1599-1600 the Khwaja finally settled in Delhi and Shaikh Taju'd-Din hastened to visit him and became his disciple. A great favourite of his *pir*, he loved to compare his won mystical achievements with those of other disciples of the Khwaja and was the first of them to receive permission to initiate others.

Shaikh Taju'd-Din moved to Sambhal where he began training disciples. The Khwaja's other disciples, who were jealous of Taju'd Din's rise to eminence, began to complain of his stern handling of disciples. The inhumane manner in which he attempted to reform a *Majzub* (Shaikh Abu Bakr) shocked the Khwaja. He wrote warning his disciple against intolerance, arguing that even eminent sufis could commit serious sins, so therefore a mujzub who had lost his senses was much more likely to neglect the duties prescribed by the Shari'a for those in their right minds.

In another letter Khwaja Baqi Bi'llah urged Shaikh Taju'd-Din not to initiate disciples into non-Naqshbandiyya orders on the authority of his previous *pirs*, asking him to confirm himself exclusively to the Naqshbandiyya orders.

Shaikh Taju'd-Din's hot temper was never to improve. Shocked to see the rapid pace of the mystical progress of the Mujaddid, he was not prepared to accept his prominence because of his own seniority. After the death of a Khwaja

Baqi Bi'llaha conflict was inevitable. Shaikh Taju'd-Din attempted to gain support for his claim to leadership of the Naqshbandiyyas throughout India and Kashmir. His attempt was a failure and in despair he moved to Mecca.

In the holy city Shaikh Muhammad Ilan (d. 1031/1621-22) a famed saint and ascetic, became Shaikh Taju'd-Din's disciple. Shaikh Ilan's influence and prestige helping to reinstate the reputation of his *pir* Shaikh Taju'd-Din's translation into Arabic of the *Rashahat-i ainu'l-hayat* of Kashifi and the *Nafahat'ul-uns* of Jami from Persian greatly helped to popularize the Naqshbandiyya sufis in Mecca, Medina, Najd, Yaman Basra and Syria.

He also translated several Persian treatises by Naqshbandiyya *pirs* into Arabic. Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ghani bin Isma'il al-Nablusi (1641-1713), an enthusiastic interpreter of the works of Ibn 'Arabi, wrote a potential commentary on an Arabic treatise by Shaikh Taju'd-Din which outlined Naqshbandiyya practices.

The original was called *Al-risala fi suluk khulasat' al-Sadat al-Naqshbandiyya* and the commentary was entitled *Miftah al'ait sharh al-risalat al-Naqshbandiyya* Shaikh Taju'd-Din's contribution to Arabic literature and his mystical achievements were greatly appreciated by the Arabs and Syrians, Shaikh Taju'd-Din came to be known, as he reported to his Indian friends, as the second Shaikh Ilan.

The Shaikh visited India several times and did some travelling in the Middle East. In 1037/1628, he was seen in Mecca during the pilgrimage month in a highly ecstatic condition. Leading Meccan '*alims* and sufis including Shaikh Ahmad Nakhli, were impressed by Shaikh Taju'd-Din's piety and flocked to become his disciples. The image in Mecca and Medina of Shaikh Taju'd-Din related by Shah Waliu'llah was a highly flattering one. The Shaikh died in 1052/1642 and was buried in Mecca.

Shaikh Taju'd-Din in his time would have hardly mentioned the Mujaddid's teachings, which, however, were systematically disseminated by Shaikh Adam Banuri and his disciples after their arrival in Mecca from India.

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Talib Hussain (19th Century)

Talib Hussain of Phul Bari, district Cachar (Assam) is another saint who has also volumes of Sufi literature in manuscript form in Sylheti Nagri, preserved in the different *khanqahs* of Cachar district.

As, he was always estatic trance, his code of manuscripts were carried by some porters. He had no monastry of fixed preaching centre. So, his songs are preserved at other *khanqahs*. Those songs are so appealing that when they are recited they draw the attention of a large number of people.

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Tamizud-Din, Hazrat Khawaja Shaikh (d. 1899A.D.)

Hazrat Khawaja Shaikh Tamizud-Din (d. 1899 A.D.) was a son of Khawaja Shaikh

Muhammad Jalil bin Shah Kawaja Shaikh Muhammad. Mansoor whose Shah ancestors came from Arab (Baghdad) during the reign of Shah Jahan: first settled at Delhi, then moved to Jaunpur and then the father of Khawaja Muhammad Jalil Shaikh Muhammad Mansoor Shah came to Bengal fro teaching the doctrines of Islam making Nawakhali, Rangpur, Mymensing and Sylhet his centre of activities. He died at Nawakhali and was buried besides his father's grave there.

His son Khawaja Shaikh Tamizud-Din Shah after completing his education in Dacca, entered into the discipleship of Maulana Keramat 'Ali Jaunpuri who was his teacher also. He was a business man but was much interested in taking part in propagating Islam along with Maulana Keramat Ali Jaunpuri, who posted him at Sylhet. In his absence, his business suffered a loss but he did not mind.

From Sylhet he moved towards Cachar where he established a Madarasah for *imparting* education to Muslim boys. He married a pious lady Saghira Banu,daughter of Muhammad Hatim of the Shibnarayanpur village with whose help he started a Madrasah for ladies. He died in 1899 A.D. at Shibnarayanpur ,18 miles west of Silchar town. Here, he and his wife lay buried. His sons Shaikh Munshi Abdul Aziz, Shaikh Maulvi Abdul Sattar, Shaikh Maulana Abdur Rauf Muhaddith, Shaikh Maulvi abdul Haq and Mulana Nurul Haque were his learned and reputed sons.

His two daughters Zaibun Nessa and Shamsun Nessa are noted for their charity and act of religious activities. Maulana Abdur Rauf was educated in Madarasah Alia, Rampur, and Maulana Nurul Haque in Calcutta Madarashah Alia and their whole life was spent in study and teaching. His family is still maintaining the tradition of the house and has produced able scholars of religion. Khawaja Shaikh Tamizud-Din Shah preached religion and mysticism but he was not interested in initiating disciples into Sufi order.

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Tawwama, Maulana Ashrafuddin

Maulana Ashrafuddin Tawwama, a renowned scholar and distinguished saint of Bukhara settled in Bengal during this period. According to Ibn Battuta, who visited Bengal probably in 1346-47; and had a meeting with the Shaikh, the latter died in 1347 A.D. allegedly at the age of 150 years. He came to Delhi in or about 1260 A.D. He was well versed in the traditions of the Prophet and other branches of Islamic learning.

Hence, he became very popular in the literary circles of Delhi within a short period. his growing influence and popularity alarmed the Sultan of Delhi who directed him to go to Sonargaon.

Maulana Ashrafuddin obeyed the royal order and proceeded to Sonargaon. On the way, he stayed for sometime at Maner, where Shaikh Sharafuddin Ahmad, the famous saint of the Firdausi *silsilah* and his father Shaikh Yahya Maneri welcomed him. From Maner Sharafuddin Ahmad also accompanied him to Sonargaon some time after 1282 A.D.

Maulana Ashrafuddin brought about a *madrasah* at Sonargaon which became an important centre of Islamic learning. He also established a *khanqah* at this place. He is said to have written a book, named Maqamat, on mysticism which became very popular in mystic circles. The book, however, has not apparently survived. He lies buried at Sonargaon.

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V

Varis Shah (1735 A.D.)

A unique poet, ever produced by Panjabi literature. He has attracted the generation of Punjab since ages. When ever the singing of Heer-Varis passes through the ear of any Punjabi he is so much fascinated that he suspends all his works and concentrates over the immortal lines composed by Varis. This book is so popularly read all over the Punjab, breaking through the man-made barriers of divided Punjab.

This is the historic gem which shines with full of its glory over the crown of undivided Punjab. These frontiers, these walls can never disintegrate the culture and literature of Punjab. This literature has sprung from the blood which flows in the veins of all Punjabis. Modern Panjabi poet Vidhata Singh 'Tir' rightly says that Varis is the Master of Panjabi language. Varis has given life to the characterisation of Heer and the Heer has immortalised him.

Varis wept in the sobs of Heer. This ballad has been composed by many but no one could catch the spirit of dejected beloved's inner feelings. Amrita Pritam calls Varis "a Solace for the Sufferers, a Balm for the Bruised Hearts." When Punjab was being divided, Amrita burst into tears and she wrote:

O' wake, thou the saviour of sufferers,
See the condition of thy Punjab.
In the forest, dead bodies are lying,
river Chenab is flowing full of blood.

George Grerson, Usborn, Richard Temple, all appreciated Varis for his supreme command and rich vocabulary of Panjabi language. Usborn says that this is the best book for the students of Panjabi language. Rabinder Nath Tagore once said, "The language which has been the medium of expression for Nanak and Varis that language can never be poor."

So, this is a great tribute paid to Guru Nanak and Varis Shah. Mohammad Bakhsh, a great critic of his time refuses to criticise the work of Varis. He wrote, "Varis Shah is the master of poetry, who can criticise him ? Even I am not worthy of pointing out a single word of Varis's composition."

Varis Shah was born in 1735 A.D. at Jandiala Sherkhan, District Sheikhupura (Pakistan). His father was Mian Gulsher Shah who belonged to Sayyad, a priestly caste of Muslims. Varis got his early education from Ustad Makhdum. Composition of Varis Shah reflects that he was much learned man.

In Jandiala Sherkhan there was a girl named Bhag Bhari, she was very beautiful Brahman girl. Bhag Bhari's eyes and smiling face captivated Varis. Varis fell in love with Bhag Bhari. This composition is outburst of his subjective approach. Krishna Chaitanya writes, "The poet must be aware of singing his pains in the midst of pain. He must write from the milder and more distancing memory, never from present emotion".

When we speak of poet as inspired, we mean that he is more at home than other men in his artistic world of fantasy. Varis Shah possesses in a high degree the faculty of penetrating beneath the surface to the essence of things and expressing what he perceives in images.

Varis Shah goes deep in the depth of his characterisation. Heer, Ranjha, Kaido, Sehti and Choochak they are all real characters.

Varis's Heer is the true representation of Punjabi girl. He has got the same limitations, which the Punjabi girl faces during her love. Nature of Ranjha sketched by Varis is the true replica of Punjabi young man. Prof. Puran Singh calls Punjabi young men as the brothers of Ranjha, because they resemble Ranjha in nature and behaviour. Choochak is a helpless father involved in an unwanted episode, where Kaido is a true villain. He is expert in intrigues and back bitings. He can be compared with Iago (The main villaim in the Drama of Shakespeare (Othello).

Poets all who love, they feel great truths and express them in their subjective approach. The poetry of Shelley, Byron, Keats, Mahadevi Verma and Shiv Kumar Batalvi bears the same pangs of separation.

Words hang around poet's mind. Poet only expresses, what the words tell him. So, Heer-Varis has got its historic and monumental values. Varis Shah was a versatile personality. His composition bears the impression of various literary aspects.

From critical analysis the poetry of Varis Shah can be examined through below mentioned different visions:

1. Varis Shah is the poet of separation.
2. Poet of beauty.
3. Poet of nature.
4. An immortal poet. (poetic truth in his work)
5. Language used by Varis.

In the words of Dr. Harnam Singh Shan, "Whenever I read the composition of Varis Shah, tears dwelled in my eyes." This verse is overwhelming with grief and sadness. The saga of two ill-fated lovers, which resulted into tragedy is portraited by Varis Shah in such a moving manner that no reader can control the intense feelings except melting into tears.

Specially, when the Heer is married some where else and her separated lover Ranjha meets her in the guise of Yogi. Yogi reads her future and tells her that she must achieve her lover then at once Heer replies:

Heer exclaims O Yogi, thou speak not truth
Who can bring back the lost lover.

I am tired after searching, none can recall the lost lover. When the sister-in-law of Heer goes out in a village and sees the most handsome Yogi, at once she tells to Heer:

"Sister-in-law comes home and recalls,
She hath seen a strange Yogi,
He is wearing wonderful ear-rings
and a garland around his neck.
He searches the palaces with the vigilant
eyes, as he has lost something precious,
O ! Heer he appears to be royal blood."

His beauty is more captivating than that of yours." At once it strikes in the mind of Heer that he might not be Ranjha:

She says, O ! God if it may not be false,
That Yogi wandering, may be my Ranjha.

Inner depth of the Varis's poetry sways human feelings and sentiments. Intensity of thought leads the human mind to the provocation where all the emotions melt. Many a time, it is found that melodious sad tune sung from the verse of Heer-Varis touches the musical tune of human mind and man is led away by its overwhelming miracle.

Varis Shah stands supreme in the descriptions of *beauty among the Panjabi poet.* Baris Shah's heroine Heer can be recognised among millions. Varis Shah writes:

Heer seems to be the sister of queen fairy and she can be recognised among millions.

Varis Shah praises every limb of Heer's body as lips, teeth, chin, ears, eyes, fingers, and he goes up to explaining even the restricted parts of her body. Beauty does not lie in proportions, beauty always in absolute so, varis's heroine Heer is overall beautiful. John keats gives his poetic thought that things of beauty is joy for ever. So, Varis has given a prominent role to the beauty. His hero Ranjha has become the symbol of handsomeness and beauty. If we say 'Ranjha' in

India particularly in Punjab that means handsome personality.

Varis Shah gives the *philosophical theory of nature.* For him, the whole of universe is the vast symbol of nature. He portraits the functioning of universe as the phenomenon of nature.

When the dawn comes, sparrow chirps. A traveller leads for the destination. Ladies in Punjab early in the morning began to churn milk, its sweet and soothing musical voice gives a pleasing effect to the ears of listeners. Some farmers they have got ready to plough field some are still in search of sticks to carry the oxes to plough the field. This is the true picture of the dawn drawn by Varis by the help of words. When the dawn sheds light in the villages of Punjab.

This scene has been picturised by the artistic bent of mind. Not only the description of daily routine of the farmers, Varis has given detail of the different natural phenomenons. Different types of snakes, fruits, trees and natural remedies are also mentioned by Varis in his verse. It will not be exaggeration if I say that the composition of Varis Shah is a rare ocean of the vast nature. Reader can get the few drops while jumping into the unending and measureless depth of Varis's poetry.

Varis Shah can be called an *immortal poet* the popularity which Varis Shah got is found very rare, rather unique. Varis not only stands supreme among the Panjabi poets but also his composition has captivated the minds of million since ages. Many of his quotations have become phrases and these are spoken in the daily life of Punjab. The poetic truth in these quotations survives the longevity of his work. For example :

1. Varis Shah sayeth habits once formed, never goes vanish.
2. The remains, if thrown in the Ganga those can never return in the same formation.
3. The people, who sit in the company of flower-seller they automatically get fragrant.

Now the first quotation reveals the truth of habit. Great psychologist Ross writes the scientific truth about the habit. He is of the opinion that habit can never be eradicated absolutely. Second phrase is also popularly known in European countries. It is believed that time once lost is lost for ever. Third quotation about the environmental effect or company. It is said that man is known by the company he keeps.

So, all these immortal lines reflects the Varis's psychological approach in literature. Some renowned writers of Persia has compared Varis with Shakespeare. Vitality and vastness in the poetry of Varis Shah gives an idea of his broad based social, literary and psychological interpretations. His superb command over the Panjabi language is marvellous. He has created hundreds new words. George Grierson gives his contention that without Varis's contribution Panjabi dictionary remains incomplete.

Varis goes deep in the analysis of his characterisation. Only Varis can understand the feelings of Heer, who is forcibly being parted from her lover, parting from the parents at the time of marriage, genuinely very difficult for every girl. But, for Heer it was quite fatal because she was going to be married with a man whom she hates.

Words presented at the time of Heer's marriage are really heart melting. At the time of the marriage Heer feels, as if she has lost everything in life. Varis's identification with his characters makes his work more authentic, more impressive and more attractive.

Varis Shah's poetry if truly evaluated reveals that he has not left any sphere of the life untouched. And this is the reason that Vidhata Singh 'Tir' calls him the master of language and feelings. It is a fact, that Varis has got inevitable influence over the coming romantic poets of Panjabi literature. Age cannot mar the marvellous glory of Varis's lyricism, His teacher rightly remarked that all the chosen words of Varis are pearls, which will remain shining for ages together.

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W

Wahid-Al Din, Maulana Ata (14th Century)

Maulana Ata flourished in Bengal during the 14th century A.D. Some inscriptions found at his shrine at Gangarampur (in Dinajpur District), refer to him as a great Sufi and a man of profound learning. Of the inscriptions that have been discovered at his shrine, one dated 765/1363, describes him the pole of saints, the unequalled among enquirers, the lamp of the truth, law and faith."

Another inscription dated 896/1491, calls him the well known Makhdum, the pole of the holy men." The third inscription dated 918/1512, refers to him as "Shaikh of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Ata."

According to one of these inscriptions dated 765/1363, it appears that Maulana Ata died sometime before 1363 in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shah (1357-1389). His tomb at Gangarampur was an object of great veneration.

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Wajid

Wajid's verse contains lot of humour, satire and irony. God is the Creator, the Maker, the Sustainer and the Hailer. Functioning of births and deaths is in his hand. No body can refuse the God. People sing of His greatness. He is the master who can plant seed of faith in man.

His creation is puppet in His hand, He is the wire-puller. This disparity is not only man-made, even from Heaven there is a vast difference between man and man. Wajid says:

> "some people have got all the luxuries in their lives and some go without food at night".

Wajid does not blame the society for this disparity and discrimination. He simply believes that this is the will of God.

Dhana Bhagat is said to be another Sufi poet of this age. He imitated the poetic pattern of Wajid.

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Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad, Shaikh (1496A.D. — 1589A.D.)

Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din Ahmad, the most outstanding of all the *khalifas* of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was the son of Shaikh Nasru'llah 'Alawi. He was born in Gujarat in 902/1496-97. Between the age of five and thirty-eight his time was devoted to the acquisition of higher education in all branches of religious, literary and philosophical subjects. He then began leading a retired life and at the same time tutored a number of disciples.

He never willingly visited the worldly people, performing even his Friday congregational prayers with his disciples in the private mosque attached to his house. After obtaining initiation into the Shattariyya order he became an enthusiastic supporter of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, assisting in establishing the Shattariyya order on a sound basis from Gujarat to Burhanpur.

Although, he converted his seminary into a *khanqah* he never lost his deep interest in teaching and writing scholarly commentaries on the works of *Tafsir, Hadis Fiqh and Kalam.* On 29th Safar, 997/17th January, 1589, he died in Ahmadabad.

Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, the son of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din, was also a scholar and a sufi. After his father's death, he took over his teaching duties. He was ascetic to the degree that he would only eat sugarcandy and a cup of syrup water. To support himself he copied manuscripts. Akbar's foster brother Mirza 'Aziz Koka, believed that he had gained his victory over Sorath in 999/1591 due to the Shaikh's spiritual power.

Shaikh Yusuf of Bengal was a disciple of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din. From his native land he travelled to Ahmadabad to obtain higher religious education. There he became the disciple of the Shaikh who ordered him to live in Burhanpur.

There Shaikh Yusuf tutored disciples in theology but he refrained from training them in sufism. One of his disciples, Shaikh Pir Muhammad (the son of 'Abdu'l-Halim of Burhanpur), developed into an ascetic of such stature that he refused to visit even the ruler of Khandesh.

Another noteworthy *khalifa* of Shaikh Wajihu'd-Din's was from Bubakan village in Siwistan (Sind). He was Hakim Usman bin Shaikh 'Ayni. Many important scholars were his disciples. In 983/1575-76, he migrated from Gujarat to Burhanpur; where many scholars attended his lectures. For approximately twenty seven years, he taught in his seminary.

In 1008/1599-1600 Akbar's invasion of Burhanpur prompted him to take refuge in a jungle near the village which he held as *madad-i ma'ash.* There he and his dervish followers were murdered by local tribesmen.

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Y

Yaqub Badarpuri, Shah Muhammad, (d. 1958A.D.)

Shah Muhammad Hatim Ali. He was born in 1848 A.D. and was educated at Sylhet, Cuttack and Rampur. He saw Mulana Hafiz Ahmad, son of Maulana Karamat Ali Naqshbandi, in a vision in Chandpur, Comilah who made him *khalifa*. He propagated Islam and established Madarasah Alia and Darul Hadith at Badarpur, which led to the creation of several Madarasah in Assam. He died in 1958 A.D. at Badarpur ar the age of 100 years.

A list of famous disciples and vicegrants(*khalifa*) of Shah Hatim Ali is given below:

1. Maulana Shah Abdul Latif, Phultali, Sylhet (Bangladesh) has a big group of ardent followers in the districts of Sylhet, Rangpur, Mymensing and other parts of Bangladesh. Some people of Bangladesh who reside in London are also his admirer and followers. He made a Madarasah in Sylhet. Many of his followers are in Assam in the district of Cacher, Nowgong and Tripura also. He did very well in propagating Islam and sufistic thoughts in Eastern India as well as in England.
2. Maulvi Hafiz Muzammil 'Ali Tayyab Kamal near Sylhet town.
3. Maulana Atiqul Haque Muhaddith, Turk Khala Mangla Bazar, Sylhet.
4. Maulavi Mufazzil 'Ali, Dvidpur, Sylhet.
5. Maulana Abdul Wahab, Nabi Ganj, Sylhet.
6. Maulana Abdus Shakur, Ikhtiarpur, Sylhet.
7. Maulana Hafiz Aftab Ahmad Khan, Kulavra, Sylhet.
8. Maulana Siddiq 'Ali, Panj Khand, Sylhet.
9. Syed Shafiqul Haque, Latu, Cachar, Assam.
10. Maulana Mohsin 'Ali, Nimai Chandpur, Hailakandi.
11. Qazi Mohammad Masud, Piyala Dar, Silchar, Cacher.
12. Syed Abdul Bagi, Udhar Band, Silchar, Cachar.
13. Munshi Mufussil Ali, Shamrail, Nowgong, Assam.
14. Munshi Abbas 'Ali, Shahbazar Murajpur Nowgong, Assam.
15. Maulana Mohammad Mushabid Ali, Bayumpuri Jintapur, Sylhet.
16. Qazi Musharraf 'Ali Kashkanakpur, Sylhet.
17. Maulavi Shatir 'Ali, Zakiganj, Sylhet.
18. Maulana Mufaddil 'Ali Zakigang
19. Maulana Ghulam Yazdani, Hailakandi. Cachar, Assam.
20. Maulana Mahmudur Rahman son of Hazra Hatim ' Ali Bundasil. At present, he is a superintendent of Madarasah 'Alia, Badarpur and a sufi of high order. He has a large number of followers and students in Tripura, Cachar, Nowgong and other districts of Assam and Bangladesh.
21. Qazi Abdul Raqib, Bataya,Karimganj, Cachar.

22. Munshi Ashraf 'Ali, Hajipur, Badarpur, Cachar.
23. Qazi Amjad ' Ali, Deghirpar, Badarpur, Cachar.
24. Mufiz 'Ali, Jainagar, Silchar,Cachar, Assam.
25. Maulana Mubashir ' Ali, Teletikar, Cachar.
26. Sufi Ibrahim 'Ali, Chowdhury a prominent Sufi.

Hazrat Shah Hatim Ali Sahib, his Pir, sent Sufi Ibrahim Ali Chowdury to Baqar Shah of Silchar. He died at his residence at Kalinagar Sialtic, Cachar at the age of about 67 in the year 1955 A.D. His ancestors came with Shah Jalal Mujarrad (d. 1347A.D.). His cousin Muhammad Muzammil Ali Chowdhury, son of Muhammad Yasin, son of Muhammad Mansur Khan of Kanishail, Karimganj, Cachar, Assam was a great Sufi.

He was a great Majzub of his time. He died at the age of 72 in the year 1942 A.D. Sufi Ibrahim Ali eldest son of Muhib Ali Chowdhury was a prominent followers of Baqarshah of Silchar. He died at his residence in Silchar in the year 1969 A.D.

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Z

Zahiruddin, Makhdum Saiyid Shah

Sayid Zahiruddin flourished in the sixteenth century. He married the daughter of one of the royal families of Gaur, and settled at Makhdum Nagar.

He stuck to his mission and worked for the spread of mystic discipline. To him is attributed the knowledge of cures of all sorts of diseases. People visit his grave to seek relief from ailments.

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Zahirud-Din Birbhum, Makhdum Shah (16th Century)

He was a renowned Shaikh of his time connected with a certain Sultan of Gaur by marriage. By his exceptional power of miracle he converted the entire village into Islam. Hence that village is called Makhdum Nagar.

As, he is said to be connected by matrimony with the Sultan of Gaur, and as the Sultan of Gaur sat on the throne in the 16th century, so it is presumed that he might have flourished in Birbhum during the 16th century.

The saint had, it is held, the power of curing all sorts of diseases. Hence, people came frequently to his tomb to seek relief from the ailments.

Zakariyya, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din (1182A.D. — 1262A.D.)

The ancestors of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya seem to have come to Sind with the army of Muhammad bin Qasim. Baha'u'd-Din was born at Kot Karor, near Multan, about 578/1182-83. His father died when he was twelve years old. He memorized the Qur'an and then went to Khurasan for further studies. He remained there for seven years, and left for Bukhara, where his piety earned him the title 'Angel'.

After performing a hajj to Mecca, he went to Medina where for five years he studied Hadis under Maulana Kamalu'd-Din Muhammad, the greatest scholar of that discipline in his days. From there he went to Jerusalem and later to Baghdad, where Shaikh Shijabu'd-Din Suhrawardi initiated him into his order and made him his *khalifa.*

The training period of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din lasted for only seventeen days. The Shaikh's other disciples, many of whom had spent years serving him, were annoyed at an Indian being elevated to a high status in such a short time.

After Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din learnt of their dissatisfaction he told them that when they had first come to him they had been like green wood which would not catch fire, whereas Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din had been like dry wood. Which had begun to burn with a single breath.

Leaving Baghdad, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din reached Multan, via Nishapur. His arrival was a source of consternation to the town's holymen and religious dignitaries and they requested him to settle elsewhere. They expressed their wish through a symbolic act. Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din was sent a cup full of milk, pointing out that the town was as full of scholars as the cup of milk and had no room for others. The Shaikh understood the significance of their action and placing a rose on the milk, returned the cup. Such a gesture implied that he would occupy the same place among the scholars and holymen of Multan as the rose in the milk.

The 'ulama' also did not appreciate the presence of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din and soon a conflict arose between him and Maulana Qutbu'd-Din Kashani. Nasiru'd-Din Qubacha, the ruler of Multan, held the Maulana in great respect and built a madarasa where he lectured and performed his daily prayers. The Maulana had no faith in sufis, and believed that when a student at Kashghar, he had seen the most outstanding sufi of all.

The sufi was an ironsmith who made knives. Although, he miraculously mended a broken knife of the Maulana, what seems to have impressed him most was the fact that the sufi was usefully employed. As no other mystic was like the ironsmith, the Maulana advocated that it was unnecessary to believe in the sufi movement itself.

Under such circumstances, a conflict between these two leading personalities became inevitable. The Maulana tried to dissuade Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya from going to the *madrasa* for morning prayers on the pretext that it was too far for him to travel from his *khanqah.*

The clash finally came over a legal point relating to namaz (obligatory prayers). The Shaikh defended his action on the basis of his inner light *(nur-i batin).* The Maulana rejected the Shaikh's defence arguing that an inner light which was incompatible with *Shari'a* was in fact darkness. Their differences were insurmountable and the Shaikh left the debate, vowing never to return to the *madrasa.*

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din reputation as a scholar, and the distinctive place he acquired among the disciples of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi, soon made him an important figure in Multan. It appears that merchants from Iraq and Khurasan were attracted to him in large numbers. The Shaikh erected an extensive *khanqah* containing granaries.

However, it was not a meeting place for the common people; only eminent religious people and perhaps state dignitaries and wealthy merchants were admitted. The Shaikh discussed with them topical theological and spiritual problems and in his own estimation they all benefited from him company.

The Shaikh openly sided with Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish when he wished to add Multan and Sind to the Delhi Sultanage. The invasion of Chingiz had already weakened Qubacha and the Shaikh did not hesitate to write to Sultan Shamsu'd-Din inviting him to conquer Multan. The Qazi of Multan also joined the Shaikh in extending such an invitation to the Sultan. Both letters fell into the hands of Qubacha. He immediately had the Qazi executed and summoned the Shaikh to his palace.

The Shaikh went fearlessly and, as usual, sat at Qubacha's right. Qubacha gave the letter to the Shaikh who, after reading it, affirmed it had been written by him. Qubacha asked for an explanation. The Shaikh replied that everything he had written was true and had been divinely prompted. He added that Qubacha could take any action in his power, but in reality, of course, he had no real independent power. Feeling trapped, Qubacha ordered the food to be brought.

It was the Shaikh's custom to refrain from

taking nourishment except in his khanqah, and Qubacha undoubtedly planned a retaliation if the Shaikh refused to eat at court. When the Shaikh had eaten, Qubacha's anger subsided.

After the annexation of Multan and Sind by Iltutmish in 1228, relations between the Sultan of Delhi and the Shaikh became more intimate. Iltutmish invited him to preside over the *mahzar* organized to judge the allegations against Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Tabrizi by the Shaikh'l-Islam, Najmu'd-Din Sughra. After the latter's dismissal, the Sultan made Shaikh Baha'u'd'Din Zakariyya, Shaikhu'l-Islam.

Shaikhu'l-Islam was not a permanent position like Sadru's Sudur (chief controller of religious affairs, particularly charities) or Qazi ul-Quzat. The Sultans of Delhi conferred the title on religious dignitaries as an honour and recipients obtained both stipends and land. Incumbents were not obliged to be in constant attendance at court and offered only occasional advice to their rulers. Some Shaikhu'l-Islams, like Najmu'd-Din Sughra, however, took a very active part in politics and the administration.

Some sufi authorities themselves gave the title to outstanding sufis, thus indicating their supreme spiritual status. To Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din, it meant additional finance to his *khanqah*. However, he is not known to have been closely involved in political matters beyond recommending his favourites to the Sultan.

The repeated Mongol invasions of Multan made the life of townfolk miserable, but the presence of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya was to them a great blessing. In Zu'l-hijja 644/April-May 1247, the Mongol. Suli Nuyin besieged the Multan fort, but the Shaikh succeeded in negotiating peace through Malik Shamsu'd-Din, a Muslim dignitary in the Mongol army.

With the Suhrawardi order there are few stories revealing that its members lived in extreme poverty, unlike members of the Chishti *silsila*. It would appear that Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din Zakariyya, even before he was appointed Shaikhu'l-Islam, was very rich. Large sums of money were paid to his children's teachers. On one occasion, the Governor of Multan needed grain and was given a store-house full of grain by the Shaikh. A pot of silver coins, which had been found amongst it, was returned to the Shaikh by the Governor, who said he had asked for grain, not money. The Shaikh replied he had merely wished to give the governor money as well.

Jwalqis and qalandars from Khurasan and Central Asia would first visit Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din's *khanqah* at Multan *en route* to Delhi. In keeping with the Shaikh's custom, they were not welcomed. Once a group of *jwalqis* called on the Shaikh and were not given gifts.

Emerging from the *khanqah* they became very noisy and started throwing bricks at the building. The Shaikh appeared and argued with them, saying he had not personally chosen to make Multan the Suhrawardi centre, but had been sent there by Shaikh Shihabu'-Din. The *Jwalqis* were speechless and departed peacefully.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din's relations with the Chishtis, Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki and Baba Farid, were most amicable. Amongst themselves they had divided areas of respective spiritual influence and this helped to counter any misunderstandings.

Once a musician called 'Abdu'llah was intending to go to Multan from Ajodhan. He asked Baba Farid to pray for his safe journey. The Baba, however, replied that the limit of his spiritual influence was at a certain water tank and that beyond it began the area of Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din whose prayers he should attain. The musician acted on the Baba's advice and safely completed his journey.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din strongly discouraged sufis from seeking guidance from a number of different *pirs*, urging them to lay their heads on one rather than a number of thresholds. He laid great stress on performing *namaz* and admitted that all his achievements were the result of it. According to him, omission of *namaz* amounted to death. He assigned a secondary place to supererogatory prayers and *zikr* and

sufi discipline. Once when some of his disciples were performing ablutions at a particular tank the Shaikh arrived, With the exception of one disciple, who continued washing, they all rushed to their *pir* to pay their respects.

However, it was the lone disciple who was praised by Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din as the most outstanding present, for he had chosen to complete his ablutions first and had therefore shown a greater respect for religious duties.

Unlike the Chishtis, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din did not observe incessant fasting and ate normally. Occasionally he indulged in *sama*.

Like all eminent sufis, Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din emphasized that the *sine qua non* of meditation and contemplation was the expulsion of everything from the heart except that connected with God. The company of people should be replaced by a constant recitation of *zikr*. A sufi should seriously control his lower-self in all conversations and actions. He should not talk or do anything unless it was necessary.

Shaikh Baha'u'd-Din died on 7 Safar, 661/21 December, 1262. For about half a century after settling in Multan he had been the most celebrated sufi in that region. His significance increased due to Mongol raids in the area which prompted local governors and officials to continually seek his blessings and prayers. The fame of his piety in Khurasan and Transoxiana facilitated successful negotiations with the Mongol invaders.

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Zaki-ud-Din, Makhdum (14th Century)

His early education was completed at home. He was married to the daughter of Syed Hussain of Munayr. The wife of Makhdum Zaki spent the greater part of her life at Munayr. Makhdum Zaki had only one daughter, named Bibi Barkah, at whose birth Makhdum Zaki died at Shakerdih near Suri in the district of Birbhum, West Bengal. After a few days, his wife also died; both were buried at Shakerdih, known as *Makhdum Nagar*.

Bibi Barkah, a baby at the time of her parent's death, was sent to the house of Makhdum Jahan at Monayr Sharif, who handed over her grand-daughter to his beloved mother, who was popularly known as 'Bari Bua'. Bibi Barkah was brought up and educated with great care; and having attained maturity she was married to Hazrat Alaud-Din of Jhansi, who was the nephew of Khawaja Najibud-Din Firdause.

Hazrat Zain Badar 'Arabi records that he heard through Hazrat Wahidud-Din saying that his mother and Shaikh Najibud-Din Firdausi were from the same mother; and Shaikh Ruknud-Din and Nizamud-Din were own brothers. On hearing this Makhdum Jahan just said, "It is true."

After attaining spiritual learning with the Makhdum, Syed Wahidud-Din went to the village of Sunahra, a rural area of Arwal in the district of Gaya. Firoz Shah Tughlaque (1351-1385 A.D.), due to his regard for him erected a *khanqah* there and granted Sunahra village as gift for the maintenance. Makhdum Jahan frequently visited this village to see her grand-daughter. Hazrat Wahidud-Din used to go for meditation to a place known as *Badrabad*. When he died on the 11th of Zilhajja, he was buried at Barabad.

After his death, his son Syed Alimud-Din became his *khalifa*. He was also very dear to Makhdum Jahan. He was buried near Bibi Barkah at the village Sunahra. On his death his son Makhdum Imamud-Din became his *khalifa*. He had two sons, one remained at Sunahra,

whose descendants occupied the *khanqah* of Sunahra and another son Mukhdum Shah Muhammad Bhikh, occupied the central *khanqah* of Makhdum Jahan at Bihar Sharif.

Syed Ahmed Chiram-Push (b. 657 A.H.) and some other saints of Bihar. He was a great Jalali Pir of Bihar Sharif. He hailed from the line of Hazrat Imam Hussain and was a cousin of Makhdum Sharfud-Din Munayri. He was born in Iran at Hamadan in 657 A.H. His father was Muhammad Musa Kazim Sultan of Hamadan. Syed Ahmed Chirampush renounced the throne and came to Multan and became the murid of Maulana Alaud-Din Abdul Haq Mahasabi, at whose instruction he went to Lahsa, Tibet.

Its Raja and many of his associates, according to the reports became Muslim there. Then he moved to Chapra, North Bihar, where he met another saint Hazrat Hasan Piyari. Hazrat Piyari had a skin of the animal (a lamb) which was sacrificed in place of Hazrat Ismail. Syed Ahmed Chirampush requested the saint to make over the skin to him. He put it around his neck. Hence, he is known as *Chirampush*. Then he came to Bihar Sharif.

His fame as a great saint spread far and wide. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaque (1351-1388 A.D.) came to Bihar Sharif to pay his respects to him. The detail can be had from *Sirat-e-Firoz Shahi* and *Fawaid-e-Rukniya*. Hazrat Shamsud-Din Balki after renouncing the throne, came to Bihar Sharif with all his family and became the disciple of Hazrat Makhdum Chirampush. The maternal grandfather of Shaikh Shihabud-Din Suhrawardi better known as *Pir Jagut* whose tomb is at Jithuli Sharif near Patna.

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Zainu'd-Din (15th Century A.D.)

The most distinguished of all the disciples of Shaikh Nuru'd-Din was Zainu'd-Din. His piety and austerities earned a great name for him. Shaikh Nuru'd-Din held him in great esteem and in one of his sayings he pays glowing tributes to him: "My Zaina (Zainu'd-Din) is a fountain of the water of immortality; such is his devotion to the Almighty that he excels his guide.

After serving his preceptor for many years, Zainu'd-Din under the orders of the Shaikh, moved to 'Aish-Maqam and stayed there in a cave. Like many other Rishis, he applied himself to a life of simplicity and celibacy and adopted the forms of workship which the Rishis considered most effective.

It is said that once he asked one of his disciples to bring from the market something bitter and disagreeable. The disciple brought black pepper, as he could find nothing more bitter. Zainu'd-Din was much pleased at its taste. He asked the price; the disciple replied "one fulus" (small coin of uncertain value). He asked how much goat-meat he could have bought with that amount; the disciple replied: "eight *sers*". Zainu'd-Din surprisingly remarked: " To make a meal of pepper means to eat enough for eight men". Therefore, he abandoned all thought of pepper, resolving to eat only raw nuts picked up from the ground.

Many miracles are attributed to Zainu'd-Din. Once, in winter, one of his disciples went to bring water; he had to go a long way as there was no water near the cave. By chance he slipped, breaking his leg and smashing the pot. Shamsu'd-Din, one of the disciples of Zainu'd-Din, told his preceptor about this and asked who was to get the water. Zainu'd-Din prayed and the leg of his disciple was cured. He also got a

hint from on high to go to Aina, a place nearby, and dig beneath a tree on which a crow would be sitting. He did this and water sprang up from the ground following him until he halted. The legend came to Abu'l-Fazl's ears also; he writes:

> "In the village of 'Aish (Maqam) is the cell of Baba Zainu'd-Din Rishi. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow."

Another legend has it that Zainu'd-Din once sent one of his disciples to a certain place. The king's officials, who were working on Shahkul Canal, seized him for forced labour. When he returned and Zainu'd-Din learned what had happened, in his anger he caused the canal to dry up. It was only when the people demonstrated with Zainu'd-Din, that he restored the flow of water.

It is believed that Zainu'd-Din visited Tibet. The sources assert that the cause of his visit to that country was the displeasure of Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin (1420-70), who once went to see Zainu'd-Din, but was treated with scant attention. The Sultan was displeased, and asked him to leave his kingdom. Zainu'd-Din gladly agreed and betook himself and some of his disciples to Tibet, where he was accorded a warm welcome. But soon the son of the ruler of that country died and the people blamed Zainu'd-Din. He was threatened with death; he tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his, but all in vain. So, he prayed to God, and the prince returned to life.

Meanwhile, Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He asked help from Haji Adham, who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zainu'd-Din. So, he sent his son, prince Haidar, to bring him back. The moment Zainu'd-Din put his foot on the road homewards the Sultan recovered and when the saint drew near, he personally went to receive him.

The story bears the marks of fabrication and seem to have been concocted in order to glorify the miraculous powers of Zainu'd-Din Rishi. The same sources attribute to Zainu'l-Abidin another example of royal rage being frustrated, when he approached Shaikh Bahau'd-Din Ganjbakhsh, a Kubraviya saint. But he was not exiled. Moreover, Nuru'd-Din was still alive, enjoying very cordial relations with the Sultan. In such circumstances his intercession would surely have been sought, rather than that of Haji Adham, as Zainu'd-Din was Nuru'd-Din's disciple.

According to Baba Nasib, Zainu'd-Din introduced a special dress for the Rishis, the *Rishi-jama.* He believes that Zainu'd-Din had seen the dress of the *hajis* in Mecca, where, because of his supernatural powers, he used to attend the Friday prayers. In Wahhab's *Futuhat-i-Kubraviya,* the dress is incidentally described in the life of Shamsu'd-Din, one of the disciples of Zainud'-Din, as:

> "a variegated woollen cloak, with a black and white pattern worked into it."

Before his death, Zainu'd-Din made a will requiring that after the funeral ritual his body he put in a *tabut* and placed in a corner of the cave. The disciples did as he asked. But later they found the corpse missing from the *tabut.* One night, after the disappearance of the body, one of his disciples dreamed that he desired a grave to be made in his name at the spot where they had kept his *tabut.*

Abu'l-Fazl also seems to have been impressed by the story. He writes: "For twelve years he occupied this cell (at Alish-Maqam) and towards the end (of his life) he closed its mouth with a huge stone and never went forth again, and no one has ever found trace of him."

The tomb of Zainu'd-Din, at 'Aish-Maqam is a source of inspiration for the masses of Kashmir. "This shrine", a modern scholar writes, "is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmir, who take their children (there) and cut off their first lock of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind".

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Zinda Pir, Shaikh Usman

Shaikh 'Usman Zinda Pir, the son of Shaikh 'Abdu'l Kabir Chishti Sabiri, was initiated into the Chishtiyya-Sabiriyya branch of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Panipat. After Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Kabir's death, his two surviving sons had contested the succession to their father's position.

Although, the influential citizens of Panipat favoured Shaikh 'Usman, Sultan Ibrahim Lohi (who visited the town to arbitrate on the feud). ordered Shaikh 'Usman to assume the position of custodian of the tomb of Shaikh Jalal Panipati for the first half of the year and his brothers for the second half.

The clash was understandable if it is borne in mind that the tomb yielded a highly lucrative income. Dissatified with the Sultan's ruling the two aspiring leaders and their followers fought a pitched battle, in order to settle their respective rights. Shaikh 'Usman emerged the victor.

Shaikh 'Usman's son, Shaikh Nizamu'd-Din, was first educated by his father and later became his successor. His elder brother, Kamal, was an ecstatic who, although urged by the locals of Panipat to succeed to the leadership of his father's *khanqah*, rejected the offer in favour of his younger brother.

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Zulqad Ali, Sufi Shaheb Hazrad (d. 1891A.D.)

Hazrat Abdul Jalal Zulqad Ali, son of Pir Muhammad Sufi, was born at Sibsagar (Assam) in 1796 A.D. His father was in the service of the then Raja. Having completed his primary education, Hazrat Zulqad went to Dacca for higher education and studied there for five years.

Then, he went to Jaunpur and entered into the discipleship of Maulana Keramat Ali Jaunpuri, who conferred upon him the title of Sufi. Later on, he became the Murid of the world famous saint Hazrat Imdadullah Muhajir Makki, who permitted him to initiate people in all the four order, Chishtiya, Suhrawardiya, Qadiriya and Naqshbandiya.

Having returned to Gauhati the Sufi Zulqad Ali started his missionary activity at Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong districts. He led crusade against evil practices and for the observing of the Muharram festival and taking out tazia and mourning procession were forcibly stopped.

In order to show the people right path he made speeches, wrote books and pamphlets and advised people to lead simple and pure life like the Prophet of Islam. He himself practised what he preached. He tried his best to present him-

self as a true Islamic model for the people to build up a new society based on Islamic traditions. Namaz, Roza, Haj and Zakat were encouraged and the people were advised to keep away from abuses, hypocrisy and other evil practices.

His book *Tariqul Haq fi Bayan-e-Nurul* Haq in Assamese but in Arabic script, is an important production as it is reckoned as one of the oldest works in modern Assamese prose, which has been published by his grandson Muhammad Saleh Kazim in Assamese script. Sufi Zulqad died in 1891 A.D. An extract from his book is given below:

'dujahanak sarge sai tar halaq loun mai.
kandi huna jadi dil lagai.
hakalore adite muhammad mustafak paida karile jai,
teok he bole khudai
teor halagor wor nai, mai wagiyani koun kenekoi.
he mumin musalemin bhai, allahar hukum dion sunai.'

(Harken ye, O, People; I praise him who created both the worlds and created Muhammad In the beginning of all For he alone is Allah whose praises endeth no O, ye, who believes Listen ye to the voice of this ignorant man. For I chant unto you only Allah's commands).

Commencing his book with a verse (an extract from which is given above, along with its translation), the author switches on to prose to deal with many topics covering precepts from the holy *Quran* and traditions of the Prophet. He has dealt with many Islamic practices along with their spiritual contents in simple prose which was prevalent in Assam at the time of his missionary activity.

Although, it is not my intention to enter into literary criticism of his writings I produced below an opinion by Daiba Chandra Talukdar, a Assamese literature on the literary quality of the prose form used by the writer. The book is written in Assamese prose. But as he was a scholar of Persian and Arabic he has used some Persian and Arabic words as well here and there.

However, this book points out to the fact that Assamese modern prose was taking a good shape even as late as that period. We are glad to find this sample of Assamese prose after the prosaic *Kathagita* and *Katha-bhagaqata*, written by Bhattadeva in the 16th century. The prose used in this book is of a superior quality to that used in the *Orunudoi*.

Below we produce a few sentences from the book to illustrate the mystic significance of the teachings:

'Gotei bharastar majut oi kalimai nebhedile, karo nistar ei jugat nai aru kunowe muhammad rasulullah bhakti koribo khoje, ihatar bhakti micha, kiyano allahi ei mure teor paida kari kata lakh bachar bhaktar dhara bojai duniya lai prithivilai pathiyale, teor dhare bhakti nakarile kone no kenekoi bhakti pale? Hazrater nuror agote kono keoke sarja nai, teore dwara bali chahirpare gaj hastilaike sakaloke sarjile.

(Gist of the above paragraph: Herein the author gives the Islamic version of the genesis of the Universe form the Light of the Prophet Muhammad, who was the first thing to be created. As the Universe had emanated from the Light of the Holy Prophet, Worship of Allah in any other way except that shown by the holy Prophet will not benefit man. This fact highlights the importance of the Kalima (article of faith), "There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Prophet," faith in which is binding upon man for his salvation)

Besides Gauhati, Zulqad Ali's religious activities extended to Darrang and Nowgong as well. The growing population at Mangaldai (Darrang) needed a madrasah and a mosque, which were constructed by the Sufi Saheb, became the centre of propagation of Islamic teachings and is still going on.

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